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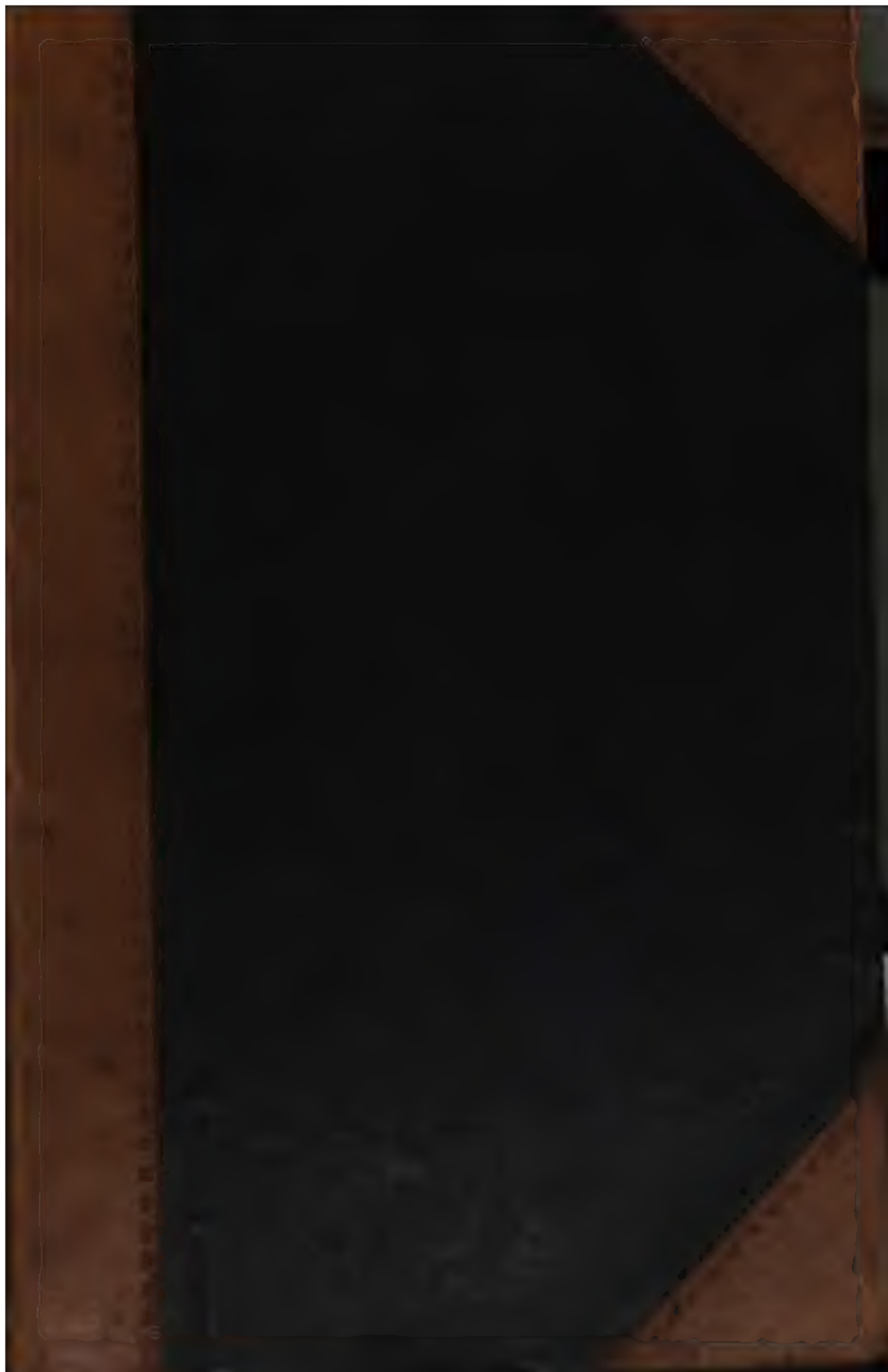
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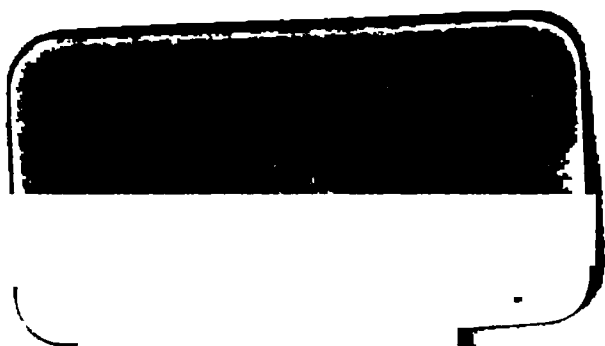
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THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND
Quarterly Review.



Πύλαι ἔθου οὐ κατισχύουσιν αὐτῇ.—*Matt. xvi. 18.*

VOL. XII.



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MDCCCLIII.

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THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND
Quarterly Review.

JULY, MDCCCXLII.

The Life of John Knox. By Thomas M'Crie, D.D. 1 vol.
New edition. W. Blackwood and Sons. Edinburgh. 1841.

IT is not our design to enter upon the consideration of the merits of a work that has been so long before the public as Dr. M'Crie's "Life of Knox," and with the peculiarities of which the majority of our readers must doubtless be familiar; but rather to direct attention to the ecclesiastical constitution of Scotland, from the age of the Reformer, downwards. It is needless to say that in so doing we can only glance at the leading events of the last three centuries in the neighbouring kingdom; but something will be gained if we succeed in showing, as we hope we shall, that the repeated contests with the superior powers in which the Presbyterian communion has been engaged, and which appear so incomprehensible to the people of England, are the natural results of the democratic character which the disciple of Calvin impressed on the Northern Establishment, and the strong republican spirit which he and his associates infused into the professional and general literature of their native country. To accomplish this, however, we must enquire, as briefly as possible, into the social and political condition of Scotland immediately antecedent to, and at the time of the Reformation.

The sixteenth century opened in Scotland with events that portended trouble and commotion in that habitually distracted country. At the battle of Flodden, James IV., the son-in-law of Henry VII., fell with the chief of his nobility; and in thirty years afterwards (1542), his son, James V., died in early life,

leaving an infant daughter the heir to his crown and his misfortunes. Whether James, had he lived, would have adopted the religious opinions of his uncle, Henry VIII., and assisted that monarch in his favourite project of establishing an uniform system of Church government throughout Britain, or whether the influence of the Romanist clergy by whom he was surrounded, and to whom, in preference to his nobles, he had entrusted the government of the State, would have kept him steady in his attachment to the Church of Rome, are questions which it is impossible now to answer, but which we shall shortly allude to hereafter. All that we dare affirm is, that his marriage with a princess of the house of Guise, his premature death, and the relaxation of authority consequent upon a long minority, were accidents that favoured the spread of that spirit of enquiry which was then abroad all over Europe, while they laid the foundations of that long series of conflicts in which his unhappy child was engaged, and for which she was little fitted by her sex, her education, or her wisdom. In the history of its kings no country had been more unfortunate than Scotland. "Of six successive princes (says Dr. Robertson), from Robert III. to James VI., not one died a natural death."* This is not strictly correct, but it is very nearly so. . James I. was murdered in a convent at Perth; James II. was killed at the siege of Roxburgh; James III. was despatched in a mean house near Bannockburn, where he had taken refuge after his defeat by the insurgents, headed by his son, the Duke of Rothsay; James IV. fell at Flodden; James V. died of a broken heart, caused by the disasters that befell his troops in Northumberland; and his unfortunate daughter Mary terminated her career on the scaffold. The historian is justified, therefore, in the remark he has made, and in the equally important observation, that "the minorities were longer and more frequent than ever happened in any other kingdom; since out of ten princes, from Robert Bruce to James VI., seven were called to the throne while they were almost infants." The only two powers that could contend for the mastery, in a country so situated, were the clergy and the nobility—the one possessing one half of the property in the kingdom, and, in addition to the influence they enjoyed with the commonalty, monopolizing the little knowledge of the age; and the other, representing the military strength of the nation, occupying numerous strongholds, and prompted by considerations of personal and family ambition to aggrandize their own order, and to depress, if possible, the Crown and the Church. The burghs had, as yet, a slender

* History of Scotland, vol. i., p. 31.

share of power, if any. Large towns were few, their populations were unimportant, and their political authority too slight to operate as a counterpoise to the weight of the barons and the clergy. The foreign trade of the country was also trifling, and its internal commerce only such as the wants of a proverbially poor people required: there could, consequently, be no middle rank, as at present, distinguished by superior intelligence, and accustomed from infancy to the comforts and refinements of life. These burghs gradually arose out of the little communities which clustered round the feudal castles, or the religious houses in an age of universal rapine, and constituted the original *colonists* of most European states; and as in Scotland the Celtic part of the population long refused to follow settled occupations, they must have consisted chiefly of Saxons. They subsequently evolved into towns, and, from obvious motives of policy, had charters and peculiar privileges granted to them, which many of them enjoy to this hour.

The result of this curious combination of circumstances was, that while the country continued poor and ill-peopled for the two centuries preceding the Reformation, it presented the singular spectacle of a monarchy very slightly modified by popular influence, but in which the crown was obliged to maintain a constant struggle for that authority which an ill-defined constitution had assigned to it; and that no sovereign who bore the sceptre from Bruce to James VI. could depend on more fidelity than his personal qualities might command. According to Dr. Robertson the burgesses were admitted to parliament by Bruce in 1326: according to Mr. Tytler, they appeared in that assembly in the third parliament of Baliol;* but the privilege was so burdensome as to be little valued, nor was it till a hundred and sixty years afterwards, in the reign of James VI., that the burghs formed a regular part of the national council. The power of the State, therefore, vibrated between the crown, the clergy, and the nobles, and according to circumstances the influence of the former or the latter predominated; but, speaking generally, the authority of the aristocracy prevailed, and the fate of the kings shows that it was exercised with sufficient rigour. The frequent appointment of regents likewise tended to diminish the prerogative of the crown, and accustomed the popular mind to the partial forgetfulness of the royal name, while it familiarized the great families to the controul of the government, which, once obtained, they showed no readiness to

* "History," vol. ii., p. 272. See also Pinkerton's "History of Scotland," vol. i., p. 350, who makes it 1326.

relinquish. In this manner the most deadly feuds were perpetuated from generation to generation, and the balance of society so vitally disturbed, that it would be impossible to say what the civil constitution of Scotland was during these turbulent ages. Military virtues alone were esteemed, and a monarch, placed between a rude and haughty nobility and a grasping priesthood, who had each interests apart from the crown, could be scarcely said to enjoy any substantive power whatever. If he inclined to the one he was sure to offend the other—if he rejected the advice of both, and fell back on men of mean birth, though possibly of good abilities, he instantly aroused the jealousy of his barons—and if he tried to restrict the privileges of either the nobles or the Churchmen, he was immediately exposed to the unrelenting hostility of the united faction. It can surprise no one to learn that in a country so situated the arts of peace throve not; that the people were ignorant and miserably poor; that agriculture was neglected, commerce despised, and learning wholly forgotten. In a word, it may be doubted whether Scotland was not the most wretched country in Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—it was unquestionably the most disturbed; and when we add, that its population did not exceed 700,000 souls* when Mary began her reign, we give the best illustration that could be desired of the baneful effects of that succession of contests, which, for two hundred years, desolated North Britain.

There are some minor circumstances deserving of notice as throwing light on those barbarous times, and of these, perhaps, the most striking were the leagues for mutual defence into which the Scottish nobility entered with each other, and what were called *bonds of man-rent*, when the engagement was between a baron and his inferiors. In the one case the contracting parties bound themselves to mutual aid in all causes, and against all persons whatsoever; and in the other, they promised protection, and exacted fidelity and personal service. We are not sure that the history of feudalism presents anything exactly analogous to these contracts in other countries; and they show that society was not only frightfully disturbed when such combinations could be necessary, but that the executive which tolerated them must have been weak to the last degree. It is manifest, that any half dozen nobles so uniting, and pledging themselves and their vassals to reciprocal assistance, must have been invincible by any power which the crown could bring against them; and we recognize the remnants of this usage in

* "Alison on Population," vol. i., p. 24.

the passion which the Scots of an after age displayed for ecclesiastical and other covenants.

The relations of Scotland with France and England are also entitled to regard. The connexion with France began in the reign of Edward I., when that monarch claimed the Scottish crown, and continued long after that event and its consequences were forgotten; and we must look for the explanation of a fact not otherwise very intelligible, from the dissimilar characters of the people, in the political antagonism of England and France for many centuries. England was supposed to be the natural enemy of both, and this feeling, so fruitful of folly and of crime, drew a weak power, like Scotland, into the vortex of French intrigue, and perpetuated that unhappy alienation of the natives of the same island, which every consideration of sound diplomacy should have made Scottish statesmen discountenance. So it was, however. Scotland was used by France as a counterpoise to England, and France was appealed to by Scotland in her contests with her powerful neighbour. Intermarriages between the royal families were not unfrequent—the only Duke of Scotland had a French title—the manners and language of France were imitated and cultivated by the leading nobility, and not even the far-seeing wisdom of Henry VII., when he gave his daughter to James IV., succeeded in breaking this alliance, though it ultimately tended that way. His grandson espoused a French princess, whence

“Bella, horrida bella,
Et Tybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.”

The superior civilization of France was another temptation in a country where literature found little favour, and where, as Mr. Tytler informs us, not a baron could be found, in the long period between the accession of Alexander III. and the death of David II., who could sign his own name.* France, therefore, was the resort of the higher clergy, and such of the nobility as condescended to be educated; and a hundred years before Scotland could boast of a single native University, the Scots' College, at Paris, was founded by the Bishop of Moray, in 1325. Of the three Universities bequeathed to their successors by the Roman Catholics, St. Andrew's has the date of 1413, Glasgow of 1450, and Aberdeen of 1494. Elementary seminaries, under the direction of the Church, were known as early as 1173; and it is at least probable that the chief towns had what are now called grammar

* Vol ii., p. 353. The Scottish guards of France, now so familiar to the readers of modern romance, are supposed to have been instituted between 1453 and 1464, i.e., in the reigns of James II. or III.

schools; but till the beginning of the fifteenth century there was not an establishment in Scotland where a course of philosophy could be taught, and it is easy to understand that for some time after their erection they would be considered inferior to the foreign academies. The native seminaries, however, gradually grew in reputation, and, in due time, constituted the nurseries of the rising genius of the nation. Light was scattered by their means over a wider surface than before; and, reflected as it was with a strong and steady glare on the sanctified errors of antiquity, it rapidly dissipated the charm which age and the prejudices of education had thrown around the old ecclesiastical system. Though it be necessary to speak with caution on a subject of this kind, we think it by no means improbable that James V. would have consented to considerable modifications in the clerical structure had he been a free agent, for few monarchs have been less tinctured with the vices of superstition and of mistaken devotion; but his connexion with Francis I., whose daughter Magdalene was his first queen, mixed him up with the political movements of that chivalrous king, and, as a consequence, drew closer the bonds between him and the see of Rome; while his anxiety to complete a scheme, the mere projection of which does honour to his memory, but which was impracticable without the aid of the clergy, compelled him to abandon all such designs, if he ever seriously entertained them. The Court of Session, the highest court of judicature in Scotland, was instituted by James I., in 1425; but its constitution was imperfect and irregular, and, sensible how much of the happiness of a people depends on the due administration of justice, James V. resolved, in 1532, to consolidate this tribunal on the model of the parliament of Paris—another proof of the strong hold which France had taken of the public mind of Scotland—and for this purpose he imposed a tax of ten thousand crowns a year on the clergy, restricted, by a bull of the Pope, to four thousand pounds sterling, to be paid in four consecutive years.* Throughout the remaining ten years of his life these circumstances effectually neutralized any secret leaning against the Catholic religion which he might have shared in common with others, or which he might have imbibed from Lyndsay or Buchanan; the one, a poet and satirist of established fame, and a personal attendant on the monarch; the other, an obscure but rapidly rising pedagogue, who performed the functions of tutor to one of his natural children. He could not, like his uncle, Henry VIII., confiscate the Church property without at once separating himself from his

* Pinkerton, vol. ii., p. 317, *passim*.

continental alliances, and becoming a species of vassal to the King of England; and if the money which he required for his new court was to be obtained at all, it could only be through the consent of the clergy, and with the sanction of the Pope, with neither of whom could he, therefore, break. To this cause, and not to any harshness of nature or love of cruelty, must we attribute the reluctant consent which he gave to the barbarities perpetrated in his name against the earlier Protestants by Beaton and his followers; and, to the dislike of the impost, and the aversion from law, on the part of his priesthood and nobility, some of that unpopularity which led to the fatal defection which destroyed him. He died at his palace of Falkland, on the 14th of December, 1542, in the thirtieth year of his age, and after a nominal reign of twenty-nine years. Two sons, born to him by Mary of Guise, predeceased him, and the only legitimate heir to his name and crown was the unfortunate Mary, then seven days old. "It came (said the dying king, alluding to the crown) with a girl, and it will go with a girl;" a prophetic announcement of the troubles that awaited his infant child, and a solemn acknowledgment of the impression which the treachery and turbulence of his barons had made upon his own mind.

The most prominent men in the work of the Reformation in Scotland were Buchanan and Knox; but both of them had been anticipated in the condemnation of the corruptions of the ancient hierarchy by the voice of their countrymen, which was re-echoed by that formidable instrument of correction, the popular poetry of the age. Sir David Lyndsay, the friend and familiar attendant of James IV., and afterwards attached to the person of his son, satirized the easy virtue and the slothful lives of the ecclesiastics, and his sovereigns richly enjoyed the biting irony of his muse. In the opinion of Pinkerton, he "was more the Reformer of Scotland than John Knox;" but this is a figure of speech. Like Erasmus, in Germany, he may have prepared the ground in which the future seed was to germinate; but as he was a court poet, and reading was not a vulgar accomplishment in those days, his influence must have been more restricted than is generally supposed. An amusing story is told by Charteris, one of his early editors, to this effect—that in ridicule of the ignorance of the clergy, he asked James V. for the office of master tailor to the royal household. It is true, he could neither sew, nor shape, "but (said he), many of the bishops to whom you have given sees and benefices, can neither preach nor teach, which is as essential to their vocation as sewing and shaping to a tailor!" A tale of this kind is laughable, no doubt, but its historical value is not great. A wit is a privileged person in

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the palace, or the cottage, and though a smart epigram may cover a truth of some importance, it is just as likely to distort it. There is no proof, that we know of, that the Scottish bishops were so imperfectly qualified for their office as Lyndsay would represent; on the contrary, the presumption is that their acquirements were on a level with the standards of their age and nation; but their habits and pursuits were, in too many instances, secular—in some cases, perhaps in the majority, their lives were scandalous—and a system essentially vicious, added to the carelessness which the long possession of unchallenged power is apt to generate, had weaned them from much interest in the temporal or spiritual concerns of their flocks. To this rule there must, of course, have been many exceptions, both in the age of the poet and those ages which preceded it. The few fragments of ancient literature which Scotland possesses, were, for the most part, the compilations of ecclesiastics; and, in the fifteenth century, we find mention made of a Bishop Kennedy, who was “well learned in the civil laws, and of great experience in them,” but whose chief excellency was that “he caused all parsons and vicars to remain at their parish churches, for instruction and edifying of their flocks, and caused them to preach the word of God unto the people, and to visit them when they were sick. And also the said bishop visited every church within his diocese four times in the year, and preached to the parishioners the word of God truly, and enquired of them if they were duly instructed in the word of God by their parson and vicar—and if their sacraments were duly administered—and if the poor were sustained, and the youth educated and taught, conformably to the order that was taken in the Church of God. And where he found that order was not followed he made great punishment, to the effect that God’s glory might shine through all the country within his diocese; giving good example to all future archbishops, and Churchmen in general, to cause the patrimony of the Church of God to be used for the glory of God and the common benefit of the poor.”* Men of a character like this would do honour to any age, Church, or nation; but there is too much reason to believe that the clergy generally were regardless of their duties, and that their indolence and luxury exposed them to the contempt of the world, and utterly disqualified them when the hour of trial came for a contest in which the prescriptions of antiquity could avail little against the doctrines of positive right which were marshalled against them. We set aside such stories as that told by Buchanan, and so much

* Pinkerton, vol. i., p. 416.

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dwelt upon by extreme Protestant writers, that in the year 1537 some of the Scottish ecclesiastics were so deplorably ignorant as to suppose that Martin Luther was the author of a dangerous book called the New Testament ;* because it would appear to us to prove, even were it true, more than is necessary in a rational argument on the predisposing causes of the Reformation. Doubtless, among so large and so miscellaneous a body as the Popish priesthood of Scotland, there must have been that variety of attainment and knowledge which we always see in mixed multitudes, and which is observable in Roman Catholic countries to this hour. We would not expect from a mendicant friar the literature of a bishop, nor from a monk that familiarity with Scripture which we look for in an educated Protestant clergyman or layman. Learning, as we now use the phrase, was less the vocation of these persons than the performance of the humbler offices of the Church ; and the conclusion from this tale is, not that the Catholic clergy of Scotland, in their corporate capacity, were, or could be, liable to such a charge, which is manifestly impossible, but that the existing system of ecclesiastical subordination tolerated the presence of individuals whose duties required no more than the minimum of theological instruction, but whose ignorance necessarily brought discredit on the whole order. There can be no doubt that the dignitaries of the old Establishment were men of sound, some of superior, qualifications ; but these were not sufficient to bear up the rotten fabric which rested on their shoulders, and which was finally extinguished by the pressure of its own weight. There was a growing demand for more than the Roman Church would or could give ; and when the living influences of truth, backed as it might be by human passion and human prejudice, were arrayed in opposition to the venerated errors of a thousand years, the veil of the ancient temple was rent asunder in the struggle, and the idol, which had been worshipped for ten centuries was stricken to the ground and dashed to pieces.

Next to Lyndsay, the layman who contributed most largely to the progress of the reformation in Scotland, and who assisted to give it the direction which it ultimately took, was George Buchanan, the celebrated scholar.† He and Knox studied under Mair, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, who was first a professor of philosophy at Glasgow, and afterwards at St. Andrew's ; and as his political opinions are supposed to have had a considerable effect

* *Rer. Scotic. Historia*, lib. xv., c. 29. Nam illa tempestate id (the reading of the New Testament) inter gravissima crimina numerabatur : tantaque erat cæcitus, ut sacerdotum plerique novitatis nomine offensi contenderent eum librum nuper a Martino Luthero fuisse scriptum, ac vetus testamentum reposcerent.

† Born, 1506 ; died, 1582.

on the minds of his pupils, and, through them, upon the country, we shall state, upon the authority of Dr. M'Crie, what these were :—

“His opinions upon civil government were analogous to those which he held as to ecclesiastical polity. He taught that the authority of kings and princes was originally claimed from the people; that the former are not superior to the latter, collectively considered; that if their rulers become tyrannical, or employ their power for the destruction of their subjects, they may lawfully be controlled by them, and, proving incorrigible, may be deposed by the community, as the superior power; and that tyrants may be judicially proceeded against, even to capital punishments.”*

As Mair never left the communion of the Church of Rome, we may with great safety conclude, that sentiments such as these resulted from the collision of mind which that contentious era encouraged, and that as the century advanced, and one series of mighty events, all bearing more or less directly on the fundamental laws of human society, followed each other in rapid succession, they would rather gain than lose strength. To comprehend their force, and their probable influence on society, we must remember that the responsibility of princes to God alone and their own consciences was a doctrine not confined to Scotland, but common to all Europe at the time; and that though the Scots had repeatedly imbrued their hands in the blood of their sovereigns during the preceding two hundred years, these were violent deeds, placed, by their very nature, beyond the pale of orthodox political morality. We do not seek to revive the theory of the “divine and indefeasible right,” when we say that, if nothing better, it was, at least, a useful prejudice in a rude age, when the powers of the State were ill arranged and experience had not confirmed the value of an implicit regard for law and justice. To surround the person of the supreme magistrate—not, as now, shielded by the interposition of responsible advisers—with the mantle of inviolability, was merely to reverence the majesty of society through its representative, and not, as is generally supposed, to invest a peccable mortal with the attributes of infallibility. Without this, or some analogous device, the most unprotected member of the body politic would have been its head; and, in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, would have exposed the life of a king to constant hazard, and the peace of a nation to perpetual interruptions. These opinions of Mair, we are informed, were a consequence of the interest which he felt in the struggle between the see of Rome and the Gallican Church; but as his thesis extends

* “Life of Knox,” p. 4.

far beyond what a discussion on mere ecclesiastical privilege would warrant, we may suspect that the studies of the age were widened by the occasional consideration of public affairs, and that accidental circumstances conferred an unwonted importance on views hastily adopted to meet a passing emergency, and, in the progress of controversy pushed fairly beyond the boundaries of truth and reason. The reformation of religion in England—the commotions in Scotland, which ensued upon the death of James V.—the restoration of Romanism under Mary, and the threatened invasion of Britain, after her death, by Philip II. of Spain—the revolt of the Netherlands, and the wars of the League in France, were all nearly contemporaneous events, and tended in a remarkable manner to promote a coincidence of sentiment on questions of government among speculative men, who agreed on no other subject whatever. Thus we find the scholars of this Scotch Sorbonnist side by side in after life with those who could have little in common with them beyond the identity of political belief. Buchanan and Knox were Presbyterians—Languet and Hotman were Calvinists of the Dutch school—Mariana was a Spanish Jesuit—Poynet had been Bishop of Winchester, under Edward VI.—Rose was Popish Bishop of Senlis, and a strenuous supporter of the League—and Hooker was a member of the Anglican Church; and yet, such was the controlling power of circumstances, that points of resemblance in the reasonings of these men, so close as to warrant our classing them together, may be pointed out, though they were obviously affected by different, and even opposite, influences.

That Buchanan was one of the most remarkable men of his age, nobody can doubt. The testimony of posterity concurs with that of contemporaries as to his extraordinary merits, a circumstance so rare that it may be considered conclusive of the fact. He was learned, laborious, diligent, and vigorous; and it was said, by no less a person than De Thou, that in his writings he displayed more of the habits of a man of the world than of the peculiarities of a pedagogue.* This may be accounted for in part by the various chances of his life, which threw him into society of different kinds, and exposed him to many and severe vicissitudes. With the history of antiquity he was intimately acquainted, and it is possible, as has been suggested by Robertson and Dugald Stewart, that he may have imbibed the elements of his political faith from classical fountains; but we must not forget, that when he entered upon his career the world was full of large events, and that incidents were then about to be un-

* Bayle, *in voce*, Buchanan.

folded whose effects will stretch, for good or for evil, into the most distant futurity. That with his ample share of literature, and the experience which time had enabled him to accumulate, he was better qualified than the majority of his countrymen to appreciate the advantages of law and order among a rude people, may be conceded; but his temper was stern and impetuous, his manners uncouth, and his mind open to strong impressions, which it received easily and retained long—nor shall we err far, perhaps, if we allege that the severity of his political creed was owing as much to the ruggedness of his nature as to any other cause.

Many passages might be quoted from Buchanan's "Miscellaneous Poems," written at different times, and under every conceivable variety of circumstances, to show the bent of his political sentiments; but it is to the celebrated dissertation *de jure regni apud Scotos*, that we must turn, if we would learn what his creed really was. It is dedicated to James VI., then a youth of thirteen, and bears the date of January, 1579—that is, three years before his death. We are strongly impressed with the idea that the object of its publication was to justify the conduct of the reforming party towards Mary, after the murder of Darnley (1567); and more particularly to reconcile the proceedings of the Regent Murray (to whom Buchanan had been personally attached) to the maxims of civil obedience common to that and every other age. In the dedication he tells us, that many years before, when the affairs of Scotland were in a more disturbed state, he had written a treatise on the prerogative of the crown, *de regum Scotorum jure*, wherein he endeavoured to explain what the mutual rights of kings and subjects were. We are not informed of the precise date of this essay, but from the tenour of Buchanan's language, we may suppose it to have been somewhere about the period of the Queen-mother's regency, after the death of James V., when the country was torn to pieces by contending factions, and the most opposite principles of government were proclaimed and acted on by those who possessed, and those who aimed at, power. It was laid aside till a more favourable season for its appearance should arrive; and having found it among his papers (*inter schedas*), he reproduced it, gave it the form and title which it now bears, and presented it as a manual of political faith to the poor child who then occupied the throne.* All this might have happened, however,

* It is recommended to the royal boy under the double character of a monitor and a "dun hunc igitur ad te, non modo monitorem, sed etiam flagitatorem importunum, ac interim impudentem, misi; qui, in hoc flexu ætatis, trans adulationis scopulos te comitetur: nec moneat modo, sed in via semel inita, et,

without any reference to the events of the day, did we not find a specific allusion to them, at the very outset of the discourse, where Maitland is made to exclaim against the "foul deed" which had formerly engrossed so much of the public attention, and to declare that the murder of the king, and the imprisonment of the queen, were considered by foreign nations acts of atrocious villany, which admitted of neither apology nor extenuation. To this Buchanan, dexterously enough, replied, "that if the king's murder were an enormity, it cannot be a reproach to avenge it; that, if foreigners resent the restraint laid on the queen, they must justify its cause, and approve the king's death. Thus, it remains for his friend to say which of the two acts is most reprehensible, and to make his choice between them, since it is impossible he can consistently applaud and condemn both." From this, we discover that Buchanan had a double purpose in view—first, to uphold the conduct of himself and his associates in the affair of Mary; and, secondly, to raise upon the foundation so laid a theory of political obligation sufficiently comprehensive to meet every demand that might be made upon it: nor is it any objection to this argument, that the occurrences to which he directed attention were now ten years old. Out of them grew a series of incidents unparalleled for their magnitude and tragic interest, in the history of modern Europe; and it is but natural to conclude that the chief performers in these scenes should desire to stand well with the world, which was their judge; and to propitiate the indulgence of posterity towards acts which, even on their own showing, could only be justified by an appeal to the elementary principles of human society. Besides, nothing could exceed the rancorous hatred with which Buchanan persecuted the memory of the unfortunate princess whom he had assisted to dethrone. As far back as 1568, he drew up that famous "Detection concerning the murder of her husband, and her conspiracy, adultery, and pretended marriage with Earl Bothwell," which was presented to the commissioners at Westminster, and widely circulated by the English Court; and in that most discreditable work, not only is the thing to be proved taken for granted, but every foul tale to which vulgar garrulity had given currency in Scotland, related with scrupulous care. In the passage referred to, we observe that he proceeds upon the assumption of Mary's guilt as a point about which there could be no manner of doubt; and subjecting his imaginary opponent to the difficulty of selecting one or other horn of a dilemma, he

si quid deflexeris, reprehendat et retrahat. Dedicatio." With all deference to De Thou, there is more of the pedagogue than of the gentleman here.

triumphs in the conviction that he has thus rebutted the charge of foreigners against the Scottish patriots.

It is also worthy of notice that the Presbyterian clergy desired the death of the queen. They, like Buchanan, were satisfied that she had been a participator in Bothwell's crime; like him also, and, as we think, very probably *from* him, they had imbibed ideas of regal responsibility, not a little dangerous in an age of turbulence, when law was silent, and passion and prejudice omnipotent. The delirious infatuation of Mary for Bothwell gave them but too good a handle for the accusations they brought against her; while the conversations between Lethington, the Scotch secretary, and Throckmorton, Elizabeth's ambassador, demonstrate that the *ultima ratio* had been contemplated both by the reformers, who dreaded her return—and not without good reason—and such of the adherents of the old Church as were attached to the faction of the Hamiltons, between whom and the crown there was but the life of an infant if Mary were removed.*

These considerations leave no doubt on our minds that part, at least, of Buchanan's object, was to vindicate the confederate lords with whom he had been associated, and thereafter to fortify his conclusions by an abstract dissertation on government.

This dissertation is in the form of a dialogue, the interlocutors being Buchanan himself, and Thomas Maitland, the son of Sir Richard Maitland, of Lethington, and, if we be not mistaken,

* Note, Fraser Tytler, History, vol. vii., pp. 173, 188. The question of Mary's guilt or innocence concerns us but incidentally; but never, perhaps, was a trembling hare run to earth with more alacrity by a pack of beagles than was this poor and misguided woman hunted down by the ferocious nobility who surrounded her throne, and the seditious and clamorous clergy who insulted its majesty. That she despised Darnley, who had requited her love with neglect and brutality, is certain, and equally so, unfortunately, that she bestowed her undivided affections on an unprincipled ruffian; but there is not one tittle of historical evidence to *prove* that she was accessory to her husband's murder. Dark hints had been thrown out by Maitland of what he and others might do; but they alarmed her, and she replied, "Better permit the matter remain in the state it is, abiding till God in his goodness put remedy thereto (than), that ye, believing to do me service, may possibly turn to my hurt or displeasure." To which Lethington answered, "Madam, let us guide the business among us, and your grace shall see nothing but good, and approved by Parliament." *More Scotico*, there was a bond or agreement entered into by the conspirators. It was written by Sir James Balfour, afterwards President of the Supreme Court, and signed by him, Lethington, Huntly, and Argyle. Balfour and Lethington were great promoters of the reformed faith, and held office under the Regent Murray. Argyle was also a Reformer, but vacillated between the two parties in the State; and Huntly a Roman Catholic. The question of Mary's impeachment, and the propriety of capital punishment, was discussed in the General Assembly of the Kirk, in 1567. The debate ended in a resolution justificatory of the queen's imprisonment, and suggesting that an act of indemnity for the perpetrators should be passed by Parliament.—*Tytler, ubi, supra.*

nephew to the famous secretary of that name. Beginning, as we have seen, with the murder of Darnley, and the criminality of the queen, it proceeds, step by step, to consider the origin of society, the obligations of one order of men towards another, the source of power, the duty of kings, their responsibility to law, and the distinction between them and tyrants; and ends by proclaiming the sovereignty of the people and the validity of the social contract. Hallam speaks of it as one of the results of that "free spirit in politics, admiration of antiquity, zeal for religion, and persuasion of positive right,"* which animated the earlier Protestant writers; and classes it in the same category with the *Franco-Gallia* of Hotman, and the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* of Languet, neither of whom were unknown to Buchanan.† This may be true, but as that able writer has remarked in another place, there was a tendency on the part of the disputants of that age to resort to arguments which favoured their cause, whether these were consistent, or the reverse, with the principles of the system they professed to vindicate, and whether they were drawn from antiquity, or were derived from the pure reason of man. That this happened more frequently to Protestants than Romanists, though it was by no means unknown to the latter, is accounted for by the fact that their defensive position in most countries rendered such a course inevitable, and compelled them, when other aid failed, to retire upon the unassailable principles of natural right.

Buchanan's biographer, Dr. Irving, denies that the dialogue was intended to undermine the "foundations of monarchical government," or that it was meant to prepare the way to the throne for the Regent Murray; though he admits that some of its illustrations "are not introduced with sufficient caution,"‡ and we are inclined upon the whole to agree to these reservations in behalf of its scope. Assist Murray it could not, since it did not appear till nine years after his death; and it is hardly to be supposed that a man of ordinary intelligence, who occupied the post of preceptor to a king, would address a work to him openly recommending the abolition of that form of government of which he was the head. Accordingly, the treatise deals

* "Introduction to the Literature of Europe," vol. ii., p. 186.

† It is prodigiously lauded by Sir James Mackintosh (*"Vindiciæ Gallicæ,"* p. 309); but Dugald Stewart had formed a more moderate and correct estimate of its merits when he declared that it betrayed a pardonable partiality for forms of policy unsuitable to the circumstances of modern Europe, in a scholar warm from the study of the Greek and Roman republics." (Dissertation prefixed to *Encyc. Britan.*, p. 31). Dr. Robertson merely says of it, that "it is founded, not on the maxims of feudal, but of ancient republican government." (*Hist.*, vol. i., p. 186).

‡ "Life of Buchanan," p. 260.

not with kings alone, but with tyrants ; and the passages quoted by Mr. Hallam must be understood in that sense, though capable, certainly, of a much wider interpretation. It is worthy of observation, also, that he nowhere inculcates the superior excellency of what is vulgarly called a republic. On the contrary, all his examples of magisterial virtue are represented in the persons of monarchs, whom he clothes with attributes derived alternately from pagan and scriptural sources—a sort of stoic king, in fact, such as we find depicted in the chorus to the second act of the *Thyestes* of Seneca, an author to whom Buchanan was manifestly very much attached :—

“ Quem non lancea militis.
Non strictus domuit chalybs ;
Qui tuto positus loco
Infra se vidit omnia ;
Occurritque suo libens
Fato ; nec quæritur mori.”

From these considerations, we think it must be obvious that the author was not a practical statesman, to whom the management of public affairs was familiar, but a severe recluse who entertained certain ill-defined notions about the perfectability of man which he found it impossible to express in words, and whose hopes of social amelioration rested on the possession by the sovereign of a power which was nearly absolute, and of virtues wholly unattainable by man ; but strangely mixed up with a theory of responsibility incompatible with his previous postulates, and which could not co-exist with the authority assigned to the prince as the source of honour and the fountain of regeneration. The dogmatical parts of the treatise are, it must be confessed, more precise. There is no ambiguity about them whatever, and as they are sufficiently prominent, they have been generally considered as the *res gesta* of the discourse, and dealt with accordingly. The result was, that in his own and the succeeding age, the opinions of men were much divided on the question of allegiance. It had become a subject of discussion, instead of being, as formerly, a matter of feeling, and an article of faith ; and long before the rational convictions of a constitutional could replace the looser veneration of a feudal era, the main pillar of the social fabric was fairly undermined by the metaphysical reflections of men who perceived that there was something wrong, but who had not skill enough to devise an efficient remedy. In this respect the Scottish clergy, and a considerable part of the Scottish nobility, were conspicuous. Circumstances had contributed to reduce the influence of the crown to the lowest point, until at last it wholly disappeared, or

was represented by those who rose to eminence on its ruins. The queen was a prisoner in a foreign country (for so England was then reckoned); the king was an infant of tender years, and in the hands of the sworn enemies of his mother; and when Buchanan's "Dialogue" appeared, there was no authority left in the State equivalent to the weight of the popular party, who were only deterred from proceeding to extremities by the dread of Elizabeth's displeasure, real or affected, and the conviction that such a course would injure their own cause. It is not our opinion that, as a body, the Scottish Reformers ever seriously contemplated the abolition of the monarchy, and the substitution of a democracy. The times were not ripe for so great a change, and their liberalism was too stately and austere for so humbling an alternative as the exaltation of the "rascal multitude;" but they did what, in the circumstances, was nearly as bad—they insisted upon narrowing the legitimate influence of the head of the commonwealth for a particular object, without being prepared with a substitute for the authority which they sacrificed, and vitally injured the efficiency of the executive by deranging the collocation of its parts. The issue was necessarily confusion, and confusion of the worst kind. The defenders of the power thus assailed—and they were neither few in number nor insignificant in character—fell back upon principles as wild as those of their opponents, and, it may be admitted, in an age of comparative tranquillity, as dangerous; and in the struggles which ensued, religion, virtue, peace, and civilization, which embodies them all, suffered grievously—*uterque excessit modum, hic in defendendo regio jure, hic in imminuendo*.*

It must not be supposed that because this work did not appear till 1579, the political views of its celebrated author were unknown. Next to the regent, he was, perhaps, the most popular man in Scotland; and there can be no doubt that, as the acknowledged champion of its literature, his influence was very great. Knox and he had been fellow students—throughout life they maintained an intimate correspondence—and both of them contributed to form the minds of the generation of Churchmen that was coming up, and who, under the leadership of Melville, were not behind their masters in audacity. We are justified, therefore, in assuming, that Buchanan's politics were known to, and approved by, the Scottish Reformers long before the publication of his treatise. That the principles inculcated in it were familiar to them, and materially affected their conclusions in the selection of a new system of ecclesiastical polity, we

* Conringius.

conceive to be indubitable—equally so, that the republican tendencies of the Scotch in the next century are directly traceable to this production, and that the broad views divulged in it, more perhaps than any other circumstance singly considered, prepared the way for that tragedy which ended in the destruction of the sovereign, the temporary overthrow of the monarchy, and the subversion of the Church in both divisions of the island.*

- What Knox's original opinions on the subject of Church government were, we look upon as one of the most doubtful questions in modern ecclesiastical history. The Church from which he revolted was an episcopal Church, and that circumstance, coupled with his refusal of a bishopric from Edward VI., would seem to imply an early and deep-rooted dislike of prelatical authority; on the other hand, the institution of an order of superintendents, who, without the name, performed some of the functions of bishops, and the curious fact that both of his sons were educated at an English University,† and that the younger of the two died a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England,‡ might be supposed to indicate, that, at the outset of his career, he had no fixed convictions on the subject, and that his choice was ultimately decided as much by accident as by anything else. It would seem to us to admit of no doubt that the ecclesiastical system established by Calvin at Geneva, was that on which he afterwards moulded the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland, and for the adoption of which his countrymen were more or less prepared by the circumstances to which we have already adverted. He resided in that city from 1556 till 1559, and found there a form of discipline and a clerical organization more accordant with what we must suppose to have been his preconceived ideas than he had discovered elsewhere; and when we look over the earlier acts of the General Assembly, and perceive the extent to which the authority of the Kirk was pushed in matters quite beyond her province, we are insensibly reminded of the despotism which Calvin and his consistory had erected in Switzerland, and which the citizens of that petty republic oftener than once attempted to resent by popular commotions and otherwise.

Knox died in 1572, and left behind him rather the skeleton of

* The adoption of Buchanan's political sentiments by Knox, or, if the phrase please better, their unanimity on such points, is not disputed by Dr. M'Crie. (See pp. 186-188, and note MM.) The best practical commentary on the tendency of the Dialogue is that furnished by Burnet, who says, that "the principles of Mariana and Buchanan" were employed by Cromwell, who probably derived his knowledge of them through Milton, against the Scots themselves, when the chances of war laid them at his feet. (History of his own Times, imperial edition, p. 26).

† St. John's, Cambridge.

‡ He was Vicar of Clacton Magna.

an establishment than a perfect structure. The court and privy council strenuously resisted many of the proposals of the reformer on matters of discipline and economy, while the nobility were equally adverse to his scheme of clerical support, which would have stripped them of much of that property which they had obtained as the price of their conversion. The country now felt, in all its bitterness, the evils of a tumultuary change, and had to bear the additional discomfort which springs out of the bosom of irreconcilable principles of faith and action. The bonds of government were loosened, and the reins of authority relaxed; and, as the democratical tendencies of the new Church broke slowly on the minds of the upper classes, they gradually cooled in their zeal for a system, which, whatever might be its other advantages, would ultimately deprive their order of all power in the State, and replace the tyranny of Rome by the tyranny of Presbytery. We cannot, however, pursue the subject further without diverging into enquiries, which, though interesting in themselves, would lead us too far, and will conclude this paper by two illustrations of the practical temper of the Scottish establishment in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, namely, the Raid of Ruthven and the great Rebellion.

The first of these events occurred in August, 1582, and consisted in the forcible detention of the person of James, on his return from a tour in the north, by a band of discontented barons. It divided the nobility once more into two implacable factions; and, as the clergy took part with the conspirators, ecclesiastical fury was added to civil discord. They declaimed from their pulpits against the court, the laws, and their administrators; they openly justified the seizure of the king by the confederate lords; and when Andrew Melville, now the acknowledged leader of the Presbyterian party, was brought before the privy council to answer for seditious doctrines, promulgated in a sermon preached at St. Andrew's, he declined the competency of the court, on the ground that he was amenable to no civil tribunal for words uttered in his ministerial capacity.

“This exemption from civil jurisdiction (says Dr. Robertson) was a privilege which the Popish ecclesiastics—admirable judges of whatever contributed to increase the lustre or power of their body—had long struggled for, and had at last obtained. If the same plea had now been admitted, the Protestant clergy would have become independent of the civil magistrate; and an order of men extremely useful to society, while they inculcate those duties which tend to promote its happiness and tranquillity, might have become no less pernicious by teaching, without fear or controul, the most dangerous principles, or by exciting their hearers to the most desperate and lawless actions.

The king, jealous to excess of his prerogative, was alarmed at this daring encroachment on it; and as Melville, by his learning and zeal, had acquired the reputation and authority of head of the party, he resolved to punish him with the rigour which that pre-eminence rendered necessary, and to discourage, by a timely severity, the revival of such a dangerous claim. Melville, however, avoided his rage by flying into England, and the pulpits resounded with complaints, that the king had extinguished the lights of learning in the kingdom, and deprived the Church of the ablest and most faithful guardian of its liberties and discipline.”*

This extract embodies our ideas; nor can we at all profess to understand Dr. M'Crie when he maintains, that a clergyman charged with uttering sedition—a civil offence, if there be one in the statute book—should not be touched by the civil power, till he has, “in the first instance,” been brought before an ecclesiastical tribunal.† Such a doctrine would not be tolerated even in this age, when much less attention is paid to personal extravagance, whether of speech or action; but in the sixteenth century, in Scotland, it would have been attended with the most disastrous results, since the clergy were banded together as one man, and exerted a power over the popular mind more directly available than that possessed by any other body in the State. It is, indeed, apparent, both from the trial of Melville and from the acts passed in the Parliament which was summoned immediately after that event, that the struggle was now between the Crown and the Church; not, as twenty years before, for the abolition of one creed and the adoption of another—for the parties to the present contest were all Protestants, or professed to be so—but literally for the governing authority. No dispassionate person can study this portion of Scottish history without coming to that conclusion. James may have been wrong in many instances, and we are far from saying he was right; but to justify his Presbyterian clergy upon constitutional grounds would be a sufficiently hard task. The ferocity of the Scottish ecclesiastics was without a parallel in modern annals, and it seemed inevitable that one of two things must happen—either that the king should receive such doctrines, theological and political, as they might prescribe for him, or resist them to the uttermost. He

* Hist., vol. ii., p. 110. This passage is one of the most instructive in Scottish ecclesiastical history. We now see how closely Buchanan's secular politics were interwoven with the structure of the new Establishment, and how ready its clergy were to mix up the exhausted pretensions of the Church of Rome with notions of republican rights, which that Church was wise enough to conceal. The attitude of the Scotch Kirk at this juncture would have been generally condemned but for the connexion of these claims with the party views of writers of the highest eminence.

† “Life of Melville,” vol. i., p. 290.

chose the latter alternative; but he was unequal to a work of great difficulty, and which, to conduct it to a successful issue, would have required the temperamental fortitude of Henri Quatre, joined to the profound sagacity of Sully.

The great Rebellion is an event which we shall touch upon only in connexion with the religious discontents in Scotland, and as elucidatory of the theme we have undertaken to discuss.

In 1638 that edifice, on the construction of which James and his son had expended so much care, was broken to pieces. Henderson, the leader of the Covenanters, assisted by Argyle, Loudon, and others, set the king's authority at defiance, and brought the dispute to the arbitration of the sword. The treaty of Ripon* followed—it was a hollow truce, and in 1641 the Scotch Presbyterians and the leading men in the English Parliament were acting in concert, for the accomplishment of an object which was never fulfilled. The stream of discontent now rolled on until it swelled into a torrent, which swept away all the landmarks of society, and engulfed the throne, the church, and the peerage. Armies of Englishmen against Englishmen were marshalled in the field, and bloody battles fought by the children of the same soil for rights, which, however valuable in themselves, must have been unintelligible to the great bulk of the combatants on either side. In this contest the Presbyterians of Scotland bore a conspicuous part. Their aid was anxiously solicited by the Parliament, and without much difficulty obtained.† After the defeat at Naseby the king sought the protection of his countrymen—was bartered for their arrears of pay—was delivered up to his enemies, tried, and destroyed! These events are part of history, and we allude to them no farther than to ask, what the Presbyterians of the North gained by all this? Not much. They differed from their parliamentary allies almost as much as from Charles himself, whom they hounded to earth, as their ancestors had chased down his grandmother. To a limited monarchy, of some kind or other, such, for example, as might be reconciled to the demands of their great rubric, the covenant, they were undoubtedly not opposed, though it would be an absurd misapprehension of the progress which political philosophy had made among them, to suppose that their opinions on affairs of State were represented in the House of Commons by such men as Denzil Hollis and Lord Fairfax.‡ So far as it is possible to penetrate their designs,

* 1640.

† Hampden and Fiennes, with two others, followed the king to Edinburgh, in 1641; and Sir Harry Vane, and three others, acted as Commissioners for the Parliament in Scotland, in 1643. (Godwin's "Commonwealth," vol. i., p. 160-167).

‡ "Scotland was at this time comparatively a nation of children, England of

these were exclusively confined to the erection of that system of Church government which they had established among themselves, and which they pressed upon all others with unrelenting severity; but we deem it an obvious deduction from historical annals, that when they, in 1639, advanced upon Newcastle, and triumphed over the discontented levy which the king headed, their object was not his deposition, much less his death—yet had they desired to compass both, they could have done no more than they actually did to bring them about. Such we believe to have been the feeling that pervaded the Presbyterians of Scotland as a body. They were religious enthusiasts rather than secular politicians, and were bent more on the establishment of their national league than on the amelioration of the constitution; yet were there men amongst them who saw farther into futurity than the majority of their followers, and who, under the pretence of a love for the covenant, contemplated the ultimate consequences of the movement with approbation, and calculated its effects with accuracy. Of this number was Argyle, the most powerful subject in Scotland, and a man of dark and crafty character. To him the Scotch owe the honour, whatever its value may be, of pushing matters to a crisis, which the people at large professed not only to deplore, but resolved even to avenge.* Upon no other principle is the advance of Hamilton's army into England, in 1648, intelligible. That commander, however, was defeated and executed, and, with the aid of Argyle, Cromwell triumphed. The battle of Dunbar brought the matter to a close. For eighty years had the Presbyterians been struggling for a peculiar form of Church polity, with the desperation of men who knew nothing worth living for if it were denied them;

full grown men." (Godwin, vol. i., p. 355). He is speaking of the the respective political capacities of the two nations.

* He was a Privy Councillor, and, after some hesitation, ultimately sided with the Presbyterians. There are few more unamiable characters recorded in history. His virtue never rose above a calculation of consequences, and when every deduction is made for the exaggerations of party, there is little left which can attract regard. "Sir (said his father to the king), I must know this young man better than you. You may raise him, which I doubt you will live to repent, for he is a man of craft, subtlety, and falsehood, and can love no man; and if he ever finds it in his power to do you mischief, he will be sure to do it." (Clarendon, vol. i., p. 184). This is strange testimony from a parent; but the event proved that the old man was right. After the surrender of the king by the Scots, he entered into a secret correspondence with Cromwell, and plotted against the party, who, with the Duke of Hamilton, desired Charles's liberation. "It is believed that a principal subject of his correspondence with Cromwell was how the person of the king should be disposed of when the the campaign was concluded. This was a point concerning which these two eminent (!) persons, each in his respective country, perfectly coincided." (Godwin, vol. ii., p. 572) We have no doubt of it.

"Arcades ambo,
Et cantare pares, et respondere parati."

and the summation of this long series of events, with its dramatic and occasionally grotesque interludes, was, that a fanatical Independent, who hated Presbytery only less than he hated episcopacy, crushed them and their system into the dust. During the Commonwealth they were quiet. The power that ruled them was strong; and Monk's legion was a serious impediment to those ebullitions which had been so fashionable in past times. Scotland was conquered, not by a chivalrous monarch like Edward III., but by the Lord Protector of the new republic, who never trifled but with words, and who suffered no respect for idle scruples to interfere with his designs. He cared little for the Kirk, and less for its members; and having once subdued the land, he treated it like a vanquished province. Such was the political issue of the "second Reformation," as it is strangely called; its ecclesiastical consequences were somewhat different.

Though the Presbyterians and Independents differed, and differed widely, in their views of ecclesiastical government, they had more in common than with any form of an episcopal church. In matters of faith and opinion they were equally inflexible; but the general impression of that age was, that the Presbyterians were more unfriendly to liberty of conscience than their opponents; and, to use the language of a modern apologist of the sectaries, that they would have "set up a tyranny not less deplorable than that of Laud and his hierarchy."* Still there were points of contact on which they could reciprocally rest, and terms of approximation which drew them insensibly towards each other. During the civil wars there had been much intercourse between the leading men of both parties, which was rendered still more intimate by the conference at Westminster: hence, when these deplorable contests were terminated, the Presbyterian clergy of Scotland were found to be freely inoculated with the opinions of the Independents on points of ecclesiastical economy, which were either not recognized as valid by the founders of their own church, or which, if occasionally touched upon in the heat of controversy, never formed any part of the statutory constitution of the northern establishment. Of these, the most prominent was, the divine right of the people to choose their own pastors; a doctrine perfectly reconcilable with Independency, of which it formed an inherent portion, and, it may be admitted, not difficult to be engrafted on the republican principles of the Scotch Church; but still, no element of its discipline till now, and never conceded by the State, except at two periods of revolutionary commotion, when both usage and

* Godwin, vol. iii., p. 176.

prescription were set aside—namely, in 1649 and 1690, and even then only partially. This catalogue of borrowed subjects might, no doubt, be enlarged, and be made to comprehend many points in the spirit and practice of modern Presbyterianism which closely resemble the temper of Independency as it was exhibited in England in the seventeenth century; but our purpose is answered when we indicate the fact, leaving, as we must do, its application to our readers.

We pass over the dismal enormities perpetrated in Scotland in the reigns of Charles II. and his brother James. They are defensible on no principle of policy or religion that we know of, unless it be contended that it is lawful to promulgate religion by the sword. At the revolution, Presbytery was finally established in Scotland, and for a hundred and fifty years the Northern Church fulfilled ably and faithfully the civil purposes of a national institution. The country, exhausted by a long series of contests, sought repose; and the union with England opening up new channels of enterprise to its people, Scotland gradually, but steadily, advanced in wealth, civilization, and prosperity. The Church was governed by men of piety and accomplishments, who thought it no disgrace to cultivate a meeker spirit than had animated their ancestors, and who silently diverted the minds of their countrymen from harsh and unprofitable controversies, and endeavoured to impress upon them the lessons of mutual forbearance and charity. Literature, general and professional, was assiduously encouraged, and the admirable parochial system which has never been lost in the North, enabled the clergy not only to superintend the morals of the people, but to extend the blessings of a plain, but strictly religious education, to the humblest classes of society. It was during this period that Robertson, Campbell, Beattie, and others, arose; men whose names are still honourably mentioned, and whose works are still read. Her metaphysical school has acquired a more doubtful reputation, but its professors were the followers of Locke, whose sensual philosophy they pushed far beyond the limits assigned to it by their master. Hume, for example, mistook the object and purpose of Berkley, and raised on that excellent writer's arguments a scheme of universal scepticism; but we must not forget that he was opposed by the most eminent of his contemporaries, and that there is nothing in the homely, but masculine speculations of Dr. Reid, or in the more polished dissertations of Mr. Stewart, that can offend the most fastidious taste. The excessive rigidity of the old Calvinistic system led, we are inclined to think, to considerable relaxation on matters of belief, and an over curious spirit of enquiry was perhaps the natura

consequence of that passion for dogmatic theology which had formerly prevailed. However this may be, there can be no doubt, that from the accession of Anne to the French revolution, Scotland was, on the whole, a quiet and comfortable country, distinguished by as great a share of general intelligence and personal morality as we can ever expect a community to present. The secession from the Church in 1733, the first in its history, no prudence could have averted. The Erskines were of the number of those upon whom the models of other and ruder ages had made an indelible impression—theological republicans, in fact; and it was impossible that, to gratify them, the Church should once more open the flood-gates of dissension.* They were, therefore, excluded from its pale, and founded what is called the “Secession Church,” a large, and now a wealthy body, whose political virulence time seems to have but slightly corrected. Every movement, indeed, in the Church of Scotland, takes one and the same direction—it is essentially democratical; it ever has been so, and it ever must be so. We have endeavoured to show why; and we will only add, that the dispute which is now tearing it to pieces, is a fresh proof of this. The most popular Church in Christendom is not popular enough; so said the Erskines a hundred years ago, and so say the leading Churchmen of Scotland at this day. There is not a hair’s-breadth of difference between them, nor could there well be; and the consequence is, that a contest gratuitously raised, and pertinaciously prosecuted, has insensibly assumed the character, as in times past, of a political struggle. For this *we* see a reason in its organization—*οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη*. There is in its constitution too much play afforded to personal passion and prejudice, and to all the virtues, it necessarily joins all the vices of the representative principle, with some, perhaps, proper to itself. The vote of a presbyter at five-and-twenty, is as valid as the vote of a presbyter at sixty—a layman’s is as good as either; and, as in all mixed societies there must be men whose love of distinction is greater than either their wisdom or their experience, we need be no more surprised at what we see in the Scotch Church, painful though it be, than that Mr. Muntz, the Birmingham Chartist, has a seat in the House of Commons, or that till lately, Mr. Daniel O’Connell was the most important person in the British empire. It is of the nature of things that this should happen, but it does not follow that it is right that it should be so.

* Their principles were purely Independent—the divine right of the people, and what is now called “non-intrusion.” Till 1834 their doctrines were repudiated by all parties alike in the General Assembly. It is different now.

ART. II.—*The Workes of Geffray Chaucer.* Printed at London, by Thomas Godfray. The yere of our Lorde MDXXXII. Cum privilegio a rege indulto. Fol. blk. let.

2. *The Works of Geffray Chaucer*, newly printed, with dyvers workes which were never in print before, as in the table more playnly doth appere. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. Printed by Wylllyam Bouham, dwellyng at the syne of the Kynges Armes, in Paul's Church Yarde, 1542. Fol. blk. let.

3. *The Works of Geffray Chaucer.* Imprinted at London, by Ihon Kyngston, for Ihon Wright, dwelling in Poules Church Yarde. Anno 1561.

4. *The Workes of our antient and learned English poet, Geffray Chaucer.* Newly printed. In this impression you shall find these additions :—1. His Portraiture and Progenie shewed. 2. His Life collected. 3. Arguments to every book gathered. 4. Old and obscure words explained. 5. Authors by him cited declared. 6. Difficulties opened. 7. Two books of his, never before printed. London: printed by Adam Islip, at the charges of Thomas Wight. Anno 1598. Ovid.—Seris venit usus ab annus. Fol. blk. let. Another edition, same date, “impensis George Bishop.”

5. *The Works of our ancient, learned, and excellent English poet, Jeffrey Chaucer*, as they have lately been compared with the best MS., and several things added never before in print. To which is adjoined *The Story of the Siege of Thebes.* By JOHN LEDGATE, Minister of Bury. London: printed 1687.

6. *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, compared with the former editions, and many valuable MSS., out of which three Tales are added which were never before printed. By JOHN URRY, Student of Christ's Church, Oxon, deceased. Together with a Glossary, by a Student of the same College. To the whole is prefixed the Author's Life, newly written; and a Preface, giving an account of this edition. London: printed for Bernard Lintot. 1721. Fol.

7. *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*, modernized by several hands. Published by Mr. Ogle. 3 vols. 8vo. Tonson. 1741.

8. *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer.* To which are added an Essay on his Language and Versification, and an Introductory Discourse, together with a Glossary. By the late THOMAS TYRWHITT, Esq., F. R. S. The second edition. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1798. 2 vols. 4to.

9. *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*, completed in a modern version. 3 vols. By W. LIPSCOMB. Oxford. 1795.
10. *The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer*. Modernized by WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, LEIGH HUNT, R. H. HORNE, THOMAS POWELL, ROBERT BELL, and Miss E. B. BARRETT. With a Life. By Dr. LEONARD SCHMITZ. London: Whittaker. 1841.

WE have intended for some time past to devote a few pages to the consideration of our early ENGLISH POETRY, and we are now glad that a fitting opportunity has occurred, by our being called upon to notice the work which stands last on the foregoing catalogue.

We have thought it advisable to preface our review by a brief chronicle of our early writers, without which we should have been unable to duly appreciate the “wonderful precocity” of Chaucer. His advent was truly the dawn of British poetry, and we hail it as an encouraging sign of the time that our old writers are beginning to receive from the public that attention which has too long been withheld from them.

A mine of unexplored and inexhaustible gold has within a few years been opened to the multitude of readers, which we are sure will produce the happiest effect on the general taste; it indicates a returning respect for antiquity, which the late Reform mania had led us to despair of seeing in our day, and we know of nothing more calculated to counteract the shallow and half infidel philosophy, so prevalent lately, than a more careful study of our older writers, both in poetry and theology. We hope shortly to devote a paper to the consideration of our old religious writers, and we may not inaptly commence our enquiry by tracing the rise and progress of the poetical mind of the English nation. There is a much greater affinity between the religious and poetical, than the superficial thinker is inclined to believe; and we are confident that every *great* poet must of necessity possess a religious mind. We need only instance Æschylus, Hesiod, Sophocles, and Homer among the ancient Greek poets.

Our English history is full of them—Chaucer, Spenser, Shakspeare, Daniel.—Wordsworth and Coleridge in our own time. The occasional coarseness of Chaucer and Shakspeare is no objection to our theory in this matter; they are coarsenesses of expression, and not of thought, and belong more to the manners of the time they lived in than to the man.

Our readers will perceive from the list at the head of this article, that we more particularly allude to Chaucer, whose works have been hitherto too much neglected. We hope to

see an edition which will satisfy the lovers of the accurate text without offending the delicacy of modern taste ; for with all our respect for a true copy, we are bound to confess that there are a few lines in the original which the advanced state of our education demands to be expunged ; at the same time we are willing to allow, that it is possible a time may come when some future editor of Wordsworth, Coleridge, or Montgomery may have to apologize for what they may call the coarseness of some of the expressions of those highly moral and religious poets.

The peculiarity that first strikes a modern reader when he turns to the old poets, is their prolixity ; but it should always be borne in mind, that they wrote at a time when there were few books, and that, consequently, everything they knew was information to the mass. But *now*, when knowledge is so widely diffused, and when we begin to learn with our earliest years, the great object is concentration—the multitude of books renders us fastidious, and we now endeavour to have the newest in the very smallest compass. Now volume upon volume is showered upon the public for almost a mere nothing ; but in those days the price of a book was a fortune. Even so late as 1400, a copy of John of Men's "Roman de la Rose" was sold for forty crowns, or 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* In the reign of Henry VI. we read, in the institutes of St. Mary's College at Oxford, founded as a seminary to Oseney Abbey, in the year 1446, "Let no scholar occupy a book in the library above one hour, or two hours at most, so that others shall be hindered from the use of the same." The celebrated library established in the University at Oxford by the Duke of Gloucester contained only six hundred volumes. War-ton tells us, in his "History of Poetry," that at the commencement of the fourteenth century there were only four classics in the Royal Library at Paris ; these were one copy each of Cicero, Ovid, Lucan, and Boethius ; the rest were chiefly books of devotion, which included few of the fathers. This will give us some idea how welcome and new to the public were those prolix digressions of Gower and Chaucer, and which no doubt was the only channel by which the information they contained could reach the public. As a concluding instance of the immense value of a book, we read that in 1471, when Louis XI. of France borrowed the works of the Arabian physician Rhasis, from the Faculty of Medicine at Paris, he was not only obliged to deposit, by way of a pledge, a quantity of valuable plate, but also to procure a nobleman to join with him as surety in a deed, by which he bound himself to return the book under a considerable penalty.

We are glad to observe that the common notion of Chaucer being only "a great poet for the age in which he lived," is now

nearly exploded, and that his writings are beginning to receive from the mass of the reading public that attention and study which hitherto they have only had from the few. His wonderful poems will amply justify their taste, for with the exception of Shakspeare he is, of all poets, the most characteristic and universal. The freshness and beauty of his poetry is remarkable : it seems to come out of the tomb of ages, fresh as a living man, and not, like that of many of his contemporaries, a dried-up and remarkably well-preserved mummy, which has nothing of its humanity about it but the *form* !

The descriptions of Chaucer have all the dew and sunrise of morning on them. His men and women are real flesh and blood, their hearts panting with the fullest and finest sympathies. None of them are obsolete—they belong to the human race, and, whilst a pulse beats on earth, will exist. In this respect he offers striking contrast to Spenser, whose poetical beings live alone in his wonderful book of Visions.

We think we may safely pronounce Chaucer to be the earliest of our great poets ; and in this light alone he is deserving of special attention. The earliest poet of a nation must of necessity be a man of great original powers. He must feel in his own spirit the lovely things which he breathes into shape and life.

He is the real interpreter of Nature. Bacon truly was right when he called “ Antiquity the youth of the world.” The poets of that fresh and green spring time of creation breathed a more genial and joyous spirit. Their humanity had more of the child in it, and they drank deeper of that beauty which pervades all things.

The father of a nation’s minstrelsy sings a song made out of all the lovely tones which live around the brooks, trees, bowers, hills, and waterfalls ! The birds have a music which has never been turned into our language before, and the result is a poem translated from Nature’s fairest, truest copy ! which has all the force and freshness of an original. He converses with Nature herself. He beholds the glory of her countenance unveiled. He has received into his own heart the perfect image of what she is. He is the poetical Adam, who has walked in the garden of Eden, and has heard the voice sound in the bowers of Paradise ! His successors resemble the fallen race ; the voice becomes fainter and fainter through the lapse of ages, until at length learning and ingenuity supply what Nature gave before.

In many respects we consider Chaucer more wonderful than Homer. The ancient Greek found a language, at once simple, harmonious, and majestic, in which he could pour forth his Olympian song. Truly fitting was it for the first of poets to

sing the battles where gods were combatants, equally adapted to set forth the eloquent wisdom of Nestor and Ulysses—the impatient ravings of Achilles—or to describe the pathetic parting of Hector and Andromache. But the English Homer had to remodel, and in many instances to create a form for the spirit of his thoughts. He has described with equal power the “pomp and circumstance” of chivalry—the patience and sufferings of a Griselda and Constance—the silent despair of Ugolino—the freshness and joy of a bright May morning, with its leaves of “glad bright green”—the pathetic abandonment of Queen Annelida—the quiet sarcasm of Chanticleer—the boisterous mirth of mine Host.....but we forbear multiplying instances; his readers must take upon themselves that delightful task.

If we look at the writings of those who immediately preceded him—his contemporaries—or even those who followed soon after, we shall find he had almost formed a language of his own.

The poems of Chaucer possess also the merit of drawing a perfect picture of the age in which he lived; and although tainted with the disfiguring grossness of the times, it is scarcely credible to what an extent he has stripped his writings of ideas which seemed in those days to be integral parts of the common mind. In the writings of the purest of the monks we shall find ideas and descriptions of things which would shock the most depraved of modern intellects; and although we are inclined to think that *excessive refinement* is rather the nervousness of *conscious guilt*, than the delicate sensitiveness of purity, we cannot but augur favorably of a poet's heart, whose productions are so far above the standard of his times.

We shall, however, rapidly review the writers who preceded Chaucer, before we enter upon the consideration of his works.

Among the Digby MSS. at Oxford is a religious ode which Hickes places just after the Conquest; but Warton conjectures, from its containing few Norman terms, that it is of still higher antiquity. It is written after the manner of a regular lyric strophe of four lines, the second and fourth of which rhyme together. Some are of opinion that these four lines are two Alexandrines, a measure which was used very early. We give a stanza:—

“ Sende God biforen him man
The while he mai to hevene :
For betere is on elmesse biforen
Thanne ben after sevene.”

This certainly is resolvable into two Alexandrines—

“ Sende God biforen him man the while he mai to hevene,
For betere is on elmesse biforen thanne ben after sevene.”

meaning is,

Let man send his good works before him while he may to heaven,
For one almsgiving before death, is better than after seven.

Our next specimen is taken from a satire on the monastic profession, and in it the English language may be plainly recognized. Some have conjectured that it was written soon after Conquest; at any rate it is older than the reign of Henry Second:—

“ An other abbai is ther bi
Forsoth a gret nunnerie ;
Up a river of sweet milk
Where is plente grete of silk.
When the summeris dai is hote,
The yung nunnes takith a bote,
And doth ham forth in that rivere
Both with oris and with stere :
When hi beth fur from the abbei
Hi makith him nakid for to plei
And leith dune into the brimme
And doth him slich for to swimme :
The yung monkes that hi seeth
Hi doth ham up and forth hi fleeth,
And comith to the nunnes anon,
And each monk him takith on,
And snellich berith forth har prei
To the mochill grei abbei.”

We add a modernization:—

Another abbey is there by,
Forsooth a great nunnery ;
Up a river of sweet milk,
Where is plenty great of silk.
When the summer's day is hot,
All the young nuns take a boat
And go forth on that river clear
Both with oars and with steer ;*
When they be far from the abbey,
They make them naked for to play,
And lay them down into the brim,
And then prepare them for to swim :
The young monks that them do see
They raise them up and forth they flee,
And come they to the nuns anon,
And then each monk doth take him one,
And quickly beareth forth his prey
To the mickle grey abbey.

We select a few lines from a Norman Saxon poem, cited by

* Steer.—rudder.

Hickes, entitled the Life of St. Margaret, which appears written in the common measure into which so many of our Psalms have been translated. The rhymes are continued for four lines :—

“ Olde and yonge I priet on, our follies for to lete,
 Thenket on God that yef on wit, oure sunnes to bete ;
 Here I mai better on, wit wordes feire and swete,
 The vie of one meiden was hoten Maregrete.
 Hire fader was a patriac, as ic on tellen may,
 In Auntioge wif eches i the false lay,
 Deve godes ant doumbe, he served nitt and day,
 So deden many othere that singet weilaway.
 Theodosius was is nome, on Crist ne levede he noul,
 He levede on the false godes, that weren with Londen wroult ;
 Tho that childe sculde cristine beh it com well on shoul,
 Ebed wen it were ibore, to deth it were ibroult ;” &c.

This was probably written about the year 1200.

The most ancient English song now extant, set to music, is a song in praise of the cuckoo. It was composed in the latter part of the reign of Henry III. We give it entire.

“ Sumer is icumen in,
 Llude sing cuccu,
 Groweth sed and bloweth med
 And springth the wode nu,
 Sing cuccu,
 Ewe bleteth after lamb
 Llouth after calve cu,
 Bullue sterteth,
 Bucke verteth.
 Murie sing cuccu,
 Cuccu cuccu,
 Wel sings thu cuccu
 Ne swik thu naver.”

We give a moderdization of this song; although a very little study would make the original perfectly intelligible.

Summer is a coming in !
 Loud sings cuckoo !
 Groweth seed, and bloweth mead,
 And springeth the wood new !
 Sing cuckoo !
 Ewe bleateth after lamb,
 Loweth after calf the cow,
 Bullock starteth,
 Buck verteth,
 Merry sings cuckoo !
 Cuckoo ! cuckoo !
 Well singst thou cuckoo !
 Mayst thou never cease !

We now come to Robert of Gloucester, who has been called by Hearne, "the British Ennius," but of whom, however, we know little beyond that he was a monk of the Abbey of Gloucester; he lived during the reign of Henry III., and wrote in English rhyme a History of England, from the days of Brutus to his own time. His work seems to have been completed about the year 1280.

Warton says of this chronicle, "that it is wholly destitute of art or imagination. The author has clothed the fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth in rhyme which has often a more poetical air in Geoffrey's prose. The language is full of Saxonisms; but this obscurity is, perhaps, owing to the western dialect, in which our monk of Gloucester was educated."

This opinion appears to be correct, and it would be quite hopeless to undertake any defence of this old *poet's poetry*. It ought rather to be called a history put into rhyme, that it might the easier arrest the hearer's attention in that day. The earlier part, of course, is full of the usual fiction, told in the most prosaic manner, and in the highest style of doggerel; but as he approaches his own time, there is an air of truth which arrests the reader's attention, and partakes more of the full desultory manner of the old chroniclers. Some of the orations he puts into the mouths of his characters have a dramatic spirit, which is highly entertaining, and on several occasions he rises into an eloquence very unlike the dreary flat surrounding these isolated specimens. His account of the Crusades is highly animated, and the vision in which a holy man is ordered to reproach the Christians with their delay is well and powerfully wrought.

Johnson, in the Preface to his Dictionary, says—

"Hitherto the language used in this island, however different in successive time, may be called Saxon; nor can it be expected, from the nature of things gradually changing, that any time can be assigned when the Saxon can be said to cease and the English to commence. Robert of Gloucester, however, who is placed by the critics in the thirteenth century, seems to have used a kind of intermediate diction, neither Saxon nor English. In his work, therefore, we see the transition exhibited; and, as he is the first of our writers in rhyme of whom any large work remains, a more extensive quotation is extracted. He writes apparently in the same measure with the foregoing author of St. Margarite, which, polished into greater exactness, appeared to our ancestors so suitable to the genius of the English language, that it was continued in use almost to the middle of the seventeenth century."

As a specimen of Robert of Gloucester's poetry, we give the following legend of Stonehenge:—

"'Sire kyng,' quoth Merlin tho', 'suche thynges y wis
Ne bethe for to schewe nogt, but wen gret nede ys,

For gef iche seid in bismare, other bute it ned were,
 Sone from me he wold wende the gost, that doth me lere.
 The kyng, tho' non other nas, bod hym som quoyntise
 Bithinke about thilk cors that so noble were and wyse,
 'Sire kyng,' quoth Merlin tho', 'gef thou wolt here caste
 In the honour of men, a worke that ever schal ylaste,
 To the hul of Kylar send in to Yrlond,
 After the noble stones that ther habbet lenge ystonde ;
 That was the treche of giandes, for a quoynt work there ys
 Of stones al wyth art ymad, in the world such non ys.
 Ne ther nys nothing that me scholde myd strengthe adoune cast.
 Stode heo here, as heo doth there ever a wolde last.'
 The kyng somdele to lyghe, tho' he herde this tale,
 'How mygte,' he syde, 'suche stones so grete and so fale,
 Be ybroght of so fer lond? And get mist of were,
 Me wolde wene, that in this loude no ston to wouke nere.'
 'Sire kyng,' quoth Merlin, 'ne make noght an ydel such lyghyng.
 For yt nys an ydel noght that ich tell this tythyng,
 For in the farreste stude of Affric giands while fette
 Thike stones for medycyne and in Yrlond hem sette,
 While heo wonenden in Yrlond to make here bathes there,
 Ther undir forto bathi wen thei syk were.
 For heo wuld the stones wasch and therenne bathe ywis,
 For ys no ston ther among that of gret vertu nys.'
 The kyng and ys conseil radde the stones forto fette,
 And with gret power of batail gef any more hem lette
 Uter the kynges brother, that Ambrose hett also,
 In another name ychose was thereto,
 And fiteene thousand men this dede for to do
 And Merlin for his quoyntise thider went also."

The next poet we arrive at is Robert Mannyng, or Robert de Brunne; he was, however, more of a translator than a poet. His first work is a translation, or rather paraphrase, of a French metrical work, written by Bishop Grostete, and entitled "Manual Peche, or the Manual of Sin." It is a long work, and treats of the decalogue, or seven deadly sins, and is illustrated with many legendary stories.

We commence our extracts with the poet's account of himself:

"Of Brunne I am, if any me blame,
 Robert Mannyng is my name;
 Blessed be He, the God of heaven,
 That me, Robert, with good will neven.
 In the third Edward's time was I,
 When I wrote all this history.
 In the house of Sixille I was a throwe.
 Dan Robert of Malton that ye knowe
 Did it write for fellow's sake,
 When they willed solace make."

From this he would seem to infer that he was born at a place called Malton ; that he lived some time at a house in the neighbourhood called Sixhill ; and that there he had composed a part of his poem, during the reign of Edward III. We, therefore, conclude that he was born about 1270. In the prologue to his first work he says, “that he had lived fifteen years at Brunne, in the priory of Black Canons, when he began his translation, in 1303. The following is a description of the first interview between Vortigern and Rowena :—

“ Of Chamber Rouwen so gent
Before the king in hall scho went ;
A cup with wine she had in hand,
And her attire was well farand.
Before the king one knee she set,
And on her language scho him gret.
‘ Lavend king, Wassaille,’ said she.
The king asked what should be ?
On that language the king ne couth ;
A knight ther language lerid in youth.
Breg hight that knight, born Bretoun,
That lerid the language of Sessoun.
This breg was the Latimer,
What she said tolde Vortigern.”

The most important work of Robert Mannyng is a Metrical Chronicle of England, in two parts. The first part begins with Eneas, to the death of Cadwallader ; and the second, from Cadwallader to the end of Edward I. This is a translation from the French of Peter de Langtoft.

The next poet in our list is Adam Davie, who Mr. Warton supposes wrote about 1312. Nothing is known of him beyond the meagre fact that he was Marshal of Stratford le Bow, near London. His works remain in MS. in the Bodleian library. They consist of *Visions*—the Battle of Jerusalem, the Legend of St. Alexius, Scripture Histories, Fifteen Tokens before the Day of Judgment, Lamentations of Souls, and the Life of Alexander. The last named is his greatest performance, and is founded on a French romance. The following is a favourable specimen of his poetical powers : it is a description of a procession made by Olympias :—

“ In this time fair and jolife,
Olympias, that faire wyfe,
Woulde make a rich fest
Of knights and ladies honest,

Of burges and of jugeleurs,
 And of men of eche mesters.
 Mickle she desired to shew her body,
 Her fair hair, her face rody,
 To have lecs, and all praising.
 And all is folly ! by heaven King !
 In faire attire in diverse quaintise
 Many there rode in riche wise.
 So did the dame Olympias,
 For to show her gentil face,
 A mule also, white so milk,
 With saddle of gold, sambu of silk,
 Was y-brought to the queen,
 And many bell of silver sheen,
 Y-fasten'd on orfreys of mound
 That hangen nigh down to ground.
 Forth she fared mid her rout,
 A thousand ladies of rich soute,
 A sparrow-hawk that was honcst,
 So sat on the lady's fist.
 Four trumps toforne her blew ;
 Many men that day her knew :
 An hundred thousand, and eke mo,
 All alouten her unto.
 All the town be-hanged was,
 Against the Lady Olympias.
 Orgues, chymbes, each manner glee,
 Was drynan, ayein that lady free.
 Withouten the townes murey
 Was mered each manner play.
 There was knights tournaying—
 There was maidens caroling—
 There was champions skirming—
 * * * also wrestling.
 Of lion's chase, of bear baiting,
 A bay of boar, of bull slaying.
 All the city was behong
 With rich samytes and pelles long.
 Dame Olympias among this press
 Single rode, all mantle-less ;
 Her yellow hair was fair-attired,
 Mid riche stringes of gold wired ;
 It helyd her abouten all
 To her gentile middle small ;
 Bright and shene was her face,
 Every fair-head in her was."

As a contrast to the foregoing extract we offer to the reader's attention the following description of a battle, which has always

struck us as being one of the most spirited things in the poem. The last few lines have great force:—

“Alexander made a cry hardy—
‘Ore tost, aby, aby!’
Then the knights of Achayè
Justed with hem of Arabyè;
Egypt justed with hem of Tyre,
Simple knight with riche sire;
There n’s foregift ne forberying
Between vavasoure ne king.
Tofore men mighten and behind
Cuntek seek, and Cuntek find
With Persians foughten the Gregeys:
There rose cry, and great honteys!
There might knight find his peer;
There les many his destrere;
There was quick in little thrawe,
Many gentil knight y-slawe.
Many arme, many heved
Sone from the body reaved;
Many gentle lavedy
There lese quick her amy.
There was many maym y-led;
Many fair pensèl be-bled.
There was swerdes liklakyng;
There was speres bathing.
Both kings there sans doute
Beeth in dash’d with all her route.
Many landes, near and far,
Lesen her lord in that war.
The earth quaked of her riding;
The weather thicked of her crying;
The blood of hem that weren y-slawe
Ran by floodes to the lowe.”

We are of opinion that Adam Davie is the most poetical of the versifiers we have yet arrived at. Some of his descriptions will bear comparison with Gower and Lydgate.

Robert Baston, a Carmelite Friar, of Scarboro’, follows Adam Davie in our poetical chronology; and he is chiefly remarkable for a curious, indeed almost ludicrous adventure, which befel him. He had accompanied Edward II. to the siege of Stirling Castle, to sing in fitting verse the anticipated triumph of his royal master. He was, however, taken prisoner by the victorious Robert Bruce, and the hapless bard was compelled to celebrate the achievements of the Scottish monarch, in order to procure his liberty. None of his English poems are now extant. Some few of his Latin writings remain, and they do not make us regret, in this instance, the ravages of time.

In the beginning of the reign of Edward III., about 1340,

flourished Richard Rolle, a poet and an eremite of the order of Saint Augustine. He lived a solitary life near Hampole, which is four miles from Doncaster. His principal works are a paraphrase of part of the book of Job, of the Lord's-prayer, of the seven penitential psalms, and the "Pricke of Conscience." Our space will only allow a few lines extracted from the latter poem :—

“ He that knoweth well and con se
What he is, was, and schal be,
A wisere man may be told
Whether he be young or old ;
Then he that ken all other thing
And of hymself hath no knowing.”

We now approach the celebrated poems of “the Vision of Pierce Plowman,” and “the Creed of Pierce Plowman.” We shall not enter into the controversy as to who was the author or authors of these works, but shall follow the popular belief that the first named work is the production of Robert Langland or Langland, who was a secular priest, and a fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Warton concludes he flourished about the year 1350. He is said to have been a follower of Wickliffe. His poem is a satire upon almost all the profession, but particularly on the corruptions of the clergy. He has divided it into Visions, which the author imagines himself to have seen, while he was sleeping, after a long ramble on the Malvern Hills, in Worcestershire.

So far as his language is concerned he has evidently preferred the Anglo-Saxon dialect, and studiously avoided adopting any of the innovations so rife in those times.

The corruption of the Romish clergy is unsparingly satirised throughout both of these poems, and we are inclined to think they bear evident proof of being written by the same author. As, however, we said before, we shall avoid the controversial, and content ourselves by stating our belief in their being composed by one man. We proceed to lay before our readers some extracts from these poems.

The following is the opening of the Vision of Pierce Plowman, and called “Passus Primus.”

“ In a somè seyson, whan softe was the sonne
Y shop into shrobbis, and y shepherde were
In abit az an ermite, unholy of werkes
That wente forthe in the worle, wondres to hure
And saw meny cellis, and selcouthe thynges
Ac on a May morwenyng, on Malverne hilles
Me by fel for to slepe, for weyrynesse of wandryng
And in a lande as ich lay, lenede ich I slepte

And mueylously me mette, as ich may zow telle
Al the welthe of this wordle, and the woo bothe
Wynkyng as it were, wyterly ich saw hyt
Of thryyth and of thricherye, of tresoun and of gyle
Al ich saw slepyng, as ich shal sow telle
Esteward ich behulde after the sonne
And saw a tour as ich trowede, truthe wasther ynne
Westwarde ich wattede, in a wyle after
And sawe a deep dale, dep as ich lyvede
Wonede in tho wones, and wyckede spirit!
A fair feld fol of folke, fonde ich there bytwyne
All manere of men, the mene and the ryche
Worchynge and wandrynge, as the worlde asketh
Somme pute hem to plow, and pleiden fol seylde
In settyng and in sowyng, swonken ful harde
And wonne there thuse wasters, wit gloteny distryeth
Somme pute hem to pruyde, and parailede hem that after
In contenance and in clothyng, in meny kyrnne gyse
In praiers and in penaunces, putt en hem manye
Al for the love of oure Lorde. Lyvend ful harde
In hope to have a gode ende and hevene ryche blyssc
As ances and eremites that holden hem in hurccellys
Coveytynge nozt in countries, to carien aboute
For no lykerouse lyfode, hure lykame to plese.

The next extract has been considered by some critics as having furnished Milton with the idea of the Lazar House :—

Kinde conscience tho' heard, and came out of the planets,
And sent forth his forrioues, fevers, and fluxes,
Coughes and cardicales, crampes and tooth aches,
Reums and ragondes, and raynous scalles,
Byles, and blottes, and burning agues,
Freneses, and foul evyl, foragers of kinde
There was narrow ! and help ! here cometh kinde
With death that's dreadful, to undone us all
Age the hoore, he was in vaw ward
And bare the baner before death, by right he it claymed
Kynde came after, with many kene sores,
As pockes, and pestilences, and much purple shent ;
So kinde, through corruptions killed full many :
Death came driving after, and all to dust pashed
Kyngs and bagaars, knights and popes."

The two last lines are truly sublime.

We now come to Gower, who has been called by some the contemporary, and by others the predecessor of Chaucer. It certainly appears that he was some eight or ten years older than the author of the "Canterbury Tales," and had also written some poems before the other was known as a poet. As they, however, were friends, and in habits of a long and constant inti-

macy, we shall consider them as contemporaries. In this point of view he is a remarkable contrast to his friend. We feel inclined to indulge in a parallel, and liken "these twain" to Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. The language of Gower appears antiquated by the side of Chaucer. We shall, however, leave our readers to decide for themselves by giving the following extracts.

The first is from Gower's great work, the "*Confessio Amantis*," a work which he wrote towards the end of his life, and when many of his friend Chaucer's poems had appeared:—

" But, sire, as of my lady selve
 Though she have wowers ten or twelve,
 For no mistruste I have of hir
 Me grieveth nought : for certes, sir,
 I trowe in all this worlde to seche
 N'is woman, that in dede and speche
 Woll better avise hir, what she dooth
 Ne better, for to saie a soothe,
 Keepe her honour at all tide :
 And yet gette hir a thanke beside,
 But netheles I am beknowe,
 That whan I see at any throwe,
 Or else if I maie it here,
 That she make any man good chere :
 Though I thereof have not to doone,
 My thought woll entermete him soone,
 For though I be my selven strange,
 Envie maketh myn hert change,
 That I am sorowfully bestadde
 Of that I see another gladde
 With her, but of other all
 Of love what so maie befall,
 Or that he faile, or that he spede,
 Thereof take I little hede,
 Now have I saide my father all,
 As of this pointe in speciall,
 As forforthly as I have wiste,
 Now axeth forder what you liste."

We now arrive at Chaucer; and as we shall have occasion to compare the modernization with the original, we refer our readers to those extracts to prove our position that Chaucer was one of the greatest founders of the English language as now spoken, and that his diction is no less superior to his contemporaries than his poetical spirit.

Before we enter upon the consideration of the various modernizations placed at the head of this article, we must be permitted to state how far we agree with the principle. In the first place, we protest against any placing their profane hands upon an old poet, for the purpose of superseding the

original. We will hold it lawful, to a certain extent, for a modernizer, duly qualified, to make the obsolete intelligible, just as we would tolerate the translation of Virgil by Dryden, and Lucretius by Creech; but it is only in this light that we can recognize the labour at all—a modernization is, therefore, only a translation for those who are unable to understand the *superior* beauty of the original. And in addition, even as a scholar learned in the Latin and Greek may read with considerable pleasure Dryden's Virgil and Pope's Homer, and admire the skill they have displayed in surmounting idiomatic difficulties, so the lover of Chaucer may turn with some pleasure to the modernizations before us; but it is only in introductory light that we can recognize the right of any club of modern poets to touch the majesty of Chaucer, and the moment they think they are superseding the original, that instant we throw them down, in disgust at their presumption and egotism. Now we honestly believe that the only attempt to make Chaucer intelligible to the modern ear, and win the unlearned to read the original, is that which is placed last in our list; and we are, therefore, inclined to extend to it, on that account, a greater degree of favour. We think it has been done in a reverent spirit, and, so far as practicable, has kept close to the original. On this account the work must be acceptable to every reader of taste, and deserves to be placed on the same shelf with old Geoffrey himself; but, we repeat, chiefly on account of the reverential manner in which they have approached the venerable bard.

We confess to a kind of superstitious reverence for the old writers. We love their quaintness—their pith—their startling epithets—their vigour of thought—the voluminous character of their expression—their daring style of publication—broad, thick, folio, bible-like—all these form a combination of attractions which we have never been able to resist; we, however, contend this is independent of and formed on far higher ground than a mere *black letter* devotion; although, even in this respect, we will yield to no genuine *black letter* man that ever lived. On this point we have the temerity to believe we love the folio in *spirit* as well as in *letter*. But we must take care that we do not fall into the folly of loving them on account of their age instead of their merit, which is as absurd as loving an old woman for her wrinkles, and not for her virtue and piety.

Our readers will observe that there have been three attempts to popularize Chaucer's poems by modernization. We shall consider them in the order in which they appeared. The first was edited by Ogle, who was assisted, as the title-page has it, "by several eminent hands." The only one who deserves notice is Dryden, his style is so *unchaucerian*, that we are not surprised

at the result. He was too celebrated a poet himself not to know that he could please the million more by throwing Chaucer into their fashion than by elevating their taste to the simple majesty of the "Morning Star of Song." His version is consequently a brilliant performance, full of glittering conceits, pointed antithetis, and sonorous declamation; but it is very unlike the original. We give an extract from the "Cock and the Fox," and the "Flower and the Leaf." Our readers will observe, that in the latter he has actually changed the metre. Surely nothing shows more the infatuation of Dryden for the heroic couplet than the fact of his apparent insensibility to the inappropriateness of the couplet to a poem like the "Flower and the Leaf." How would the "Faerie Queene" read in the heroic measure?

The modernization of Messrs. Ogle, Betterton, and Lipscombe remind us forcibly of a tale we heard of a nobleman who had a very fine picturesque ruin in a retired part of the country. Some devoted admirers of antiquity having expressed a wish to see this venerable relic, he resolved to visit his estate where the ruin was situated. The domestic who had charge of it, being apprized of his master's coming, resolved to have all in readiness; he therefore went zealously to work—pulled down the ivy that had hung for centuries around the solemn place—scraped and whitewashed it inside and out—took out the old stained and painted windows—put in new panes, quite clean—and, having swept all the fragments away, laid down a piece of modern Brussels, with a few "nice new cane-bottomed chairs," and then awaited, with no little self-satisfaction, the coming of the admirers of the antique!

"This gentle cock, for solace of his life,
Six misses had, besides his lawful wife;
Scandal, that spares no king, though neer so good,
Says they were all of his own flesh and blood—
His sisters, both by sire and mother's side,
And sure their likeness showed them near allied.
But, make the worst, the monarch did no more
Than all the Ptolomies had done before."—*Dryden.*

This is Chaucer Drydenized to its fullest extent. Chaucer says—

"This gentil cok had in his governance
Seven hens, for to don all his pleasance,
Which were his sisters, and his paramours,
And wonder like to him, as of coloures."

Our next is from the "Flower and Leaf:"—

"In that sweet season, as in bed I lay,
And sought in sleep to pass the night away,

I turned my weary side, but still in vain,
 Tho' full of youthful health, and void of pain.
 Cares I had none to keep me from my rest,
 For love had never entered in my breast ;
 I wanted nothing fortune could supply,
 Nor did she slumber till that hour deny.
 I wondered then, but after found it true,
 Much joy had dried away the balmy dew ;
 Seas would be pools without the brushing air
 To curl the waves, and sure some little care
 Should weary nature, so to make her want repair."

Dryden.

Let us now turn to the original—

" And I, so glad of the season sweete,
 Was happed thus upon a certain night,
 As I lay in my bed sleep full unmete
 Was unto me, but why that I ne might
 Rest I ne wist ; for there n'as earthly wight,
 As I suppose, had more heart's ease
 Than I, for I n'ad sickness nor disease."

But if we blame Dryden for his offences against the simplicity and majesty of Chaucer, what shall we say to the other contributors. We shall only try our reader's patience with a few quotations. We begin with Mr. Ogle's attempt on the prologue :

" When *April*, soft'ning, sheds refreshing showers,
 And frees from drougthy March the springing flowers—
April! that bathes the teeming womb of earth,
 And gives to vegetation kindly birth !
 When Zephyr breathes the gale that favours love,
 And cherishes the growth of every grove—
Zephyr! that ministers, with genial breeze,
 Bloom to the shrubs, and verdure to the trees !
 When youthful *Phæbus* half his course completes,
 Divides the Ram, and glows with temperate heats :
Phæbus! our equal good the live-long year,
 Or should he take, or should he quit the sphere !
 When *Philomel* enjoys the coming Spring,
 And, feeling her approach, delights to sing—
Sweet Philomel! of all the birds that fly
 The sole, to pass the night with sleepless eye !"

The original stands thus—

" Whanne that April, with his shoures sote,
 The droughte of March had pierced to the rote,
 And bathed every vein in swiche licour
 Of which virtue engendered is the flour ;

Whan Zepherus eke with his sote brethe
 Enspired hath in every holt and hethe
 The tender croppes, and the yonge sonne
 Hath in the Ram his halfe cours yronne,
 And smale foules maken melodie
 That slepen alle night with open eye !”

We need not point out the rich absurdity of Mr. Ogle's modernization.

One more specimen : it is from the pen of one of the “eminent hands”—a Mr. Betterton :—

“There was with these a nun, a prioress,
 A lady of no ord'nary address :
 Her smiles were harmless, and her look was coy,
 She never swore an oath, but by St. Loye.”

Chaucer merely says—

“There was also a nonne, a prioresse,
 That of her smiling was full simple and coy ;
 Hire gretest othe n'as but by Seint Loy.”

The whole three volumes are done in this style, if we except that portion which Dryden did ; but his, as we have shown, was done in his own vigorous and witty manner, without preserving any of the characteristics of Chaucer.

The next attempt, made by Mr. Lipscombe, included Ogle's, and what he had not done the new editor did ; and in a similar spirit, we therefore forbear multiplying extracts, and pass at once to the recent attempt by Wordsworth, Leigh Hunt, &c., to induce the present age to study our great narrative poet.

We shall pass over Dr. Leonhard Schmitz's well-written life, by observing that it is lucid and full of matter—a model of clear English, reflecting great credit on this distinguished scholar. Seldom has a foreigner mastered our tough language so completely as this erudite German, and we look forward to his future literary undertakings with the full hope of their establishing his reputation on a high basis.

Mr. Horne's Introduction is well written, and abounding in valuable matter ; but it is far too long, and altogether disproportioned to the work. He has wasted much valuable space by reiterating too often his opinion on the metre, which might have been despatched in a dozen pages ; we, therefore, laid it down disappointed, regretting that he had not made a better use of the opportunity to illustrate the power and pathos of Chaucer's genius, instead of a wearying repetition of “quantities and syllables.” We trust, should another edition be called for, that Mr. Horne, who is eminently qualified, will take a

broader view of the subject, and give us an essay on the old poet worthy his fine genius. We, however, can recommend the Introduction to the careful perusal of our readers, who will find a complete vindication of Chaucer's metre in it, and they will altogether be better prepared for the study of his writings. Mr. Horne very properly says of Pope's version—

“That the licentious humour of the original, being divested of its quaintness and obscurity, becomes yet more licentious in proportion to the fine touches of skill with which it is brought into the light. Spontaneous coarseness is made revolting by meretricious artifice. Instead of keeping in the distance that which was objectionable, by such shades in the modernizing as should have answered to the hazy appearance of the original, it receives a clear outline, and is brought close to us. An ancient Briton, with his long rough hair and painted body, laughing and singing half naked under a tree, may be coarse, yet innocent of all intention to offend; but if the imagination (absorbing the anachronism) can conceive him shorn of his falling hair, his paint washed off, and, in this uncovered state, introduced into a drawing-room full of ladies in rouge and diamonds, hoops and hair powder, no one can doubt the injury thus done to the ancient Briton. This is no unfair illustration of what was done in the time of Pope, and by these editions of Ogle and Lipscombe. They are *not* modernized versions—which implies modern delicacy, as well as modern language—they are vulgarized versions. The public of the present day would certainly never tolerate any similar proceeding, even were it likely to be attempted.”

We shall take now some specimens of the modernization before us, and we do not hesitate to say that it ought to accomplish somewhat towards rendering Chaucer a household book. How few of our families have his elevating works on their shelves. How little are his beautiful poems read! How little is known by the mass of his biography! Let us haste to wipe away a stain on the English reader by becoming more conversant with the works of the British Homer.

To Wordsworth, Hazlitt, and Leigh Hunt, the public owe much for their vigorous efforts to place his merits before their “critical” eyes. Nothing can be finer than Mr. Wordsworth’s “Prioress’s Tale,” published nearly thirty years ago; and the masterly criticisms of the two latter, in the “Round Table,” have done much towards the extension of his popularity.

How finely does the great poet of Rydal Mount fuse into his own fine Saxon verse the thoughts of his great ancestor:—

“Then said he thus,—‘O palace desolate!
O house of houses, once so richly dight;
O palace, empty and disconsolate!
Thou lamp, of which extinguished is the light;
O palace, whilom day that now art night,

Thou ought'st to fall, and I to die, since she
Is gone who held us both in sovereignty.

“ ‘ O of all houses once the crowned boast !
Palace illumed with the sun of bliss ;
O ring, of which the ruby now is lost,
O cause of woe, that cause hast been of bliss :
Yet, since I may no better, would I kiss
Thy cold doors ; but I dare not for this rout :
Farewell, thou shrine, of which the saint is out.’ ”

Mr. Leigh Hunt's versions are characterized by great vivacity, but stray more from the principle on which this book is put forth to the public than any of his fellow-labourers : still he keeps infinitely closer than Dryden, and there is a grace and wit about his performance which makes the more faithful modernizers read “cramped” after running over his sparkling verses.

The following is, we think, charmingly done : it is from the beginning of the “Manciples Tale :”—

“ When Phœbus dwelt with men, in days of yore,
He was the very lustiest bachelor
Of all the world, and shot in the best bow.
Twas he, as the old books of stories show,
That shot the serpent Python, as he lay
Sleeping against the sun, upon a day.
He played all kinds of music, and so clear
His singing was, and such a heaven to hear,
Men might not speak during his madrigal.
Amphion, king of Thebes, that put a wall
About the city with his melody,
Certainly sang not half so well as he.
And, add to this, he was the seemliest man
That is, or has been, since the world began.
What needs describe his beauty ? since there's none
With which to make the least comparison.
In brief, he was the flower of *gentillesse*,
Of honour, and of perfect worthiness :
And yet, take note, for all this mastery,
This Phœbus was of cheer so frank and free,
That for his sport, and to commend the glory
He gat him o'er the snake (so runs the story),
He used to carry in his hand a bow.”

We have spoken of Chaucer's pathos ; we now refer our readers to one of the finest specimens in his works, and would then direct his attention to a modernization by one of the first of our living poets. The pathetic confession of his inability to proceed with the horrible tale, and his quaint reference to Dante, are in the highest degree beautiful and simple. The quiet and yet irre-

sistible manner in which he relates the affection of the children for the father are triumphs! We do not envy the man who can read it without tears "coming to the portals of his heart." For ourselves, we ingenuously confess we are unable to read it aloud. The heart seems overpowered with the sensations arising from the bare contemplation of Ugolino's mental sufferings, and feels grateful to the poet for declining to finish the tragedy:—

The next on the list is Mr. Powell, who has modernized the legends of Adriadne, Phillis and Philomene, the Flower and the Leaf, and the rime of Sir Thopas. We regret that we must qualify our high praise of this gentleman's version with some blame. The legends are very ably but very carelessly done, and thrown off as though it were an irksome task, and not a labour of love. He has done the Flower and Leaf so well that we regret this the more, and trust that, should another impression appear, he will carefully revise the Legends, more especially that of Ariadne, which is full of inelegancies and errors. We forbear quoting anything but one specimen from this part of his performance, but this is of a very high order. We do not praise even this extract for its fidelity, we merely give it as a well-wrought picture, and wish that the rest had been done in the same spirit, saving a few expletives of Mr. Powell's own coinage. It is descriptive of the treatment of Philomene by Tereus.

“ Then to a trackless forest Tereus led
Fair Philomene, and to a cave he sped,
And bade her ease her weariness and rest.
Whereat her heart did beat against her breast
Right loud and fast, and then she answered thus—

‘ Where is my sister, brother Tereus ?’
And therewithal she wept full tenderly,
And quaked for fear all pale and piteously.
Right as the lamb that of the wolf is bitten,
Or as the dove when by the eagle smitten,
And from his iron claws hath just got loose,
Yet trembles still, nor of her wings hath use,
Dreading to be re-taken, so sat she ;
But otherwise, alas ! it cannot be.
The traitor Tereus hath with brute-like power
Rifled the beauty of this virgin flower ;
Yea, by the very villany of might.
Lo ! here a deed to fill all men with fright.
‘ Sister !’ she cried ; to air her shriek was given ;
Then ‘ Father dear, oh ! help me, God in heaven !’
But all was silent, and no succour came.
Then Tereus worketh yet another shame,

For fear that she his deed should cry aloud,
 All in the open air among the crowd,
 She of her tongue he with his sword bereft,
 And to 'a castle in a rocky cleft
 He took her as a prisoner evermore,
 And kept her there in anguish for his store,
 So that she ne'er from prison could depart!
 O gentle Philomene! woe's in thy heart,
 Huge are thy sorrows, worse than death their smart;
 God help thee, maid, and send thee some fair boon."

Most of Miss Barrett's verses are fantastical, and consequently very unlike the fine old poet. But some are perfectly absurd, and remind the reader more of "Don Juan" than "Dan Chaucer's." As an instance, take the following example:—

"Young was this queen, but twenty summers old,
 Of middle stature, and such wondrous beauty,
 That Nature, self-delighted, did behold
 A rare work in her—while, in stedfast *duty*,
 Lucretia and Penelope would *suit ye*
 With a worse model—all things understood,
 She was, in short, most perfect, fair, and good."

Now let us turn to the original—

"Young was the queene, of twenty yere old,
 Of middlc stature, and of soch farainesse,
 That Nature had a joy her to behold,
 And for to speaken of her stedfastness,
 She passed hath Penelope and Lucesse,
 And shortly if she may be comprehended,
 In her might nothing been amended."

We are however much pleased with the following stanza, which is in itself a very exquisite image. We give the original, that our readers may compare the ancient with the modern.

"And in this world there is not one
 Who walketh with a sadder moan,
 And bears more grief than I have done;
 And if light slumbers overcome me,
 Methinks your image, in the glory
 Of skiey azure, stands before me,
 Re-vowing the old love you bore me,
 And praying for new mercy from me."

"For in this world there is no creature,
 Walking in more discomfiture,
 Than I, ne more sorowe endure,
 For if I sleepe a furlonge way or tway,
 Than thinketh me that your figure
 Before me stant clad in asure,
 Eft to profre a newe assure,
 For to ben trewe, and mercy me to pray."

As every true poet has a song in his mind, yet more certainly has every great poet a religious passion in his soul. The emotion he derives from the thing created is often too strong to dwell upon its imperfections or rest satisfied in its beauty, and impels his imagination at once to ascend to the creative principle, wherein alone it can find relief and repose. With this feeling doth the profoundly simple-hearted old poet call upon God, and upon Christ, through the voices of earth's many happy and many suffering children—with this thought doth he seek, with aching eye, to look through the darkness of forbidden knowledge, at the tree that burns impalpably beyond—with this yearning doth his soul spring upward in divine rhythmic harmony, with those spheres which are ever working while they sing.

Scattered, neglected, overgrown with weeds, and the dust of ignorance and olden time, thy page, oft illegible as the pale cobweb, or the tattered banner, whereon the name of the victor is confused with that of the vanquished, and the rest all faded—Father of English Poetry! thy hand-writing, and the writing of the hands guided by thee, have found but a careless preservation among after generations. Somewhat of these primitive inspirations have been mutilated—many damaged by errors of omission and intrusion—many lost; yet from the fulness and vitality of that genius once breathed over the lost prototypes, the worm, the moth, and the mouldering years, have lived their lives, and done their work upon them, without conveying the records into the all-compounding earth; nor hath the silence of progressive ages been unbroken by a strange cry, at intervals, which told that Chaucer was not gone into ultimate oblivion, but only sleeping till the modern world awoke. Sleeping, indeed, the deep sleep which follows great labours and long neglect; but, by those who were gazing with reverent love, still seen as of yore; by those who were listening, still heard—

“Singing with voice memorial—in the shade.”

- ART. III.—*The Young Scholar's Latin English Dictionary.*
By the Rev. J. E. RIDDLE, M.A. London. 1839.
2. *The First Greek Reader.* From the German of Jacobs.
With English Notes by the Rev. J. EDWARDS, M.A. Second
Master of King's College School. London. 1840.
3. *Publii Terentii Afri Comædia Sex ex Edit. Th. Frid. God.
Reinhardt.* With explanatory Notes by D. B. HICKIE, LL.D.
London. 1837.
4. *Henry's First Latin Book.* By T. K. ARNOLD, M.A.
London. 1841.
5. *Latin Exercises,* for the use of the Junior Classes in King's
College School. By the Rev. J. R. MAJOR, D.D. London.

THERE are doubtless many far finer specimens of architecture to be found amongst our modern edifices, but there is none which affected us with more genuine and lively pleasure than the new Wesleyan Centenary Hall in Bishopsgate-street Within. Nor will even our Diocesan himself be much inclined to blame us, when he hears our reasons for saying that we view this building as more significant, we will not say than all, but than any individual of the forest of spires which are beginning to gladden his episcopal eye. We would not, by any forthcoming remark, wantonly give offence to the Wesleyan body. Of all separatists they are perhaps the nearest, both in fact and in feeling, to the Establishment; they are amongst the latest lost, and we would fain hope will be amongst the first to return. But we cannot forget that they are still professedly nonconformists, some of them as bitter and confirmed in their prejudices as if John Wesley's separation had taken place three centuries ago; that this structure is the work of a body, the primitive members of which, on religious grounds, rejected equally the graces of personal and architectural embellishment. But the wheel is turning; the nonconformist maiden is allowed to prefigure with liberated hair the more simple Ionic volute, nay even to emulate the profusion of the Corinthian Acanthus. The model is, as it were, again followed, and the Centenary Hall rises with its Grecian columns, a sign, we trust, that Nonconformity is no longer athirst for the tears of art, that arch, knosp, niche, and pinnacle will not henceforth be condemned as the gauds of Babylon. From these reflections our mind was led, perhaps not unnaturally, to contemplate the prospects of those mental decorations which have found, and in the same party, no less determined enemies than were Cromwell's Ironsides to the vanities of frieze and plinth. "Alas," would the old Puritan say (we allow him the benefit of Divinity Latin), "there is much of the

‘vinum diaboli’ in these same heathenish poets and philosophers; but nevertheless my Lord Protector must needs have his Latin secretary, lest he be held in derision of doctors of the Low Countries. Latin records must be read, Latin tractates of Theology must be consulted; perchance correspondence must be had with foreign physicians, and controversies, legal and other, must be conducted in Latin.” Thus, on the ground of their use, rather than of their beauty, the classics weathered this storm. Horace and Virgil were not burnt in market-places. And when it had blown over, my Lord Protector’s Latin secretary found himself composing a Latin accidence, to rescue the curly-headed children of the Royalists in the neighbourhood of Jewin-street from the perplexities of grammatical confusion.

And now again, how does the matter stand, when, to omit other uses of the classics, intercourse with foreign countries may be conducted through the medium of modern languages, and when the dissenting bodies are numerous enough, powerful enough, and arrogant enough to set up new standards of taste, or at least to countenance each other in ignorance of the old. “The two Universities are nests of idleness and folly, and (when it suits our purpose to say so), of most unprofitable learning;” but we must have our controversialists, our Pye Smiths, who cannot altogether do without a very considerable share even of the frivolities of this vain knowledge. Neither can we help having our men of taste, who will not be content to want it. We scarcely regret that we have in our communities aspirants after the higher walks of social life. They, too, must present their ticket for admission, however intrinsically worthless. Therefore we will borrow of the Church herself competent classical instructors for our anti-church proprietary schools; therefore shall Greek and Latin be taught at Highbury College and the London University; therefore shall Josiah endeavour to attain to the honours and degrees of Cambridge, and Jedediah, to those of Oxford, to see, if possible, whether they will come out spotless from those ‘sinks of sin’—learned from those schools of vain philosophy—liberal from those strongholds of priestly bigotry; and we will move heaven and earth rather than not enjoy the exciting hazard of this desperate experiment.” And thus are the classics destined to live on, even amongst those who, for various reasons, would appear to be their natural enemies. These are strong grounds of encouragement, but there are also others to which we would briefly allude. We see them in the rapidly increasing love for the arts, promising, under favourable political circumstances, to exert a wider influence amongst the lower portion of the middle classes than they have ever hitherto done; in an increasing circulation of the English

classics and the literature of taste ; in the daily growing scientific nomenclature, exacting the unwilling homage of an utilitarian section of society, even on its own principles, and thus more than counterbalancing the decided opposition, or rather hatred, of self-educated men of science to the study of the classics generally. We see it in a disposition to confess that there was some truth in Sir Thomas Browne's* prediction of two centuries back, "that if elegance still proceedeth, and English pens maintain that stream we have of late observed to flow from many, we shall within a few years be fain to learn Latin to understand English"—a remark, indeed, equally applicable to the period in which it was uttered as a prophecy. We are happy to be able to augur thus favorably for the description of learning with which we are now immediately concerned, on many of the grounds above referred to, inasmuch as they have relation to a distant future ; again, because we have not found it necessary to trench upon those sources of confidence derived from the almost necessary co-existence of the classics with many of our beloved and time-honoured institutions ; neither by producing a long roll of our eminent scholar-statesmen, poets, and philosophers, have we incurred any danger of a countercitation of the illustrious unclassical. We have assuredly not taken up our pen to defend the classics. If called upon to do so, we should maintain their cause very briefly against the innovating theorist. In the first stage of their study—for the child, as one of the best exercises for the memory, and that description of reasoning, the power of which is perhaps the earliest developed, we mean the analogical, and as the surest foundation for the study of all languages. In the second stage—for the boy—when the knowledge of words becomes more extensive, we would insist upon them as indispensable for the correct knowledge of English, and as lightening the study of the sciences of half its labour. In the third stage—for the youth of more advanced age—to which pertains acquaintance with authors, we would urge their continuance for the purpose of more fully securing the two former objects, of elevating the taste, and of giving an opportunity for studying in their original form the models of almost all that is admirable in our own literature. We have mentioned this division into distinct periods ; because it appears a just one, and we do not remember to have met with it before. It may also serve to show to those whose doctrine is "Drink deep or taste not," that if these studies should be discontinued at the close of the second, or even of the first of these periods, still much may have been gained, if the education, as far as it has gone, has been thorough, and not slovenly, sketchy, unsystematic, and unprincipled. Independently too

* "Introduction to Vulgar Errors."

of this, to the ear of our friends, no small object will have been gained, if moderate or imperfect classical acquirements amongst the middle classes shall continue, as heretofore, to produce a respect for that rank and those professions for which more finished scholarship is a necessary qualification.

We have just spoken of the evils of a flimsy classical education immediately in connection with the two earlier stages, because, through these all must pass, and beyond them many never go. The bitterest enemies to the classics are to be found amongst those, who, having been the victims of false professors, and consequently of unsound instruction, relinquished at an early age their classical studies for mercantile and other pursuits, and who now complain, perhaps not without reason, that the two or three years spent in Greek and Latin were miserably wasted. Here then, both for the sake of our advocates and opponents, the greatest caution should be exercised; and here, unfortunately, the most culpable carelessness is shown. The boy can do comparatively little for himself, and therefore almost all depends on the capacity and honesty of his instructors, and the quality of the books which they put into his hands; on many of the latter we shall make it our business shortly to give our opinion in detail. Students in the third stage are for the most part well provided, both as respects books and teachers; indeed the former may almost make them independent of the latter, though these—we refer to the tutors of colleges and head masters of schools of classical celebrity—are in many instances well qualified and painstaking men. The merits, however, of every classical work of high pretensions are thoroughly sifted, and its inaccuracies exposed by the classical critic; whereas a bad school book is allowed to creep into circulation, and do its modicum of mischief for years. The materials for the superstructure must be Parian, and without a flaw. Those for the foundation are out of sight; and provided it is laid, or said to be laid, it may be of brick, rubbish, or what you will, unsound, and misshapen. Too often the upper work collapses, or betrays by various infirmities a defect, which it will now require too much expense and time to rectify; rarely, if the superstructure is massive, or, for a moment to drop the metaphor, if after-reading is careful and extensive, it may sink bodily and steadily downwards, strike, as it were, its own roots, and make its own foundation. But we need scarcely say that few scholars have been made by this process.

We have felt some degree of curiosity to see a prize essay, which we are informed was lately written for a London Literary Society, on “The Character of a Schoolmaster.” For our own

part, as far at least as classical instruction is concerned, we believe that there is no single office into which so many unqualified persons thrust themselves. It is true that in many instances the unemployed graduate has superseded the mere school speculator; but comparatively few of these have embraced the profession because they feel any real love for it—how few, even of those who dabble in teaching with some degree of self-satisfaction, belong to the class from which the best schoolmasters are drawn. Let a man be possessed, if not of the highest, at least of well-poised faculties, endued with patience, temper, and, above all, with energy; for this is both wonderfully contagious, and will prevent a master from hesitating to put questions where he fears that he may encounter ignorance; with that fastidious love of the sound and the genuine which would *compel* him, as a naturalist, to throw an imperfect or suspected specimen into the fire, or, as a mechanic, to pull his own work to pieces fifty times rather than knowingly leave it faulty. Let him possess a peculiar tact for the discovery or anticipation of early associations of thought; for thus he will be enabled to detect or prevent errors, of which another man would probably have never dreamt either of the danger or existence. “Let him (to borrow the words of a late intelligent writer*) be willing to build up, beginning at the beginning, giving each part its due weight, and not hurrying over those steps which happen to be peculiarly familiar to himself. Let him thoroughly enter into the ignorance of others, and so avoid forestalling his conclusions;” for “the best teachers are those who seem to forget what they know right well, who work out results which have become axioms in their own minds with all the interest of a beginner, and with footsteps no longer than his.” Others—the clergyman, for instance, when addressing an uneducated congregation—must anticipate difficulties and accommodate himself to weaknesses; but the schoolmaster must be perpetually shifting and adjusting with nicety a *sliding scale* of intellectual condescension, applicable to all ages and states of progress. Compared with this, we had almost said that the acquisition of sufficient knowledge is a trifling difficulty; it is, perhaps, less a master’s province to know perfectly the grammar which he professes to teach, than to know that the said grammar, if learned from end to end without sundry repetitions, will infallibly escape almost as soon as it is acquired. It is of little importance that he should himself be able to write a hundred verses of acknowledged excellence on an

* “Essays written in the Intervals of Business.” Chapter on the “Transaction of Business.”

abstract subject, if he is absurd enough to propose such a thesis for an early exercise in composition when innumerable subjects of a descriptive kind are ready to his hand; and yet you shall see hundreds of men engaged in tuition carelessly or stupidly violating common sense and universal principles, such as those here concerned, who will boldly intimate to the parent or guardian that they are observers of character, they make a point of tempering the wind to the lamb (necessary enough, if they could fleece him as they do his parents), and that they invariably adopt their mode of education to individual peculiarities, a thing very difficult to the most judicious.

Moreover, we would have our schoolmaster to be a man of high aims for himself and for his pupils, viewing their progress *e rudi ad doctum* with as much interest as the statuary does his statue as it grows from the block, day by day, under his hands; for nothing short of this passion can ever throw a charm over what would be, to nine men out of ten, execrable drudgery. We would wish him to possess, rather than to profess, philosophy enough to discern the differences of minds; and, as his pupils advance in age, to be able to judge whether the memory, the *imitative*, the imaginative, or the strictly reasoning powers most require, or will best repay, cultivation.

But few schoolmasters are these, or of these; and this evil is, we fear, invincible. Not so, we would fain hope, in the case of elementary books, many of which are quite as bad as the worst masters can possibly be. Some of the most indifferent of these are allowed to circulate widely, partly through the ignorance of those into whose hands they have fallen, and partly for want of their interference who appear to be the natural guardians of the interests of classical literature. Nor is this very difficult to be accounted for. Men qualified as censors consider the criticism of school books not sufficiently elevated; for this they often suffer, and deservedly, in the disappointments they experience as head masters, or in the trouble to which they are exposed as university tutors and examiners. This is not as it should be: two-thirds of the undergraduates who are rejected at the first university examination are so for want of the commonest elementary knowledge.* If deficiency is thus heavily

* A great many of these *accidents* would never occur if masters had the sense and perseverance to insist on the knowledge of grammar *throughout* being kept up to the latest possible period. The Greek theatre is put into many hands, for which the Greek grammar would be far better fitted; besides, *many* syntax rules, we are convinced, are not recognized as great grammatical truths, applicable to the *making* as well as construing of Latin, till the ages of sixteen or seventeen.

visited, it might reasonably be expected that a corresponding vigilance should be exercised, to prevent as far as possible the causes leading to such unfortunate results. But it is not necessary to look at extreme cases. Sir Henry Wotton, in his tract on Education, quotes from a Jesuit the following remark: that "a child starved at nurse is scarce likely to make an able man."* If it were fully known how many men, who make even a fair show, are really shackled in their scholarship—how many are hampered with doubts, and haunted with wrong impressions, which ought never to have been conveyed, or at all events to have been corrected in the very earliest stage of classical education—the character of school books would be more jealously watched than it is at present.

As we proceed we shall not strictly confine ourselves to the review of works of this character, but we shall here and there hint at such changes in the course of instruction ordinarily pursued as may appear desirable; and, before doing this, we must protest, once and for all, against the egregious folly of attempting to commence the classical education of the young on any analytical or Hamiltonian principles. "He that will have a cake out of the wheat must tarry the grinding,"† and "the boulding," and "the leavening." We are not to be deluded by the weak and succulent rapidity of growth which is sometimes the result of this forcing system; we firmly believe that there never yet has been an instance where a youth thus instructed has been able to stand the test of a searching examination.

Some there are, doubtless, who will be ready to bring forward against any suggestions of amendment the number of first-rate scholars who have been trained on, what we consider, defective plans, and with imperfect instruments. These have, for the most part, been men of genius and leisure, with an intense love for ancient literature. But that which applies to professed scholars will not serve for those, who, with limited talents, and in a limited time, cannot afford to devote even these exclusively to classical pursuits. Without professing to make a royal road, we may, for the sake of this class, be allowed to remove obstructions from the ordinary path, or so far to hedge it in as to prevent unnecessary deviations.

We esteem it to be a most fortunate circumstance, that of all the elementary books of the present day the grammars are, perhaps, the least objectionable. Amongst those, certainly, in more common use there are few against which any very serious charges can be brought. Those are the most faulty which by

* Wotton's "Remains."

† "Troilus and Cressida."

abbreviations, bracketings, and paucity of examples, aim at a conciseness which is either merely apparent, or is attained by a sacrifice of simplicity, and which, for want of a better term, we must call hypersystematic. In these, from a hope, and a most vain one it is, of giving mere boys a succinct, and at the same time a general and comprehensive idea of the language, there is a tendency, for the sake of the *ευσύννοπτον*,* to omit, or consign to foot notes, margin, and small print many even of the more important exceptions to general rules. Now of systems of fagging, flogging, pudding before meat, or the reverse, boys between nine and twelve or thirteen have doubtless very distinct ideas, but of grammatical systems little or none. Inch by inch, rule by rule, exception by exception, must the stern work of grammar-learning be mastered; the grammar must be perfectly committed to memory by the boy, and explained and exemplified, as far as his own capacity or the time of his master will admit; and it will be well if—when this course of operation has been firmly and faithfully pursued for at least two years—any light, as to the theory of the language generally should begin to dawn upon young hopeful's intellect. Still, as we before said, we have not any grievous complaint to make. Those who meet with boys from various schools know well that good scholars may be, and indeed are, constantly formed upon nearly all our extant grammars. Many of the more modern ones are possibly improvements upon the old Eton, for which, however, we suffered too much, and learnt too early a profound respect, to be able now coolly to criticize it. Though we do not complain of the quality of grammars, we do, and that most bitterly, of their multitude, with the endless confusion occasioned by their various editions and corrections. We question whether all their improvements can compensate for the sum total of mischief thus occasioned. Almost every school seems to have its grammar, and the waste of time and loss of growth in cases of transplantation is incalculable.

Much suffering might be spared, to both boys and masters, if a majority of the very talented men who are now at the head of our public schools would combine, either to recommend the general adoption of one of those already in use, or to form a new one. We fear this is not to be expected; but self-conceit, or trifling differences of opinion, could scarcely be sacrificed to a more important object. To the decision of such men as Arnold, Saunders, Wordsworth, or Kennedy, no one need feel

* Aristot. Poet.

any shame in submitting, and there are many who would feel very grateful for having their choice thus guided *

Whilst treating of rudiments, we should leave undischarged an important duty if we omitted to mention the services of Messrs. Donnegan and Riddle.† In no department was there greater need of amendment; nothing could possibly be worse than the Entick and Schrivelius which were in use during the earlier part of our own period of pupilage. Notwithstanding the many excellences of Donnegan, and our thorough conviction that English is far preferable to Latin as an exponent of Greek, we could not help feeling some regret at the loss of the Latin indirectly acquired on the old plan. We think, however, that the former consideration ought fairly to outweigh the latter, especially as long as the contrast lies between a perfect lexicon, with good English, and an imperfect one, with indifferent Latin expositions.

Mr. Riddle's is an invaluable work; indeed we should consider it so, when compared with the school Entick, merely on the ground of its large stock of derivations. From the time that a boy commences translation of the simplest kind, derivations should be attended to. In the monotony of early instruction they are, perhaps, the very first things that awaken curiosity and interest; a momentary escape and respite, if it be only an apparent one, from the irksome matter in hand is that for which boys are continually craving. This may be more advantageously indulged by frequent reference to kindred English words, in which they feel themselves at home, than in any other manner. All this may appear palpable enough, but we know that it is very seldom done, and therefore we urge it. Mr. Riddle does not meddle with this, but he gives us the Latin derivations fully; and in Entick there were none. There is one point on which we must differ with him, and this has arisen from the over desire of systemizing before alluded to. Boys soon begin insensibly to reason from analogy, and the first mistakes, in the case of the more intelligent, arise from following up analogies too closely. Thus, for instance, unless his grammar has taught him otherwise, if asked from what *precī* comes, he will be sure to answer *prex*; and, should he turn to Mr. Riddle's Dictionary, he will find his answer in some measure justified. Now this is most

* Since the above was written, we have been informed that one and the same Latin grammar has been lately adopted at Harrow, Winchester, and Rugby.

† The Rev. J. E. Riddle's "Young Scholar's Latin—English Dictionary."

mischievous; the very points which require to be impressed upon the memory are those where the analogy is broken, not where it is preserved. In the latter case, the reason and the memory assist each other; in the former, the memory has to act against the ear and such reason as the boy is capable of exercising. Again, we find "*liber*, a son," with the caution that the singular is rarely used; it would surely have been safer to say, never by any good authority, and better still to have excluded the word altogether, as the eye of the boy, in looking for it, would be almost sure to catch the word *liberi*. Some consideration should be had of the probable view which would be taken of the usage of such a word as *liber*, by those at whose tribunal the young scholar may afterwards be called upon to appear. Nine out of ten examiners would treat it, not as an excusable archaism, but as a very gross error. The fact is, that such words as *præx*, *liber*, and many others of the same kind which we might quote, ought carefully to be kept from the eye and ear, certainly not presented to them by any authority which a boy is at all likely to respect. Those who know how difficult it is to eradicate wrong ideas for which there is some semblance of reason will appreciate this caution.

We are not certain whether it is worse ignorantly to make a bad article or unconsciously to import one. Without measuring the degrees of turpitude, we have before us a book in which the two evils are laboriously combined; it is entitled the "Greek Reader,"* naturalized and adapted for the English market, by Mr. Edwards, from a German work by Professor Jacobs. It is intended, as its name implies, to accompany or to follow immediately upon the grammar. It begins with the first declension of Greek nouns, thereby promising that simplicity for which, in a book of such a nature, everything else ought to be sacrificed; but in this we are soon disappointed. We say nothing against the length of the sentences. In Latin there may be some sense in proceeding gradually from sentences of two words to sentences of three, and in Greek too, if any one, out of pure contradictoriness, chooses to maintain that Greek should precede Latin; but, supposing some progress to have been made in the simpler language, there is certainly no occasion to increase the length of sentences, word by word, like grains of calomel. Some writers of school books have been mechanically careful in this respect. If the words themselves are simple—if the clauses are not involved, and lead us to no very difficult sense, whether they

* The "First Greek Reader," from the German of Jacobs, with English notes, by the Rev. J. Edwards, M.A., Trin. Coll. Cam.

measure an inch and a half or two inches, is, we imagine, of very little importance. Our own model of an elementary sentence would consist of a nominative with its adjective, and a verb with its one or two governments—as, for instance, a verb of giving with its accusative and dative. The words should be at first of the very simplest form, and *the sense to which they lead palpable the moment their English is known*. Endless changes may be made in such sentences, and the difficulty of the component words gradually increased, and idioms introduced, as the pupil becomes more and more familiar with his accidence and syntax. For translating and parsing these no further assistance would be needed than the legitimate one, rendered by a grammar and lexicon, not an index, under the superintendence of the instructor; and no further aid ought to be given. Whatever ground is thus gained, will be really gained.

But to return to Mr. Edwards. We presume that he intends his sentences to be, in plain words, parsed and construed. Now, we would ask, if simplicity is his object, how this is gained by mixing up his “instances of substantives of the first declension” with others of different declensions, and linking them together with verbs, contracted and uncontracted, regular and irregular, of all tenses, moods, conjugations, and voices, and of all imaginable degrees of difficulty, both in formation and sense. For instance, in the second page, which we introduce for the sake of the verbs, as here he keeps to his substantive of the second declension:—

“Μὴ κατόκνει μακρὰν ὁδὸν πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὰς διδάσκειν τι χρήσιμον ἐπαγγελλομένους.”

He himself evidently sees the unreasonableness of the sentence, and, in this case, construes and parses it throughout in a foot note; thus proposing an unnecessary difficulty, for the sake of rendering what we should call illegitimate aid. We give the note as a specimen:—

“Μὴ κατόκνει, *do not think it troublesome*; imperat. pres. of κατοκνέω· μακρὸς μακρὰ μακρόν—πορεύεσθαι, *to go*; infin. pres. of πορεύομαι—construe πρὸς τὰς ἐπαγγελλομένους (particip. pres. pass. of ἐπαγγέλλομαι) διδάσκειν (infin. pres. of διδάσκω) τι χρήσιμον *to those who promise to teach something* (τι neut. of τις) *useful*.”

Similar notes, conveying more or less information, are scattered plenteously throughout the work. On such a system, how is it possible satisfactorily to ascertain progress? Sometimes information is withheld, which, according to Mr. Edwards's principle, is absolutely necessary—sometimes information is

given, which, on any principle, is superfluous; as, for instance, in the note to the next sentence:—

“Λέγουσιν 3, plur. pres. of λεγω—εἶναι infin. pres. of εἰμι.”

But we shall proceed in rendering our readers more indignant by turning over a few more pages, and citing further easy passages for boys beginning Greek.

Page 50 (in the examples of regular verbs in ω), middle and deponent verbs:—

“*Ἀντίγονος υποχωρῶν* (a contracted verb to begin with) *ποτε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπερχομένοις οὐκ ἔφη φεύγειν ἀλλὰ διώκειν τὸ συμφέρον ὀπίσω κείμενον.*”

The next sentence but one:—

“*Ἐρωτήσαντος τινος τὸν Ἀνταλκίδαν, πῶς ἂν τις μάλιστα ἄρέσκοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; εἰ ἤδιστα μὲν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς διαλέγοιτο ὠφελιμώτατα δὲ προσφέροιτο.*”

Page 27 we have the basis of the famous argument of Bishop Butler, in his Chapter on Necessity:—

“*Ζήνων δαλον ἐμασίγη ἐπὶ κλοπῇ· τὸ δὲ εἰποντος, ἔμαρτό μοι κλέψαι, καὶ δαρῆναι, Ζήνων ἔφη.*”

We think no further quotation is required to give the reader a good idea of the discretion with which this portion of the book is written. One more specimen, in the examples of contracted verbs, page 33:—

“*Λάμπις ὁ ναύκληρος ἐρωτηθεὶς, πῶς ἐκτήσατο τὸν πλετον; οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔφη τὸν μέγαν, τὸν δὲ βραχὺν, ἐπιπόνως.*”

A considerable portion of the first fifty pages of the book is devoted to the catches and double *entendres* of the wise men of Greece; an egregious folly, which we have seen committed in other elementary books, but never to the extent in which we find it here. It is surely unreasonable to expect that a boy who is just commencing Greek, and who is of course supposed as yet to be unable to keep up with Xenophon's army from *σταθμὸς* to *σταθμὸς*, should stand at ease in the portico or academy, and to suppose that before he has cut his eye teeth he should be able to crack the jokes and enjoy the *facetiae* of philosophers. To him these jests are likely, we fear, to become disagreeably practical, and the poignancy of the ferule to be felt more keenly than that of the wit, leaving both author and teacher somewhat in the position of Coleridge's

“Poor nigh-related guest,
Who may not rudely be dismiss'd;
But hath outstayed his welcome-while,
And tells the jest without the smile.”

After the first fifty-five pages we come to what is entitled the *Manual for Beginners*. For whom, then, is the limbo intended through which we have just been wading? If it was desired that the master should translate the sentences, and the boy merely decline or conjugate the verbs and substantives, wherefore the indulgence of the foot notes? As we proceed, these are somewhat more thinly scattered, and the irony becomes more subtle. The second part of the *Manual for Beginners* is divided, with peculiarly logical precision, into anecdotes of philosophers, statesmen, orators and poets, kings and *Lacedæmonians*; we presume, because, without calling in these last as auxiliaries, nothing sufficiently terse and aphoristic could be procured: Here, as elsewhere, are to be found scattered instances of every species of recondite sense and difficult construction, explained, indeed, in some instances, by notes, but not any of them—we refer, of course, to the constructions—repeated sufficiently often consecutively to make an impression on the memory. Then follows an abstract of natural history, giving an account of the habits of some fifteen or twenty animals. Here again the last chapter is an exception in favour of nitre and the magnet—why nitre should be thus honoured we cannot tell; the magnet is possibly introduced from some lurking idea in the minds of the Professor and Mr. Edwards, that, from its power of originating motion, it has some claim to be considered amongst animals—perhaps it is merely intended to make the chapter attractive; of this, however, it unfortunately fails. These are followed by mythological notices, from amongst which it is, perhaps, more practicable to select moderately easy lessons than from any other portion of the book. A brief geographical sketch, together with some epistolary specimens, closes the book, which, with the lexicon attached, consists of about three hundred pages. With every pretension to method, a work more unmethodical and ill-conceived it has seldom fallen to our lot to encounter. Mr. Edwards may possibly be a superior scholar; but we cannot congratulate him on that “composition of understanding admirable, which, being able to compass and comprehend the greatest matters, can nevertheless touch and apprehend the least,”* like the trunk of the elephant, which with nearly equal facility can grasp a palm tree or secure a pin. For the future we would recommend him to move erect in the higher walks of classical literature, if he can feel himself at home therein—a question to be asked. In the position in which we have just viewed him he strongly reminds us of an incautious visitor to a famous grotto in

* Bacon's Introduction to “The Advancement of Learning.”

School Books.

the neighbourhood of Naples,* where, if the head is much declined from the perpendicular, extreme prostration and most pitiable fatuity is the speedy and inevitable penalty. With the German Professor it is less our business to meddle. The Greek Reader may be an improvement on the elementary books hitherto used in German, and may suit the youthful German better than the youthful English intellect; for we can readily imagine that the national stamp is visible at a very early period. Yet we cannot help thinking, that to make difficulties in one line and dissipate them in the next, by the "fatal facility" of a foot note, is ridiculous anywhere; and that the proverb, "what is lightly won is lightly lost," holds good in every nation under the sun.

Only in its steady adherence to the Attic dialect is this book superior to most of those on which it was designed to be an improvement; in other respects, we should consider even Valpy's *Delectus*, with all its faults, far before it.

A book, however, is still wanted, of considerable length, and judiciously graduated, not assuming to give a smattering of different styles and dialects, avoiding the more difficult idioms, and mainly composed of staple words. After this, Xenophon's *Anabasis* may at once follow, of which not less than three or four books should be read; it will answer the purpose of preparation for higher authors better than any "selections" which we have yet seen. Indeed, we are at a loss to conceive why mere books of samples, in one of which the second specimen is the Plague of Athens, extracted from Thucydides, should be allowed to supersede the continuous study of one of the easiest and most elegant Attic writers. If the perusal of twenty or thirty pages were really capable of impressing a style, or making a dialect familiar, we might hesitate; but we feel sure that no man of experience will ever expect such a result from means so inadequate.

Here we would mention a common error against which we are anxious to protest. It appears to us so serious a one, that, though in our better schools it is being gradually discontinued, we should be glad to anticipate by a few years its final and total decease; we refer to the premature study of Homer. Its magnificence as a poem—it is of the *Illiad* that we particularly speak—does not prevent it from being one of the worst books that can be put into a young boy's hands. We were ourselves unfortunately victims of this practice, and the confusion of the as yet undistinguished dialects, the poetical license, and apparent irregularities, produced a degree of Pyrrhonism in our minds, respecting Greek in general, which proved the most serious

* The Grotto del Cane.

obstacle, and the sorest discouragement, that we ever had to encounter. That a fourth-form boy should learn to talk "as maids of sixteen do of puppy dogs," of a book which, at one of our Universities at least, is considered to be one of the most dangerous and trying that a candidate for honours can offer for examination, is, to our minds, a paradox. The study of Homer should be preceded, at any rate, by that of Herodotus, of some good Attic writer, and perhaps, if possible, of Theocritus. On the Greek course, after these cautions, there is no pressing necessity to dwell further.

The recent publications of many of the Greek school and college editions of the classics offer great facilities to the young scholar. Of the specimens which we have examined with any care, we should be inclined to prefer Stocker's Herodotus and Major's Plays of Euripides. The assistance rendered by the notes certainly reaches the utmost allowable limit; but the references are generally short and to the point, and the simple form in which many of the most important canons of criticism are presented is another most valuable feature. On consulting these notes a boy will generally find something more than will just serve to extricate him from his difficulty, more information too, of a certain kind, than he is likely to meet with elsewhere in an equally small compass. Of minute errors, our readers will see that in a review of this kind it is impossible to enter into a detail; but we feel little doubt that the result of their publications will be, that the authors thus illustrated will be studied with more intelligence, and therefore with more confidence, than they could be when the same edition was put into the hands of the merest tyro and the most advanced scholar.

In Latin the case is altogether different from that of Greek, which we have just been contemplating. Here, for the very first advance in the language, there is no great deficiency of books. There is an excellent little work of some standing, but far less known than it ought to be, entitled "Adams's *Lectiones Selectæ*," in which much care and discrimination is shown. Its only defect is its brevity. In looking through it, we scarcely find a single injudicious sentence. In an advertisement to the edition, which fell into our hands, the author informs us that there is also one with translations and parsing lessons annexed; this, of course, we should not recommend.

Professor Jacobs has also furnished us with a Latin Reader, free from the principal defects of his other work. Either of these may be followed by Eutropius, whom we do not hesitate to recommend as the easiest Latin author. The difficulties occurring in his pages are just sufficient to excite watchfulness, and no

more. After this we think there is a vacuum; at any rate, there is no received Latin author sufficiently easy to take the next place. Cornelius Nepos, Bradley's Ovid, Cæsar, and sometimes even Sallust, are now introduced, but only for want of something more in proportion with the progress already made. Of these the first mentioned is generally the one chosen, as the most simple. We cannot here allow ourselves to quote, but we ask any of our readers, who may feel interested in this subject, to read patiently through this author's life of Atticus, and then judge whether our objection is just. The difficulties here may perhaps be rather more numerous than elsewhere, but they are of the same class with those which occur throughout the book.

In the case of Ovid and Sallust, one might have supposed that the difficulties would be anticipated; and here we must request that our *à priori* reasons against them may be allowed to serve instead of extracts. The very subjects of the former—we now speak of his “Metamorphoses”—impose on him necessarily the exercise of a most skilful legerdemain, which, gracefully as he versifies what perhaps few other Latin poets could have versified at all, could not be practised without sudden turns of expression, unexpected results, and occasionally forced senses of words. We can by no means afford to part with Ovid altogether. His endless variety of diction and structure make him perhaps the very best author for practice in parsing, whilst the amazing *δεξιότης* to which we have before referred, makes him a most valuable guide for translations from English into Latin verse, though, of course, we would not be understood to recommend him as a model for versification generally, in preference to Virgil.

As for Sallust, what, we ask, can be more palpably ridiculous than to adopt as an early Latin book the writings of an author who has studiously and notoriously followed the style of the most difficult Greek historian? Next to Tacitus, Sallust is, without doubt, the hardest Latin prose author. Not that we would discard Sallust, still less Cæsar; but we think that some book might be framed to precede them, presenting fewer asperities than are to be found in their pages. Such a book might be formed of extracts; not snatched from some ten or twenty authors, good, bad, and indifferent, after the usual fashion, but carefully selected from the writings of Livy, Cicero, and Virgil. Hitherto instructors seem, in many cases, to have proceeded on the very erroneous idea that the difficulties of authors are about commensurate with their merits or their length, and it is quite possible that our proposal may raise a smile on the face of many, but we speak advisedly. It constantly happens that the narrative of Livy runs on, not merely from clause

to clause, but from chapter to chapter, without anything like an intricacy, with a purport that cannot by any possibility be mistaken, and with almost every word in its primary sense. What more can be wanted? And the same may be said of many parts of Cicero, especially in the offices, the de Senectute, and de Amicitia. We cannot account for the rare occurrence of extracts from Virgil, in existing selections, unless it arises from a reluctance to destroy the integrity of this author for a subsequent reading. Why this should be felt in the case of Virgil, more than of other writers, we cannot tell, but no more substantial objection appears; and this is trifling compared with the advantage of familiarising the mind at the earliest possible period with the very best models, or, which is still more important, of allowing it to feel its own strength, by matching it with difficulties which it has the means of contending against and overcoming. This is all in all; we do not admire an over tenderness in education: exact, no matter how rigorously, but justify yourself in so doing by the conviction that your demands are reasonable, and those for the satisfaction of which you yourself have given the means. From the want of attention to this—from omitting to sound your depths—from setting what is difficult before you are quite certain that what is easy has been properly accomplished, arise all the imperfections and uncertainties of early classical education. Up to a certain point it admits of the greatest nicety; but then we must not hear of scrambling your knowledge amongst your boys, and allowing each to pick up the fragments as he can—of doing your duty by them, and then letting them take their chance. If you do the latter, you may be very certain that you are not doing the former. Your course should be one to which no such language as this can be applicable. Putting out of the question those monsters of stupidity, which are few in number really, most of those who are condemned as such being the creations of the indolence of schoolmasters, in about the same ratio that the prodigies of Genius are the fictions of the vanity of parents. Setting aside, we say, extreme cases, a certain degree of acquirement may be calculated upon and ensured within a certain time, if the hints are attended to which we have offered, and if a course be adopted, not very unlike that which we have been suggesting. Even though there may not be that patience, judgment, and energy which we could wish, mere uniformity of system, and a general adoption of the same routine, might prevent early classical education from being the merest accident; and the professions of one schoolmaster respecting the attainments of a pupil, need no longer be, as they now are, the *summum incredi-*

bile of another. We say early classical education, being fully aware that afterwards the certainty of which we have been speaking cannot so well be secured. During the latter part of what has been called the second stage or period, many influences begin to act, which before did not exist. Hitherto all masters, except those guilty of the grossest imposture, may be supposed to possess at least competency of knowledge; but henceforth the instructor's peculiarities, whether of excellence or of deficiency, begin to operate, and to characterise the scholar. The difference between boy and boy becomes far more marked than before; the imperfections common to childhood, one by one, drop away; after this mere quickness of memory and school-boy readiness lose much of their importance, and the mind of the future man first begins to show itself in exercises of composition. The obstinacy of the obstinate becomes invincible, and vanity, and the other passions of more advanced youth, present perpetual difficulties and anomalies for the discernment of the tutor, as they forward or retard the progress of his disciples. Further than this it is not now our intention to carry our remarks; indeed we shall return again to the juniors, immediately after expressing our opinion on one work, especially designed for this more advanced period, because, being as it is about the worst of a very bad class, it appears to deserve to bear the brunt of our animadversion. We refer to Hickie's "*Terence*,"* from the text of Reinhardt. Though we observed that it is designed for those who have made some progress, we can by no means say that it is applicable either to this or any other class, except that of sham schoolmasters, or to those who are undertaking to teach themselves the classics without the assistance of grammar, dictionary, or oral instruction. The notes are full of what, to a well-taught boy of fifteen, are gross impertinences, mingled with information which he ought to derive from other sources. The tendency of such a book is most destructive; it leaves a boy no room for the exercise of labour, ingenuity, or taste—not a single difficulty is left for him to overcome; nay, even the very beauties of the author are pointed out for him. Now where the path is very rugged, we do not object to the occasional services of the pioneer; but if our recruits are to march with their steps firm and their eyes open, do not let him carefully pick every pebble out of the path. Above all, if he must remove the thorns and brambles, at least let him leave the flowers by the way side, to be seen and smelt by those who have "the vision and the

* *P. Terentii Afri. Comadia Sex ex Edit. Th. Frid. God. Reinhardt. With explanatory notes by D. B. Hickie, LL. D.*

faculty ;” not pluck them for the purpose of sprinkling our road with his distilled rose-water—a luxury far too questionable to deserve the name of Capuan. A tutor who is determined to ascertain the capacity, or exercise the industry, of his pupils, is driven, if not to despair, to Lucan, Claudian, and other second-rate authors, whither, as soon as there appeared to be any chance of a remunerating sale, contraband books of the same unworthy character would soon follow him. Under such circumstances, who can wonder that University standards are raised, that stricter grammatical tests are applied, and that so much stress is laid on Latin composition, the only requirement up to a certain point of which, most fortunately, there is no evasion. We have not to travel far before we meet with passages which more than justify us in the terms just made use of. Take the following set of remarks from the notes commencing at the twenty-ninth line of the *Andria* :—

“ *Animum ad aliquod studium adjungant.* ‘ Direct their attention to some one pursuit.’ Studium signifies that kind of pursuit which engages and delights the mind. Comp. Hec. iv. 2, 18, 19-30. *Alere.* This infinitive depends on the substantive studium, conformably to the Greek syntax, in place of the Gerund *alendi*—*canes ad venandum* for *canes venaticos*, hunting dogs. The preposition *ad* sometimes signifies “for the purpose.” Comp. Propert. iv. 9, 11. Virg. *Æn.* x. 253. Livy, xxii. 19, xxxiv. 6. The words *ad philosophos* depend on *animum adjungant.* 31 *Homoille.* “ He exhibited so excessive desire for one of these above another.” *Egregie* for *vehementer* or *valde*, “excessively.” Com. i. 5, 38. *Præter cætera* for *præ cæteris*, or *plus quam cætera.* Comp. vs. 94. 32. *Studebat*, “ Eagerly pursued.” This verb is construed with an accusative also, Hec. ii. 2, 20. Cic. Phil. vi. 7-33. *Non injuria*, “ And not without reason.” Comp. Eun. iii. i. 43—*nam id arbitror*, &c., for I consider this old maxim exceedingly useful in life : too much of one thing is good for nothing.” *Apprime* means the same as *ἐν πρώτοις*, *imprimis*, particularly. 34. *Ut ne quid nimis* supply, *agas.* The Greeks say *μηδὲν ἄγαν.* This is a sentiment not unbecoming a servant, because it is common, and is therefore not put into the mouth of the master,” &c.

In the notes to lines 47 and 48 we have some nice specimens of quotations from the commentators :—

“ 47, *Primum hæc pudice.* ‘ It is absolutely necessary (says Donatus) that the reputation of Glycerium should be supposed to be spotless and unblemished ; and as she could never be made an honest woman, if it were not clear that she was so before marriage, Chrysis, with whom she lived, is partly to be defended, partly to be praised ; and, although it is necessary to confess that she is a courtesan, yet her behaviour is rendered as excusable as such a circumstance will admit.’ —*Parce, ac duriter*, &c. Thrifty, though poor, she lived ; ‘ with her own hands a homely livelihood scarce earning from the distaff and the

loom.' Comp. Virg. du. viii. 409. *Duriter*, 'laboriously,' 'industriously.' Comp. Adelph. I. i. 20. The reverse is expressed by *facillime*, Adelph III. iv. 56. *Vitam agere* for *vivire*, as in Adelph. I. i. 20. 48, *Lana ac tela*. Spinning and weaving were the chief employments of the matrons of antiquity, and even of the most noble. See Casaubon on Sueton. August., c. 64."

From this wretched twaddle the reader may form a fair estimate of the notes generally. They fill nearly four hundred closely printed pages, and are, for the most part, a mixture of grammar, dictionary, Crombie, Donatus, Colman, and the author, who might, however, have studied Dr. Crombie, even more closely with advantage; he might have discovered in the Gymnasium a more complete and perfect distinction than (line 137) "*mala mens, malus animus*. *Mens* signifies the natural disposition—*animus*, the will."

Sometimes we have the same information, and that of the most ordinary kind, given twice, or oftener, with a very short interval. Thus—

"Andria, Act I. v. 42. *Sed ut vim queas ferre*, 'but I fear that you will not be able to withstand.' The particle *ut*, after *vereor*, is taken in a negative sense. See note on I. i. 46."

Where the same information is given. We turn over two or three more pages, and find again—

"Act II. ii. 12.....After the verbs *timeo*, *paveo*, *vereor*, &c., *ut* is taken in a negative sense, &c."

After this fashion, there is certainly no great difficulty in fabricating a voluminous and expensive work; as to affording any proof of acquirement, a "construe" from Dr. Hickie's "Terence" is about equivalent to a tune on the barrel organ.

It is scarcely necessary to give specimens from Anthon's "Horace," as Dr. Hickie candidly informs us, in his Preface, that "the edition of 'Terence' now submitted to the classical student, was undertaken at the request of the bookseller, and has been executed, as nearly as possible, on the plan of Anthon's 'Horace.'"

But we must give the editor of Anthon's "Horace," much as we dislike the work, the credit of far greater judgment, taste, and conciseness than is displayed in that which we have just reviewed.

We must not forget our promise to return to the juniors. An elementary work, entitled "Henry's First Latin Book," by the Rev. T. K. Arnold, we have examined attentively, and with much interest, as we understand that it has met with a very favourable reception. Other works, with a somewhat higher

aim, have since been written by the same author; but we think it better, for the present, to confine our attention to that which is most known, and probably the most characteristic. The silly affectation of the title at first disgusted us; but on examination we found all the earnest, and often successful, pains-taking which marks the labour of love and the hand of a father, anxious, according to his own motto, to bring his son as gently as possible past "the wearisome bitterness of his learning." It so rarely happens that we find any great amount of intelligent thought and honest labour thrown into classical books for children, that it is quite a pleasure to meet with one, the worst defects of which are worthy of serious criticism, as being the results, not of indolence or carelessness, but of strenuous, though misdirected, exertion. In spite of this earnestness of purpose and intelligence, there is still, we think, a marked want of that experience, which, in the education of the young especially, teaches us at last, after perhaps many abortive efforts, and much wasted ingenuity, that simplicity is the grand requisite, and that this must be secured, whatever else is sacrificed. Hence we disapprove of the many-sided character of Mr. Arnold's book. Its professed object is "to enable a pupil to do exercises from the first day of his beginning the study of his accidence;" yet we certainly have never yet seen any single grammar of which this book could be, step by step, a concomitant. Neither will the mass of grammatical information scattered irregularly here and there supply the want of a regular grammar. If one is learnt, there is too much—if not, there is too little, of this information. Take, for instance, the following note on "*unus*," page 20 :—

"This word, with some others, has this peculiarity : *unus*, *una*, and *unum* all make their gen. *unius*, and their dat. *uni*, instead of the regular genitives and datives of the first and second declensions."

If the pupil has learnt, or is learning, a good grammar, all this is trifling; if not, "*alter*," "*solus*," and the other exceptions of equal importance, should have been added. In some instances, even where there has evidently been an attempt to give a perfect rule, there are most important omissions. Thus, in the note to page 10, *do*, *go*, and *io*, are given as the feminine terminations of the third declension in *o*, whereas this is, of course, only the case with certain restrictions. The words ending in *do* and *go*, of feminine gender, are generally those which consist of more than two syllables; and the feminines in *io* are the derivatives of verbs. Without these statements the rule is incorrect. Again, in the list of neuter terminations, the important one, "*men*," is

omitted (p. 122). Again, the list of adjectives of irregular comparison (p. 74) is somewhat defective. Such omissions as these form the only discreditable, but by no means the only mistaken, portion of the book. What do our readers think of the following receipts for the formation of substantives and verbs, compared with the old, plain, standard patterns, and the “*as in præsentī*” of the Eton grammar:—

Lesson XX., page 25. “On finding the nominative case of the third declension from any other case.

“Clause 84. The most common way of all is given in the following rule:—

1. “Find the *root* (*z*) and add *s* to it.

(1). “For *cs*, *gs*, you must write *x*; and if a *t* sound, (*a*) or *r* stand before *s*, throw it away.

(2). “If the letters before *s* are *nt*, sometimes *t* only is thrown away, sometimes both consonants.

(3). “Besides this, a *short i* in the last syllable should be changed into *e*.

2. “Another way is to throw away the last letter of the root.

(1). “This applies principally to *n* (sometimes to *r l*).

(2). “An *i* before *n* should be changed into *o*, as *consuetudinem* (*consuetudi*); *consuetudo*.

3. “A third way is to add *is*, *es*, or (for *neuters*) *e* to the root.

4. “Sometimes ‘*ēi*,’ ‘*ōr*,’ as the last letters of a root, should be changed into *ūs*, and *it* into *ut*. (*b*)

[NOTES TO THE ABOVE].

(*z*) “Sometimes the *root* is itself the *nominative*.

(*a*) “That is, *t* or *d*.

(*b*) “Examples. From *ped es* we get *peds*=*pes* [by (1) *a*]; from *frutic is* *frutics*=*frutix*=*frutex*. *Civitātem* *civītat*s *cīvitās*. *Animantur-em*, *animants*, *animans*. *Elephantis*, *elēphant*s, *elephans*, *elēphas* [(1) *b*], by (2) *longitudin-em*, *longitudi*, *longitudo*. *Farris*, *farr*, *far* *fellis*. *fell*, *fel* by (3) *nubem*, *nubes*; *reti*, *rete* by (4) *latēr is* *latūs*; *corpōris*, *corpus*; *capitis*, *caput*.”

This is our specimen of lessons for a little boy on the formation of substantives; we will now take an example from the verbs:—

Page 29, lesson 23. “On finding the root of the perfect for verbs whose root ends in a *t*, sound (*d* or *t*). 96. There, too, the root of the perfect is generally got from the root of the present by adding *s*.

“The *t* sound must be thrown away before this *s*, and the preceding vowel, if short, made long, as

Claud-o

claud-s

claus.

Divid-o

divid-s

divis.

Lesson 24. “Root of the perfect, with lengthened (and often changed) vowel.

103. "Other verbs form the root of the perfect by *lengthening* the vowel of the present, as *ēd-ere*, *ēd*.

104. "If the vowel of the present is *ā*, the root of the perfect will have *ē*—thus, *cāpere cēp*.

105. "Several of these verbs drop an *m* or *n* before the final mute.

Thus—*fraugēre*, *frāg*, *frēg*, (break)

rump-ēre, *rump*, *rūp*, (burst, break through)

vinc-ere, *vinc*, *vīc*, (conquer)

Lesson 33, clause 147. "Subjunctive of *esse*.

Present, *sit*. Imperf., *esset* (*Fuerēt fuisset*, regular from *fu*).

148. "The verb '*can*' '*amable*' is made up of an old adjective, '*potis*,' meaning '*able*,' and the verb '*to be*;' but the two words were run together into *one* with some change.

149. "To get the third persons of '*to be able*' from *to be*.

☞ "Place *pot* before the *third* persons of *to be*, throwing away the *f* from those that begin with that letter, and change *t* into *s* before another *s*, shortening *potess* into *poss*; we thus get (from the forms in 123) *potest*, *possunt*: *poterat*: *poterit*, *poterunt*, and *potu* (for *potfu*) for the root of the perfect 'the subjunctive will be *possit*, *posset*, &c.

[NOTE].

☞ "The *imperfect* and *pluperfect* of the subjunctive are the regular attendants of the past tenses."

The book, with the Appendix, consisting of only 124 short pages, is thickly set with directions of this kind, puzzling, as we think, and perplexing to a young beginner, and requiring, especially, for instance, in the last case, that of *possum*, almost as much time to understand as it would take to learn the verb itself outright; in other cases, injudiciously substituted for a sufficient number of well-chosen examples, which, in this part of the grammar, serve at once for rules and illustrations. Exceptions, however, are so numerous, and so often, almost individual, that it is perfectly futile, in the accidence, to attempt to throw the main labour on the reason rather than on the *aural memory* (if we may be allowed the use of such a term), which Mr. Arnold has clearly been endeavouring to do. His own rules are just of the kind most difficult for the young to learn or retain.

To many of the lessons and exercises are attached a list of the principal words occurring in them, with English derivations attached as "key words," i.e., as the author tells us, "to serve as a key to their meaning." We will give instances, taken from different parts of the volume, not very likely, we think, to serve this purpose:—

			KEY WORD.
Page 3.	Umpire	arbiter, gen. arbitri	arbitration
	Dust	pulvis, gen. pulveris	pulverize
	Horn	cornu	cornucopia
Page 4.	To build	œdificare	edification.

To this last key word we are not surprised that the author should think it necessary to add a note of explanation: "This word means the 'building a man up' in religious knowledge and practice, building on the foundation of faith." (We should require no more than this note to enable us to form our own opinion of the author's *judgment*). But a few more key words:

Page 9. To find	reperire	repertory
19. Gift	donum	donative
28. To cook, bake, } ripen	coquere	decoction
To fill	complere	complement of men
32. To buy	emere	pre-emption
37. Happy	felix, gen. felicis beatus	the beatitudes.

On the other hand, if time would allow, we could select a far greater number of examples, where there are really simple key words, the reason for the omission of which does not appear.

In much of the information conveyed throughout there is an extreme want of connection, regularity, and completeness, and, for the limited size of the book, too much heterogeneity. Blended with the very elements of the accident, and in the notes, we find not merely the harder syntax rules, but philological distinctions, which the most experienced teachers have, as it were by general consent, from the very reason of the thing, deferred to a more convenient season. Thus, in a note to page 57, we find "*succurrere*, to run to support, is stronger than *subvenire*, to come to support." Page 69: "*Petere* expresses the moving towards, or aiming at, some object, whether the motion is actual motion towards a place, or movement of the mind towards that for which it sues." Page 44: "Adjectives in *osus* mean full of what the substantives they are derived from denotes." Page 13: "Nouns in *ia*, *tia*, *tus*, and *tudo*, are abstract nouns, such as the names of virtues, vices, dispositions, feelings." We have, moreover, accounts of proper names, which occur accidentally in the lessons and exercises, as Janus (p. 29)—Socrates (p. 84). We have explanations of English words, as lieutenant (p. 69); hints respecting Roman antiquities, as the mural crown, another instance of a key word itself requiring a key; directions for pronunciation, as (p. 28) "*qu=kwo coquere*, pronounce *cokwere*," and a note explaining the algebraic sign here used; here and there a rule of prosody, as the note on "*faciei*" (p. 11). Hence a perplexing multitude of bracketings, asterisks, hyphens—print, large, small, and italic—and indices of various kinds. We come to the thirty-seventh page before we find the slightest mention of the personal pronouns or the auxiliary verb.

For these reasons, as a first Latin book, we condemn it without

hesitation. It does not, according to our view of these matters, possess sufficient unity of purpose to render it *constructive* of knowledge. After a grammar has been thoroughly learned, in spite of its superfluities, it may be used to very great advantage. It will give a boy an excellent opportunity of recognizing, in a new form, knowledge before acquired, and of examining, though somewhat irregularly, its mechanism.

Both the construing lessons and the exercises are excellent—the differences of the English and Latin idioms are admirably explained and exemplified, and impressed by a frequent and fearless repetition. We have also some good mnemonic lines for the syntax, and here and there a few rules which ought, long ere this, to have found their way into all our school grammars.

We are anxious not to leave altogether without notice the subject of early exercise books. Few, or none, of those at least which we have seen, appear worthy to supplant Ellis. We will, however, give a specimen of one of the more modern ones. We have had occasion to speak very favourably of some of Dr. Major's school books; and we may now add, that his Latin grammar deserves its extensive circulation, especially in its present improved form. It is mainly an English translation of the Eton, with the substitution of lists for mnemonic lines, a change of doubtful effect, with the correction of some very material errors, and the addition of some valuable rules.

We wish it were in our power to speak in terms equally commendatory of his "Junior Latin Exercise Book." This is another adaptation from the German, for which, of course, Dr. Major must hold himself responsible. A more sorry performance it is impossible to conceive, or one displaying a more marked incapacity for entering into the difficulties most likely to embarrass a young beginner. As we maintained that the first Greek constructions offered to the young student should be those which it has in common with Latin, so, and still more strictly, should the first constructions given for translation, either from or into Latin, be those nearest akin to the simplest English form of structure, if we are, indeed, sincerely desirous of aiding and being aided by the understanding of a pupil. When either the one or the other must be sacrificed, the grace, and even the law, of the English should be made to give way, for the sake of securing the most literal intelligible translation of the Latin passage. But which ever way the translation runs, whether from English into Latin or the reverse, especially should a teacher avoid such slovenly freedoms as those which abound in the book now before us. Take as instances of looseness without elegance, and harshness without accuracy, the following sentences :—

Page 29. "Rule—*Hic quis, quantus, plurimus, &c.*, like all other adjectives, agree with their substantive, when such substantives are expressed.

"Everywhere [was] cruel sorrow, everywhere terror, and many an image of death; over what lands, O son, over what immense seas have you, I hear, been carried; with what dangers harrassed."

"*Crudēlis ubique luctus, ubique pavor, et plurimus mors imago; quis terra (acc.) natus ego tu (acc.) accipio, et quantus per æquor vectus (acc.) quantus jactatus (acc.) periculum (abl.)*"

Amongst the examples to "the dative case after certain adjectives:"—

"He is a slave, quick in attending to [his] master's nods; knowing a little Greek, [and] fit for any art."

"*Verna aptus ministerium (dat. plur.) ad nutus herilis; imbutus literulæ Græcus (abl.) idoneus ars quilibet (cuilibet).*"

Again, in the examples of the accusative after *secundum* understood:—

"O, Apollo! the diviner, we pray [that] thou mayst come at last, [having] thy white shoulders clothed with a cloud."

"*Apollo, augur, tandem venio (subj.) precor amictus humerus caudens (caudentes) nubes.*"

Under the rule "Some verbs compounded of *ante, præ, super, &c.*, govern an accusative:"—

"[He said] that it was reasonable that he should be dismissed to sue for that kingdom, which, as by the law of nations, he had yielded to [his] elder brother, so it was now due to him, who was preferable to the orphan in [point of] age."

"*Œquus (acc.) sum (inf.) sui (acc.) dimitto (inf. pass.) ad regnum (petendum), qui, sicuti jus (abl.) gens, cedo (perf. subj.) magnus (comp.) frater, ita nunc debeo (inf. pass.) sui, qui antecedo (pres. subj.) pupillus ætas.*"

We could make similar extracts to almost any amount, if it were requisite; masses of careless confusion, through which, if he be not dragged bodily, by having almost every word told him, as in the last instance, we are sure that no young boy could ever find his way.

We appear now, to ourselves, and we trust also to our readers, to have shown that, simple as the process of school book making may appear, there is, at least, as much necessity for occasional revision and exposure in this as in any other line of authorship. The class that requires protection from bad school-books is by no means a limited one. Great would be the disappointment of any sensible educator of his own children, if, trusting to the

name of its author, he had commissioned his bookseller to send him copies of Major's "Latin Exercises." Great the cruelty of any private schoolmaster who should require his twenty pounds a year usher to lay with them the ground-work of Latin composition; he might with almost equal reason insist upon his mending a pen for small text with the edge of a fire-shovel.

We have one suggestion to offer before we quit this subject. It appears to us that an exercise book is still wanted for senior boys, enforcing the use of those words which deviate from the common laws of formation and gender, and illustrating, by very numerous and copious examples, those constructions which are of the *least* frequent occurrence in ordinary reading. The very reverse of this, it may be observed, has been the practice generally pursued. An occasional exercise in such a book as that which we have described, might, we are very certain, be substituted with advantage for a Latin essay or copy of verses. Many a fair scholar, when he cannot get the use of a dictionary, is compelled to make a variety of shifts by circumlocution or otherwise, rather than hazard a dubious gender or government. Ignorance, of which the exposure may thus be evaded, there is no pressing necessity to dispel, and when the difficulty is over he rarely troubles himself to settle his doubts. Thus, in questions of accidence, he becomes more and more liable to fall into gross errors, and, in his syntax, to adopt a limited number of pet phrases, whilst he is gradually losing a comprehensive command of the words of the language, and power over its arrangement. The mere reading or translating of Latin with ordinary attention, even though this be done to a very considerable extent, is not a sufficient security. So rapidly do the genders of nouns not much in use escape the memory, that we fully believe that three out of six of our *third year* men would hesitate as to the inaccuracy of the "Lichen Islandicum" emblazoned on unwitting apothecary's jar.

We are not to receive it as an evil omen that the present age is demanding a somewhat wider range of education than that which satisfied the last: it is right in so doing, and the superintendents of many even of our public schools have shown their judgment in making the concession required. Not right in yielding to the request of the parent, whose smattering in chemistry or some one branch of the natural sciences has so aggrandized its importance in his own eyes that he must insist on its forming a prominent feature in the education of his child, but right in giving the opportunity of studying one, at least, of the modern languages, and in leaving room for, and laying, the

corner-stones of biblical, mathematical, and historical information. The experiment has been tried, and, where the system of classical instruction is a thoroughly good one, there are ample proofs that the interest of the classics have not suffered. Nor was it to be expected that this alternation of study could be productive of other than good effect. At the same time, the main features of the old system have been preserved; it is not against this generally that any of our remarks have been directed, but only against some of its errors in detail, and against that wretched mismanagement in its application, which, at many schools, has rendered the devotion of seven or eight hours a day, between childhood and manhood, to the study of the classics, really or apparently necessary as a preparation for the University.

These reasonable demands of the age being complied with, there is little ground for any alarm on the subject of the discontinuance of classic study. A new era in our literature may be said to have commenced within the last half century, with no other signs amongst its chief originators than those of an increased respect, and a more enlightened admiration, for the best writers of Greece and Rome.

We have found powerful advocates amongst those in whom, if there were any truth or reason in the anti-classical clamours of the day, we might have expected to find severe antagonists. We have a Coleridge, one of the hierophants of what to England is a new form of mental philosophy—a man, who, throughout his life, was ever earnestly bent on directing the ardours of his mind to melt the chains of everything that bore the semblance of intellectual bondage; no walker in the beaten track of criticism, but eminently qualified to compare the claims of the classics with those of a literature the most likely to supersede them. We have this Coleridge adding, as far as we can judge from his remains, his testimony to the more express declaration of a preceding philosopher, “that classical associations seem justly entitled to the next place after those which belong universally to our species.”*

We have the Grand Master of Mechanics’ Institutes, at a period when he is doing his utmost to dictate the education of the day, dedicating, at long intervals, no inconsiderable portion of his time to the translation of a speech of Demosthenes.

* Dugald Stewart on Taste, Essay iii., chap. 3. The author has very properly added the reservation “that they have certainly no claims to our servile imitation, where they happen to deviate from the standard of nature.”

Take again, Wordsworth—one of our great poetical regenerators—the professed breaker-up of the outworn classico-poetical machinery; but we are sure, carrying his enmity no further than was necessary for the performance of this important service. He would be the last man to deprive our language and our poetry of those graces which it has borrowed almost insensibly from Greek and Roman literature. Will he himself deny this? and thereby compel us to ask him why he admires, at second hand, that which he disdains in the original? Why that English poem is his especial favourite, which, above all others, is redolent of the αἶθρ' λαμπρότατος of Athens, and of which almost every flower has been plucked from the banks of the Cephissus—we mean the “Sampson Agonistes.”*

Thus much for the prospects of the classics to those who, with us, love them. To utilitarians, who are anxious about their position in society, we may for the present stand on high ground, and recommend the perusal of the following remarks, made by one whose opinion they may perhaps respect, as he did not himself claim the title of scholar.

“A perfect knowledge of the classical languages has been fixed upon, and not without good reason, as the mark of a well educated young man; and though people may have scrambled into distinction without it, it is always with the greatest difficulty, just like climbing a wall, instead of giving your ticket at the door. Perhaps you may think another proof of a youth's talents might have been adopted; but what good will arise from your thinking so, if the general practice of society has fixed on this particular branch of knowledge as the criterion? Wheat and barley were, I suppose, as good grain as sesamum; but it was only to sesamum that the talisman gave way, and the rock opened. And it is equally certain that, if you are not a well-founded grammatical scholar in Greek and Latin, you will in vain present other qualifications for distinction. Besides, the study of grammar, from its very asperities, is calculated to teach youth that patient labour which is necessary to the useful exertions of the understanding upon every other branch of knowledge.

* Letter of Sir Walter Scott. Lockhart's Life, vol. 5. chap. ii.

ART. IV.—*Ariana Antiqua : a descriptive Account of the Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan ; with a Memoir on the Buildings called Topes.* By Professor WILSON.

2.—*Papers read before the Numismatic Society.* By Professor WILSON and by ISAAC CULLIMORE, Esq.

3.—*Numismatic Journal*, No. VII. Taylor and Walton.

AN eminent professor of the illustrious art of blotting paper after the most approved fashion, boastfully exclaimed, over a favorite specimen of his handicraft, "*Exegi monumentum ære perennius!*" and paper has been crowing over brass for many a long day. But brass is now beginning to recover ground, and will, we suspect, not merely get equal credit with paper, but triumph, in its turn, by forcing us to acknowledge that paper, after all, is not so durable as brass, and that brass has preserved important historical facts which have slipped out of the paper records. And that this good service is rendered to history, not only by the fine large monumental brasses to which we have already called the attention of our readers, but also, and in a still more remarkable manner, by the small, rude, and seemingly contemptible coins of upper India.

And we are desirous of saying a few words in favour of the study of coins in general ; that, seeing in how many aspects this study may be regarded, and in how many points coins are connected with mythology, history, the fine arts, and civilization, we may anticipate, from the enlightened zeal of such men as those who constitute the Numismatic Society, instruction on all those points, as important and as unforeseen as that which we have derived from the Bactrian coins.

Until quite the end of the last century the study of coins had not taken that place which its importance demands. It was limited to mere collectors, and those often limiting their collection to one species, and limiting their researches to the authenticity, appropriation, and diversity of type in the several coins of that one series or country. So that the pursuit was considered as synonymous with narrow mindedness, and the collector was a common mark for the shafts of those who desired to show their wit. Eckhel, by his great sagacity, profound knowledge, and varied erudition, has done more than any other individual towards giving dignity to the science ; and he has had illustrious followers in all the great capitals of Europe, to speak lightly of whom would now be regarded as an evidence of folly rather than of wit. And the study of coins now ranks among the other pursuits of men of enlarged and enlightened understanding.

The coins to which we are about to direct the attention of our readers are discoveries of our own times, and were utterly unknown at the time when Eckhel began to write; but the good example he set in examining and explaining the coins in previously existing collections, had a direct influence on all such pursuits, and contributed greatly to the important results which ensued. For these acquisitions, and for the information elicited in consequence, we are almost entirely indebted to Englishmen in the service of the East India Company; a body which has combined in a remarkable manner the activity, liberality, and intelligence of commerce, with the munificence of royalty, in encouraging and rewarding skill and enterprise of every kind. And we shall search in vain through the world's history for another such instance of a company, associated for purposes purely commercial, gathering around them such bands of high-minded, enlightened, and enterprising men as are found at the three presidencies; an empire, exemplifying in the most striking manner the saying, that "knowledge is power."

It is to the accomplished British residents at the various stations of our Indian empire, that we owe the discovery and the elucidation of this interesting series of coins; and more especially to Mr. Prinsep and Mr. Masson. And the descriptions and dissertations first appeared in a monthly journal, published at Calcutta, from whence they were extracted into the *Journal des Savans*, and other continental publications. Mr. Prinsep had previously distinguished himself by decyphering the inscriptions on the rocks near Madras, and found on the Indian portion of this series of coins characters similar to those on the rocks, and each thus reflected light on the other. And by a process very similar to that by which Dr. Young decyphered the hieroglyphics of the rosetta stone, Mr. Prinsep has opened the way to discoveries scarcely less important than our acquaintance with the hieroglyphics of Egypt.

The time to which these coins relate is that which intervenes between the revolt of Theodotus from Antiochus Theos, B.C. 255—and our earliest historical knowledge of India, which can scarcely be carried higher than the twelfth century. And these coins not only bring to light a long list of kings, abounding in wealth and quite unknown to history, but rectify our notions concerning the chronology, antiquities, and literature of the Eastern world; a topic so interesting in itself, and so fertile a field for speculation. These coins bear severally the portraits of the sovereign by whom they were issued, and his name and titles are written first in Greek alone, afterwards with a mixture of Indian words in Greek characters, next with Greek charac-

ters on the obverse and Indian letters on the reverse, and lastly, with Indian legends on both sides of the coin. In the earlier coins again, the execution is decidedly Greek, and they bear the common Greek reverses of the sitting Jupiter, the standing and sitting Hercules, Minerva Promachus, the Dioscuri, the owl of Athens, tripods, dolphins, &c. But these symbols gradually die out, and are supplied by symbols decidedly Indian, as the panther, elephant, buffalo, &c.; and as these come in, the workmanship becomes more and more rude, and the shape is frequently square, as if cut off from a ribband of metal, and roughly struck upon an anvil.

In the different periods of time to which these coins refer, the proportions of the precious metals to each other are very different. For the first century, and during the reign of the Græco-Bactrian kings, we have only one coin of gold, but twenty-six of silver, and five of copper; in the two next centuries, under the Græco-Bactrian kings, we have none of gold, but twenty-three of silver and forty-nine of copper; and of the Scythic and Indian kings of the first and second centuries of our era, there are seven coins of gold, six of silver, and more than eighty of copper; making in the whole upwards of two hundred coins, which, with the exception of two, have been recently brought to light.

Professor Wilson, after giving a sketch of all the history of Bactria which Bayer was able to glean from the scattered notices to be found in Justin, Strabo, and Polybius, and from two coins, one of which was spurious, writes—

“Such is a brief outline of the summary history of Bactria, which Bayer, with much research and ingenuity, wrought out of the desultory, and not always consistent, intimations of classical writers, and out of a solitary coin. For a long time further numismatic confirmation of his narrative was exceedingly scanty. A small gold coin—still the only gold coin of the dynasty—of Euthydemus was published by Pellerin; but no other coins of any of the Bactrian kings were known until a comparatively recent period.”—“In 1811.....the only additions were another tetradrachm of Eucratidas and one of Heliocles.”

And it was not till 1833 that the major part of these coins was discovered, by Colonel Tod, Mr. Masson, and others.

“They amount to several thousands; and, besides the coins of some of the recorded kings of Bactria, they comprehend the coins of many Greek princes, who must have reigned over portions of the Bactrian kingdom, although their names were unknown to the writers of antiquity, as Antialcidas, Antimachus, Lysias, Hermæus, Amyntas, Agathocles, Pantaleon, Philoxenes, and Dionedus. They also include the coins of princes of equivocal origin, as Vonones, Undapherres, Azes, and Azilises; also the coins of princes indisputably of a barbarous or Indo-Scythic race, whose names, in Greek letters, occur, as

Kadphises or Mokadphises, Kanerkcs, Kadaphes, and Keneranes ; also coins of the Sassanian princes of Persia yet undecyphered, and a variety of other coins bearing devices and inscriptions, which are either of uncertain attribution, or are obviously Hindu, although belonging to dynasties of whose existence we have little other information.”—*Num. Jour.* vii. 105.

Professor Wilson observes—

“Doubts have been entertained of the existence of a native Indian currency prior to the introduction of the art of coining by the Greeks of Bactria, and certainly there are strong grounds for admitting the probability that the fabrication of money in India originated with them. There are some considerations, however, which militate against it. That the want of a specific denomination of money is not incompatible with a metallic medium of exchange, we know from the practice of the Chinese and the Indo-Chinese nations to the present day, amongst whom certain weights of gold and silver, sometimes bearing a stamped attestation of their standard value, take the place of coined money. This may have been the case also with the Hindus ; and as the different tables, which are given in their law books, of the several values of gold and silver refer to weight, not to number, it is likely that the currency of the country consisted chiefly, if not exclusively, of lumps of gold and silver not bearing any impression, until the Hindus had learned the usefulness of money from their Bactrian neighbours, and from their foreign commerce, especially with Rome. At the same time, it seems likely that they had a sort of stamped coin even before the Greek invasion.

“In all parts of India numerous small pieces of silver have been found in the ground, some oblong, some square, some round, and which were, no doubt, once employed as measures of value. They commonly, but not always, bear upon them rude symbols of the sun or moon, a star or nondescript mark, to which it is not easy to assign a definitive import, but the application of which gives to them the character of a coinage. The style of these pieces and the rudeness of their execution are in favour of their ancient date, as it is scarcely probable that after the art of fabricating money had been introduced, the making of such coins would have been continued. They must have preceded also, it may be supposed, the law which inflicts punishment on the falsifier, not only of the standard, but of the fabric and stamp of the coin, as has been noticed above. Again, it is well known that the chief punishments in the penal code of the Hindus are fines, and it is difficult to reconcile such a penalty with a mere weight of metal. The one hundred, five hundred, and one thousand panas, which are the several series of mulcts in Manu, might possibly have intended so many pieces, or their equivalent in weight in some other metal ; the pana being either a copper weight or coin of about two hundred grains, which may be considered as that of the native pice or copper coins. That it was a coin is so understood apparently by the commentator on the text of Yajñawalkya, in which he explains the word *karska* or *pana* to denote a fabricated form of copper (*tāmrasya vikāra*), and a text of Vachaspati is quoted in law books, which defines a *karcha* or

pana to be a stamped coin. That it had come to signify a piece of money there is no doubt, although at what period is open to conjecture. It is not unlikely that Hindu artists were employed by some of the Greek princes. The expression of the old native characters on the coins of Agathokles and Pantaleon is very national, and the accompanying devices are not beyond Indian skill."

The coins of one of these princes have given occasion to Professor Wilson to make some very valuable remarks on the origin of the Bactrian kingdom:—

"Two drachms of Agathokles having found their way from St. Petersburg to Paris, they were made the subject of an elaborate dissertation by E. Raoul Rochette in the *Journal des Savants*, and his observations were further developed upon the occasion of his describing a tetradrachm of the same prince. He pronounced the coins, upon the evidence of their fabric and mythologic types, to be of Bactrian origin, and to belong to a prince who was the founder of the independence of Bactria, preceding Theodotus.

"The commencement of the Parthian kingdom is ascribed by Arrian, in the Fragments preserved by Photius, to the vengeance exacted by two brothers, Arsaces and Tiridates, for an insult offered to the latter by Pherekles, the Macedonian Governor of Upper Asia under Antiochus II. They slew the governor, or eparch, and set up the standard of revolt. Syncellus, reciting the same event from the same authority, the Parthia of Arrian, is somewhat more circumstantial; he calls the brothers the satraps of Bactriana, and he styles the Macedonian the Governor of Persia, and names him Agathokles. That such was his name is also urged by M. R. Rochette as probable, from his finding, amongst the principal officers of Alexander, an Autolykus, son of Agathokles, whose son would, agreeably to the custom of the Greeks, be called after his grandfather Agathokles, and in rank and age would be a very likely individual to have held the station of eparch at the time required, and consequently to have been the Agathokles in question. This Agathokles, the eparch of Persia, he maintains, was no doubt the Macedonian officer who took advantage of the disorders in Western Asia to establish a new kingdom in Bactriana, one of the satrapies subject to his authority. This conclusion has been adopted by M. Mionnet, who places Agathokles first in order of the Bactrian kings. It has not received the concurrence of Messrs. Lassen and Grotefend, and is opposed by such weighty considerations that it cannot be admitted without hesitation."

Admitting the correctness of the change of name from Pherekles to Agathokles, and that an eparch of Persia so called was the son of Autolykus, it by no means follows that he laid the foundation of the kingdom of Bactria. It is positively affirmed by history that the first Bactrian king was named Theodotus; and the very story told by Arrian, and repeated by Syncellus, is fatal to the theory, as the Arsacidan princes mur-

dered, not a king of Bactria, but a governor of Persia. This Agathokles, then, was slain whilst he was yet only eparch : that Agathokles of Bactria lived to be “king” is evidenced by his coins.

“The coins of Agathokles are of two descriptions ; those which are of a pure Bactrian type, and those which have an Indian character. The style of the first is that of the best Bactrian coins. Even the copper coins are of the same description ; round, well executed, with a Greek legend only. All these, however, are rare. The more numerous coins, which are far from rare, are copper, of a truncated elliptic form, and rude execution. That they belong to the same prince, however, is proved, not only by the identity of name and title, ‘King Agathokles,’ but by the prevailing type on one face, a panther ; a type found on the small silver and round copper coins of the same prince, intimating, along with the head, which is that of Bacchus, the preferential adoration, by Agathokles, of that divinity : but these copper coins have a peculiarity which distinguishes them from all other Bactrian coins, in the legend of the reverse. They have a *bilingual legend* ; but the equivalent of the Greek is no longer an alphabet of Semitic origin, one introduced from the confines of Persia into the Paropamisian regions, but one of a genuine Indian family, being precisely the character which is found in the most ancient Hindu inscriptions, and which is the remote but unequivocal ancestor of the alphabets still used in Hindustan for Sanscrit and various vernacular dialects. Now that this was certainly not in use in Persia we have undeniable proof in the prevalence of the totally dissimilar letters on the other bilingual coins, and we must therefore look for the currency of Agathokles within the limits of India proper.”

The difficulty now is to fix the limits of this kingdom, and this appears to be by no means an easy task. The Professor observes—

“Where his kingdom was situated, it is not easy to conjecture. His silver coins have been brought to Europe apparently through Russia, with the exception of one procured in the Punjab ; from whence it might be inferred he ruled on the north of the mountains. His copper coins, however, of both styles have been found at Beghran, and he could not have been very far off. The worship of Bacchus intimates a country in which the vine flourished ; and this would bring us especially to the yet unexplored tracts under the Pamer mountains, or into parts of Little Tibet, Hounz, Gilgit, and Chitral, into the wine-cellar of Afrasiab, or at least into Kaferistan. That the people of these tracts are of Indian descent seems probable from the little that is yet known of their manners and language, but further investigation is necessary to decide the point. Professor Lassen would place him at Nyssa, the city on the Kabul river, in which the companions of Alexander fancied they found vestiges of Bacchus, and which he identifies with the Nagara of Ptolemy, called also Dionysopolis, in reference to the same worship. This is not impossible ; but Nagara is so near to the spot which seems

to have been the chief site of the Bactro-Indian mintage, that it is probable we should find the same alphabet in use there as on the preceding coins, and that we must go farther off to find a character so totally different as that of the coins of Agathokles, in current use. The question of place, therefore, is somewhat doubtful: as to time, it may be conjectured that Agathokles was nearly contemporary with Helio-
kles, and that he either founded or usurped a principality among the mountains during the confusion occasioned by the murder of Eukratides, and the subsequent quarrel with Parthia."

Some of these coins exhibit a reverse of a very peculiar kind, viz., a Jupiter holding a three-headed Diana. Of one of these there is an engraving in the "*Ariana Antiqua Illustrata*," and Professor Wilson remarks, concerning it—

"The type of Jupiter holding the three-headed Diana is the subject of much learned speculation by M. R. Lockette in confirmation of his theory. He sees in this the Diana of the Persians, who was distinguished by holding a torch in her hand, and was named Zara or Azara; whence the appellation Zariaspa was, he conjectures, applied to Zariaspa, the capital of Bactria; which in his first essay he identifies with Bactria, but in his second places, with Arrian, in Sogdiana, making that 'le siège principal de la puissance des Grecs, le berceau de la dynastie d'Agathocle et de celle d'Euthydème.' In his second memoir, the tetradrachm of Agathocles, which had been procured, it may be observed, in the Punjab, by M. Ventura, enabled M. R. Lockette to distinguish on the figure upheld by Jupiter three heads, and, 'without ceasing to be Artemis,' the Diana thus becomes, according to him, 'une Artémis Hecaté porte-flambeau; une divinité lunaire dont le culte propre à l'Asie n'avait pu être apporté aux Grecs du premier âge que par des navigateurs de cette partie du monde, et dont à une autre époque les Grecs conduits par Alexandre dans la Bactriane retrouvèrent le type primitif dans sa patrie même tel qu'ils le produisoient à leur manière sur la monnaie d'Agathocle, comme un premier hommage rendu à leur conquête nouvelle en même temps que comme une réminiscence de leur vieille croyance.' Without questioning the accuracy of the identification of the mythological type, it is doubtful if the Greeks would have met with anything of the kind in Bactria; and most certainly they would have found no such divinity in India, where the moon is a male divinity.

"Professor Lassen has suggested the possibility, that in consequence of some confusion of appellations, Agathokles may be the prince known in Hindu history as Suyasas, 'the well-renowned,' which again he conjectures may apply to the prince known to the Greeks as Sophagasenos, which was supposed by A. Von Schlegel to represent an Indian appellation, Subhâgasena. Suyasas was the son of Asoka, and, according to Buddhist authorities, was king of Gandhâra, which would bring him west of the Indus. In that case Agathokles would be the contemporary and ally of Antiochus the Great. The identity of nomenclature, however, is too purely conjectural to authorize much reliance on this

theory, and it is very doubtful if any of the Greek Bactrian princes could at so early a period have established themselves within the limits of India proper. That Agathokles was of Greek and of Bactrian origin is proved by the silver coins with the type of Jupiter on the reverse : Suyasas must have been a Hindu."

The Græco-Bactrian kings of this series are Theodotus II. ; Euthydemus, who fought against Antiochus the Great, and also made conquests in India against Sophagasenas ; Demetrius, who reigned in India ; and Eucratidas I., who reigned in Bactria, and afterwards conquered Demetrius, and obtained the dominion of India as well as Bactria. At this time Eucratidas assumed the title of "the Great King," having before only been called simply the king. But another change, still more important, ensued from these Indian conquests, viz., the introduction of Indian letters, in place of Greek, on the reverse of the coins ; and for more than three centuries these coins are found universally bilingual.

"An important peculiarity in the coins of Eucratidas, whether simply 'king' or 'great king,' is the appearance of an inscription on the reverse in characters which are entirely new, and which henceforth invariably occur on all the Bactrian and Indo-Bactrian coins. They do not occur on any of the silver coins of Eucratidas, nor on all the copper ; and, if we are to seek a distinction between the father and son, the use of these characters may afford it. M. Rochette supposes that these characters are always confined to copper coins ; but this is not correct. They are constantly present on the silver coins of the princes yet to be named.

"These characters offer several questions of difficult solution. They have been called Bactrian, Zend, and Pehlevi by the different writers on the subject ; but there are objections to all these designations. If they are of Bactrian origin, it seems strange that they should not appear upon the coins of princes, unquestionably kings of Bactria, such as Euthydemus, and, as far as is yet known, Heliocles, and Demetrius, and that they should be constant upon the coins of princes, the chief seat of whose authority was the country below the mountains, Afghanistan and the Panjab, the principal possessions of Menander, Apollodotus, and Hermæus.

"With regard to Zend and Pehlevi, the letters on the coins offer no affinity whatever to the former, as it appears in the books of Persia, or in the alphabet of Mr. Burnouf, in his commentary on the Yashna. Nor is the similitude much more striking between them and the written Pehlevi, or the characters on the coins of the Sassanian princes. A very few letters may be thought to resemble some in the inscriptions sculptured on the rocks in Persia, particularly those at Nakshi Rustom and Nakshi Rujab, which have not yet been interpreted, as well as in those to which it has been supposed the accompanying Greek inscription affords a key. It is possible that the characters of the inscriptions

and of the coins are intended to be the same, and that the differences are no more than might be expected to occur in the lapse of time ; for if the inscriptions at Nakshi Rستم relate to the exploits of the early Sassanian princes, we have at least an interval of between four and five centuries between the inscriptions and the coins of Eucratidas and Menander. In that case, we have, in the letters on the coins, the oldest form extant of the Pehlevi alphabet.

“ But then comes the question, how did it get to Cabul ; whence did it come ? If it had been known in Persia we might expect to have found it on the coins of the contemporary and neighbouring princes of Parthia, the Arsacides ; yet these, as is well known, always bear legends in Greek. Had they been in possession of a national alphabet, they would surely have employed it, if not on both faces, yet, as in the present instance, on one face of their coins. It seems little probable, therefore, that the characters came from Persia. Yet that they were of Semitic origin can scarcely be doubted, as they have, to all appearance, the characteristic distinction that separates the alphabets of that family from those of India, in being written from right to left.” (159).

Professor Wilson has thus shut up the enquiry within narrow limits, both as to time and place, confining it to the districts south of Persia, and to the time intervening between the decline of the Grecian empire and the irruption of the Parthians, under the Sassanian princes. But there are two other considerations which may be useful in limiting and directing our enquiries, viz., the oriental characters which preceded those in question, as distinct from the Greek, and the oriental characters which succeeded them, as distinct from the Arabic or Persian. On the first of these points it should be observed, that the arrow-head character of Babylon and Persepolis is the only form of writing which we know of as having preceded that of the Indian coins ; and neither the Indian nor Sassanian letters have any one point of resemblance with the arrow-headed, these last being rectilinear, complicated, and reading from left to right. And on the second point, it should be observed that the Sanscrit, the fertile parent of all the proper Indian alphabets and dialects, had undisputed possession of the countries watered by the Indus and the Ganges, before the Mohammedan invasion ; and that Upper India has been the stronghold of Brahminism and its language, from whence Tibet and Southern Tartary have derived whatsoever they have known of letters. And it is to be borne in mind, that no Scythic, Mongolian, Tartar, or Salvonic tribe has given the slightest indication of letters indigenous or proper to themselves, but, in issuing forth from central Asia, have adopted the letters of those countries which lay in their way, or in which they finally settled, or of the language in which their sacred books were composed.

We are thus constrained to look *southward* for the origin of these letters, and we find in the neighbourhood of Madras, and in other places of India proper, inscriptions on the rocks bearing a much nearer resemblance to the legends on these coins than do the inscriptions of Nakshi Rustem. And in some of these inscriptions, which have been partially decyphered by Mr. Prinsep, he has found the names of Antiochus the Greek, and of Ptolemy the Egyptian; which coincidences in time, as well as the resemblance in character, seem to indicate a southern line of connection between India and Syria, by way of the Red Sea and Egypt, meeting the northern Græco Bactrian line in the bilingual coins of Eucratidas. And, as Dr. Lee observes—

“A literary phenomenon of an equally novel and interesting description, is thus offered to the solution of oriental scholars.....It is not strictly on the Bactrian, but rather on the Indo-Bactrian, coinage that they appear—that is, on the money issued by the successors of the Græco-Bactrian princes of history, after the conquest of Bactria by the Scythians, about B.C. 125.....It will follow that the newly discovered characters were those used, not in Bactria, but in the north-west of India, at the period of the Greek domination; and the great question to be solved is, at what period a mode of writing, which, though the vehicle of Indian terms offers little analogy with known Indian alphabets, yet has many affinities, in principle, with the Semitic, the Ethiopic, and ancient Egyptian, came to be introduced into that part of India, which had successively formed part of the Egyptian, Assyrian, Medo-Persian, and Macedonian empires.”

To assist us in coming to a right judgment it should be remembered that Mr. Prinsep, and all those who are best qualified to speak decisively, concur in denying a Scythic, or Persian, or Syriac origin to these inscriptions. And Professor Wilson, one of the highest authorities in such a question, says—

“I much doubt the connection of the language with Arabic, Hebrew, or Chaldee, particularly as each word, whether name or epithet, ends in the same character.....which, in such a position, can scarcely represent any Semitic inflection, and is most of kin to the common ending of Prakrit masculine nouns in *o*.”

And speaking of the present language of the country, he adds—

“The evidence of language is adverse to the Hebrew descent of the Afghans.....and the late Julius Klaproth, in his *Asia polyglotta*, asserts that the speech of the Afghans has not, either in its words or grammar, the slightest affinity to Hebrew, Chaldee, or any other Semitic language. The language of the Græco-Bactrian coins is, therefore, in all probability, that of the people who still inhabit the countries where they are found, such as it was before their conversion to the religion of Mohammed, and the consequent infusion of Arabic terms,” (161).

We may remark also that Dr. Wall, in the proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy for 1837, has endeavoured to prove that Sanscrit, the language of the learned in India, and the undisputed source of all the modern dialects, was itself derived, through the Ethiopic, from the Arabic; and that its western, or sinistro-dexter order of writing, its peculiar syllabary, the singular arrangement or classification of its characters, and the richness of its inflections, may all be satisfactorily accounted for on this hypothesis. And it is very interesting to observe evidence derived from such opposite quarters, as Dr. Wall's researches and these Barbaric coins, pointing to the same conclusion—of a western origin for the earliest writing in India. And if these Barbaric letters should prove to have been the rude beginnings of the regular, beautiful, and comprehensive Sanscrit, a most important problem will be solved, though it may dissolve likewise the charm of mystery which has hitherto been cast around this devanagari—this language of the gods.

It may likewise be remarked that the Sanscrit belongs primarily, almost exclusively to the Brahmins and their tenets; who superseded, and did all they could to extirpate the Bhuddists. This persecution raged most fiercely at the time, and in the country to which these coins belong. And these letters may preserve memorials of the persecuted and expatriated sect. And both the agreements and the contrasts between the modes of writing would be equally instructive, the agreements as traceable to one common origin, and that occidental rather than oriental; and the contrasts in mode of writing, vocalization, and combinations, which characterise and distinguish the Sanscrit.

The science also of the Brahmins, so far as it contains internal evidence as to its origin and its age, points in the same direction, and to the same time. The improvement of supposing the Zodiac to be *fixed*, and not perpetually shifting with the motion of the equinoctial points, is found in Indian astronomy as well as in our own; and they, like European astronomers, *commence* with the sign Aries, showing that the *time* at which this improvement in science took place was when the equinoctial point was in the sign Aries. But there cannot be a doubt that, in *our* astronomical system, the fixed zodiac commencing with Aries is an European invention; was not derived from the East, but from the Greek astronomers of the third century before the Christian era, who then for the first time observed the procession of the equinoxes, and in order to record, and mark the more accurately these observations, assumed a fixed zodiac, where the points at that time stood, when the star at the point of the ram's-horn was the exact point of the vernal equinox. A stout advocate for the Indian astronomy might still say all this is very

true, but how do you prove that the Indians could not have made such observations as those of Hipparchus, and devised such an improvement as the fixed zodiac, at the same time with the Greeks? For such coincidences are not merely possible, they are frequently occurring. To this there are other internal evidences which reply, and also furnish proof which cannot be evaded, that the Indian astronomy was not indigenous, but came from Europe.

For all the signs of the Zodiac carry in them evidences of a *Babylonian* origin, accommodated to their own purposes by the Greek astronomers who adopted them, and *from Greece*, passing into other countries, with only such changes as serve to show the *route* of their transit. All the signs were originally significant of seasons, and of the known periodical habits of those animals, chosen for signs, in Mesopotamia; such as the migration of the land crabs under Cancer, and the solstitial floods which drove the lion from his covert under Leo. But in other climes, not only was this significance in most cases lost, but the very animals themselves often unknown, and either changed, or so much misrepresented, as to be scarcely recognizable. Thus the Greek zodiac, in passing through Egypt to India, took up the crocodile in place of Pisces, and transmitted also the lion, although the king of beasts is utterly unknown in India; and the Indian representations of him may be rather likened to “some hydra, dragon, or chimæra dire.” And a still more conclusive evidence is seen in the sign Virgo—the winged messenger of the gods, bearing the cerealia in her hand—she, in the Indian zodiacs, not only bears the lotus, but is seated in a ship with three masts, to indicate the *route* by which she came. Showing that the Indian Zodiac came by sea, and through Egypt, from Greece; and not by an overland route, to upper India, and through Persia, from Babylon.

The same observation has been made, and the same inference drawn, by some of those writers who have noticed the inscriptions on the rocks of Madras; where the lion is introduced with animals of the country. These last are said to be accurately portrayed, showing that the grotesque form given to the former is not from want of skill; both together showing that the sculptors were native artists, but had derived their art traditionally from a country where the lion was known, an animal which they themselves had never seen. And such a lion is found on one of the Indo-Bactrian coins (No. 34 of Professor Wilson’s list), with a buffalo on the reverse.

Thus, although we may seem to have wandered from the point, our readers will now perceive that this is not the case, and that these coins not only are of very great importance, but

embrace a very wide range, and throw light on a variety of subjects. And it should be remembered that Bailly and the French infidels, who made the Egyptian zodiacs one of the grounds of their assaults upon the credibility of the Bible, imagined that in the Indian literature, and Indian astronomy, they had another such ground of assault. And as, by the decyphering of hieroglyphics, they sustained a signal defeat on the Egyptian ground, so, by the facts brought to light through these coins, will they experience in India a similar discomfiture.

For the sake of those who may not have ready access to the papers and coins to which we have referred, a list is subjoined of the sovereigns whose coins have been identified, with their titles, and the time nearly at which they reigned. And when the Indian equivalents begin, we will also add these in brackets, which exhibit, in the proper names, such changes of sound as would be expected from transferring the names of Japhet into the speech of Shem; and such change of epithet as the Pali dialect requires, a dialect which is supposed to have held a universal sway during the prevalence of the Buddhist faith in India:—

B. C.	GRÆCO-BACTRIAN KINGS.	[The dates given below are but approximations: the parentheses enclose the Indian names, on the reverse; corresponding with the Greek names, on the obverse].	
262 to 256	Coins of Agathocles		
255	Theodotus I.		
229	Theodotus II.		
203	Euthydemus		
177	Demetrius		
151	Eucratidas I. (Eukratidasa)		
	GRÆCO-INDIAN KINGS.	CONTEMPORARY KINGS.	
125	Eucratidas II.	125	Heliocles (Heliyaklayasa)
100	Menander (Medanasa)	100	Antialkides (Antialkidasa)
75	Apollodotus (Apaladatasa)	75	Antimachus (Antimakhasa)
50	Diomedes (Tayamidasa)	50	Philoxenes (Pilusinasa)
25	Hermæus (Eramayasa)	25	Lysias (Lisiyasa)
	INDO-SCYTHIAN KINGS.		Spalurius (Spalafarmasa)
A.D.	Mokadphises (Kadphisas)	A.D.	Amyntas (Amitasa)
25	Kanerkes	25	Agathocles (Agathaklayasa)
50	Sianes	50	Pantaleon (Patalavaja)
75	Apollonius	75	Maves (Mayusa)
100	Sandanes		
	INDO-PARTHIAN KINGS.		
125	Undopherres (Farahetasa)		Gondspherres (Gandadharasa)
150	Onones (Spalaharasa)		Spalirizes (Spalirishasa)
175	Azes (Ayasa)		Abagazes (Abakhashasa)
200	Azilizes (Ayilishasa)		The coins which follow have only Indian names.

The Greek epithets, Soter; Nicephorus; Nicator; Dikaïos; and Megalos—are rendered in the Indian equivalents, Nandata; Jayadharasa; Apalihata; Dhamikasa; and Mahatasa, respectively.

The Græco-Bactrian kings took only the title of Basileus. The Indian and Scythian lines from Eucratidas took the title of Soter; while the parallel or cotemporaneous line from Heliocles took the title of Dikaïos: and some of the later of both lines called themselves King of Kings. When the Indo-Parthian race came in with Undopherres, they heaped together all the preceding titles, being each Soter Dikaïos Nikator and Basileus Basileon; whence we may infer that the hitherto divided empire was then reunited.

In conclusion, we may take up the words of Professor Wilson, and remark, "that the coins thus far adverted to, strikingly illustrate the advantage and interest of numismatic research, for they confirm what is known, supply what is unknown, furnish additional facts to history, and stamp facts already recorded with authenticity. And what will not be less valued by the antiquarian and numismatist, they open a fresh field for conjecture, suggest new doubts to be resolved, new difficulties to be surmounted, new objects to be pursued; and whether the game be overtaken or not, they offer him at least the excitement and animation of the chase."

ART. V.—*Government by the Queen, and Attempted Government from the People.* By HENRY DRUMMOND, Esq.
London: Hatchards and Son. 1842.

AMONG the signs of the times is one which may have escaped the observation of the merely superficial beholder, but which assuredly is pregnant of purpose, and not to be overlooked by those who would refer all outward appearances of things in this stirring age to some inward principle, working silently and unseen within the hearts of nations or individuals—the boldness, namely, with which old notions are now opposed to new; the heartiness with which ideas, fifty years ago supposed to be for ever exploded, are now being revived and brought into action. Men, now-a-days, seem to be persuaded that trembling hands, and doubting hearts, and craven indifference, are not the weapons wherewith democratic fury, combined efforts, and systematic attacks, are to be successfully resisted; and with reason: that mode of operations had been tried long enough; we had hardly a conviction worth contending for left, an institution unmarred to be fought for. Conservatism, when it had suffered half the Irish Church to be unbishoped, and resigned the Eng-

lish up to commissioners—when it had listlessly, and against its own conviction, permitted a great branch of the revenue to be sacrificed, and held out the hand of friendship to continental liberalism and revolution—had clearly played its part, its decade was accomplished, and with some gratitude for its virtues and regrets for its faults, a few tears were shed over the common grave to which it and Whiggism were consigned in the month of September, 1841. *Requiescat in Pace!*

The prescient eye of Mr. Burke foresaw, shortly before his death,* that the necessity must arise of combating the energy of, what we may call, the modern notions of democracy, with arms other and stronger than those of modern royalty. In his letter to Mr. Elliot, written in 1795, that profound and prophetic thinker says:—

“ Novelty is not the only source of zeal. Why should not a Maccabeus and his brethren arise to assert the honour of the ancient law, and to defend the temple of their forefathers with as ardent a spirit as can inspire any innovator to destroy the monuments of the piety, and the glory of ancient ages? It is not a hazarded assertion, it is a great truth, that when once things are gone out of their ordinary course, it is by acts out of the ordinary course they can alone be re-established. Republican spirit can only be combated by a spirit of the same nature—of the same nature, but informed with another principle, and pointing to another end.”

True as this was when Burke wrote it, we are inclined to think, it is still truer now; not that England presents such marked and striking appearances of convulsion as she then did, but because throughout the length and breadth of the land, a subtle poison has gradually, imperceptibly almost in its progress, albeit not in its results, been infusing itself ever since, eating into the heart of society, corroding the old bars against democracy, that might have rolled back the tide of open violence, and vitiating the taste and principles of high and low, rich and poor.

It boots little, it is foreign to our present purpose, to enter deeply into the causes of this general degeneracy; the contagion of foreign example, the enormous increase of wealth, and the equally enormous increase of respect paid to it; the popularity of politico-economic notions, the conduct of our two last sovereigns, equally dangerous in different ways—the retiring regality of George IV., the too unceremonious openness of William IV.—all contributed to bring things to that point at which Toryism descended into Conservatism, and Whiggism was lost in Radicalism; and now, that to which we wish to direct

* “*Moribundi solent vaticinari.*”

attention, is the struggle already commenced in the wide field of political and religious England, the decision of which, unless we greatly misread the signs of the times, will not leave things as they are, but will either force them back or hurry them forward sooner and further than many people fancy. The *juste milieu* and *laissez faire* are alike gone, and Mr. Carlyle did but utter a palpable truth when he said so, although, because he said it in quaint language, people imagined he was "pained with hot thoughts, the dreamer of a dream." We profess not to keep pace with contemporary "*literature*," as it is termed—with numberless so called "*works*" we are, of course, totally unacquainted; but among those we have read or dallied with during the last year or two, are very many which speak plainly as to the more decided tone, one way or the other, the public mind is assuming; and the work we have placed at the head of this article, does but embody in a somewhat startling way, notions and opinions floating throughout a large class of recent political and theological writings. Mr. Drummond is a remarkable man, and never fails to throw a strong light on any subject he may chance to undertake; and thus, in his "*Essay on Government*," he does not leave us long in the dark as to its scope and object.

"Religion (says he, and we cordially agree with him) is a system of bindings of men to God, and to each other: it recognizes God in every institution of his appointment; it recognizes God in families, ruling and blessing the children, servants and dependents, through the father and master, and by no other means; it recognizes God in nations, ruling them by kings, and by no other means; it recognizes God in the Church, teaching the things concerning himself, and concerning man's eternal condition, by ministers of various degrees endowed with special gifts for that end, and by none other but by them; so that no priest can supply the place of the father in the family, nor of the king in the state; nor can any layman supply the place of the priest as minister of the sacraments or as teacher in the Church."

Starting with these principles, Mr. Drummond speedily comes to the conclusion, that "the most brief, and at the same time most accurate, definition of Liberalism is, that it is irreligion." This is startling language; and were it intended to proclaim by it that all Liberals are void of religion, it would be as cruel and unjust as startling; but as tersely describing the practical tendencies and effects of Liberalism, we hold it to be strictly true; from the most brilliant article in the *Edinburgh Review*, sparkling with the gorgeous splendours of Mr. Macaulay's eloquence—from the flippant sneerings of the *Globe*—from the coarse slang of the *Sunday papers*—we have never derived one holy religious thought; all alike speak of men, of earth, the wonders

of science, the ingenuity of philosophers, the wisdom of statesmen, the liberties of the people ; these are the themes of Liberal eulogium, the objects of Liberal investigation. Talk to a Liberal, philosophical, literary, or otherwise, of faith, humility, reverence, mysteriousness, and he will laugh at you ; bid him see in the anointed descendant of a long line of kings, a being endowed with something more than the common dignity of man, and he will quote some miserable sentence from Godwin, or the *Edinburgh Review*, about a petty constable : bend low to receive a priestly blessing from the lips of the hundred and fifty-third successor of St. Peter and St. Paul, and he will, with learned delight, begin to detail the iniquities of popes, and the passions of prelates, during what he calls “the dark ages :” or if he be of an unusually philosophical turn of mind, he will praise the wisdom of Church polity, and rank parochial clergy in the same category of usefulness with Poor Law commissioners and rural police : thus, while professing to raise the state and elevate the ideas of the people, he is in reality lowering them, beating them down to earth, and chilling each shoot that would fain struggle up to heaven. How different is this vulgar spiritless materialism from the buoyant, chivalrous, soul-stirring spirituality of by-gone days ! And how different, alas ! is the condition of the lower orders now from what it was then ! Together with the notion of sacredness in kings and nobles, and all in authority, has departed the kindred notion of their responsibility : together with reverence for the Church and her offices, has vanished the joyous celebration of her holydays. The village maypole has disappeared with the uncovered head to the village priest ; and the yule log has ceased to be lighted in the hall with the fealty that bound the carousers to its honoured possessor. Merry England is merry England no longer ; in our teeming manufactories, our comfortable houses, our orderly prisons and workhouses, in our poverty-stricken, white-washed, and locked up churches, we plainly read this, that self, mammon, and independence, have driven away from their old haunts among the green woodlands, and smiling valleys, and cheerful villages of England, neighbourliness, charity, and devotion.

As we said before, we must be in a transition state : the people are suffering from possessing “a power too great to keep, or to resign ;” and well will it be for themselves if the sad experience of late years, passed under a Liberal Government, induces them to adopt the latter alternative, and restore to the divinely appointed bearers of power in Church and State the ministrations which they, so unfortunately for their well-being, have lately arrogated to themselves.

“We who in past times (says a writer of a kindred spirit to Mr. Drummond’s) murdered our sovereign, and have since shared the regal power among our own factions, basing the new government upon the principle of anti-Catholic Protestantism, which it has ever since attempted, though in vain, to make the spirit and the principle of the Church, must restore the power we have plundered from the crown, not so much by political change, as by an improved moral temper of dutiful and religious hearts: we must seek of the State that it should enter into the true spirit of the Church, as Catholic and Apostolic, and use its influence to undo the evil which the contrary policy of the last century and a half has caused.”—*Palmer’s Aids to Reflection*, p. 115.

Nothing strikes a reader of history with more melancholy forcibleness than the fact, that in proportion as a nation verges towards the extreme of Liberalism, viz., Republicanism, so does it become less and less regardful of the happiness and amusements of the labouring classes. That which is, or ought to be, everybody’s business, becomes no one’s; and people make *themselves* miserable, rather than be made happy *by a superior*. For proof of this assertion, we need not to travel far; this is an English matter, and English history shall bear evidence:—

“For when one’s proof is aptly chosen,
One is as valid as one dozen.”

Henry II. was, perhaps, the most puissant and independent monarch that sat on the English throne for some hundreds of years; in spite of wars, and treasons, and troubles of unusual gravity and magnitude, his sceptre was the weightiest that had ever restrained our martial Norman nobles and stubborn English peasants, and his reign was so long, that we could not hit upon an epoch more favourable for determining the real condition of the lower classes during the Plantagenet sway. Now we venture to affirm, that in point of real liberty, recreation of body, and domestic comfort, the English artizan of the twelfth century was infinitely better off than the corresponding artizan of the nineteenth; and the great reason was, that money was not then, as it truly and unfortunately is now, in Mr. Carlyle’s words, “the sole connecting link between man and man.” England had not then proclaimed aloud, from her halls of collective wisdom, from her countless manufactories, by the common parlance of every-day life—

“O cives, cives! quærenda pecunia primum est
Virtus post nummos.”

Nay, so alien from the spirit of those days was that which at

present rules us all, that the acquisition of money was not regarded even as an honourable employment, far less as the noblest object to which all the energies, and talents, and knowledge of a civilized Christian can be directed; and all the viler means of money-getting were, with the unanimous consent of Catholic Christendom, left to those who were religiously regarded as the condemned and living symbols of the reality of the Christian faith. We are not such *laudatores temporis acti*, as to believe in those golden days celebrated by simple, enthusiastic Goldsmith—

“A time there was, e'er England's ills began,
When every rood of ground maintained its man.”

Nor do we hope to find traces of Saturnian rule under the sway of the Plantagenets, but we do believe that the spirit of the Feudal system, in its main characteristic, a contempt of coin, intended the happiness of the commonalty infinitely more than does the ruling principle of these times, mammon-worship; and we hesitate not to declare our conviction, that if our manufacturing system is ever to produce good instead of evil to the country, it will be when the dawnings of feudalism, which, as we shall afterwards point out, are beginning to discover themselves in the rural manufactories, shall have been embodied in some substantial shape; meanwhile, let us look for a few passages illustrative of the condition of the labouring classes in Henry II.'s days: they are taken from Lyttelton's copious book on the state of the country during that king's reign, to which we would refer our readers.* Writing of London, Fitzstephen says—“No other city in the world sent out its wealth and merchandize to a greater distance;” and among the imports brought thither by foreign merchants trading to it, he mentions, “gold, spices, and frankincense, from Arabia; precious stones from the Nile; purple vests from the East Indies; oil of palms from Bagdat or Babylon; furs and ermines from Norway and Russia; arms from Scythia or Tartary, and wines from France:” while William of Malmesbury tells us—

“That the city of London, in his time, was illustrious and eminent for the wealth of its citizens: crowded with merchants and factors from every land, but chiefly from Germany, and a storhouse for the whole nation, in case of a dearth of corn and other provisions: the port of Bristol was full of ships from Ireland, Norway, and every part of Europe, which brought thither a great commerce, and much foreign wealth.”

* Lyttelton's “History of Henry II,” vol. iii. book 2.

So much for the wealth of London; now for the recreation of its inhabitants: and Peter of Blois, in telling us how the good citizens amused themselves, gives us no doubt a tolerably accurate measure whereby to determine what Mr. Carlyle would call the condition-of-England-question generally. Among their diversions, in times of peace, he mentions football, and says —“that in summer the young girls danced by moonlight to the music of the harp. In winter, the young men entertained themselves after dinner, *upon all festival days*, with sliding or skating on the ice of a great pond, or lake, which was contiguous to the northern wall of the city,” and with other amusements which he mentions.

“In the time of Henry II. (continues Lyttelton some pages further on), and for ages afterwards, the great halls of the castles, or principal manor houses in which the nobility and gentry resided, were crowded with vast numbers of their vassals and tenants, who were daily fed at their cost; and in order to supply the constant plenty required for such profuse hospitality, they kept in their hands large demesnes, which were cultivated by their villeins, and received their rents, not in money, but in divers kinds of provisions, from many of those farmers to whom they had granted freehold lands, adjacent to their seats. This way of living, still more than the feudal obligations, attached the vassals to their lords.In general, it may be said, that the police then established, which forced the common people into an orderly way of living, and the hardy and healthy education given to persons of both sexes, must have been greatly conducive to propagation.”

We may sum up this hasty sketch with Mr. Hallam's weighty words: *—

“In the reciprocal services of lord and vassal, there was ample scope for every magnanimous and disinterested energy. The heart of man, when placed in circumstances which have a tendency to excite them, will seldom be deficient in such sentiments. No occasions could be more favourable than the protection of a faithful supporter, or the defence of a beneficent suzerain, against such powerful aggression, as left little prospect, except of sharing in his ruin.”

Thus, we think, it appears, that, in spite of the rudeness of the times, in spite of a barbarous system of tillage (to use Lord Howick's phrase), and all the countless evils to which such a state of society must needs be subject, there was at the bottom of all this a sound and acting principle, which gave comfort and recreation to the working classes, which admitted them freely to the ordinances, and charities, and consolations of religion, stamped a sacred character on their labour and their rest, and, while it cheered them with vivid hopes of an hereafter, made

* “Middle Ages,” vol. i. p. 322.

this present life something other than a restless, hopeless struggle "in a murky, simmering Tophet of copperas fumes, cotton fuz, gin riot, wrath, and toil, created by a demon, governed by a demon." Alas, do these latter words describe truly the condition of some millions of Englishmen now-a-days? Have the Plantaganets, with their glorious warrings; the Tudors, with their statecraft; the Stuarts, with their love for chivalry and religion—have dynasties, and charters, and monasteries, and reformations, and revolutions, lived, and died, and passed away, and left this behind them—millions of unpaid debt, and millions of unpaid men? Nay, we fear it is even worse than this; millions of men not only unpaid—that might be tolerated, but also unfed, untaught. There is now lying open before us a short matter-of-fact report, from three or four matter-of-fact gentlemen, concerning the factories during the last half of the year 1841. Matter of fact!—alas, as the eye wanders from figure to figure, from statistic to statistic, how the heart bleeds that it *should* be matter of fact! What solemn thoughts are generated from the perusal of one of these unadorned, business-like pages! Mr. L. Horner says—

"It was hopeless to attempt to find out what has become of these unfortunate people (those, namely, thrown out of work by stoppage of mills) in such towns as Manchester and Wigan, but I thought I might have some chance in the village of Edenfield (oh, sad misnomer!), and I went there, after collecting such general information about Messrs. Rostron's concern, as I could gather from mill-owners, and others living in the neighbourhood. I saw Mr. Richard Pickup, the relieving officer of Tottington Higher End, in the Haslingden Union, who resides in Edenfield, and from him I learned the following particulars, which he made out by personal enquiries at my request, after I saw him. One mill stopped about the beginning of August; on the 5th of October, the day I saw him, about one-half of the people who had been employed, had left the village, leaving thirty-six empty houses; the number of families remaining, of those who had been employed, was sixty-eight; of these forty-eight had not applied for relief from the poor rate, and twenty families were then receiving relief, the allowance being two shillings a week for each person in the family."

It was hopeless to attempt to find out what had become of these unfortunate people in such towns as Manchester and Wigan. How chilling are these few words! They were gone—their places knew them no more. Like branches cut off from the parent tree—like rivers separated from their fountain-heads—like children turned adrift on the world, with a father's curse ringing in their ears—they have gone, no one knows, no one cares, whither; to look after them is useless, neither charity, nor even statistic enquiry, has a chance of finding them. They have gone; and how provided? How armed to resist the

temptations of despair, revenge, recklessness, and crime? Do they carry about with them a faith, a hope, a knowledge of their immortality? Has the Church so efficiently done her duty by them, that now, when the State fails to do hers, they can lay their misery, and their tears, and their hard usage, at the foot of the cross?—or is some fevered notion of *necessity*, the only god they can see in the blue sky that looks down upon the Lancashire hills, some crude patchwork of mechanical knowledge their only education? Such, we fear, is the case; and, if it be so, let us listen, and entreat others to listen, to the eloquent pleadings of a young English clergyman:—

“The poor man can be made no wiser by earthly wisdom. What better is he if he knows the number of the stars, and the pathway of the moon, and the customs of the sun? What better is he if he knows why the sea keeps months and tides, and the winds blow this way rather than that, and the comet comes after his appointed number of years! What better is he if he knows where corn fields have been red with blood, and green trees scorched with battle, for the vanities of kings, or the unruliness of peoples?..... But tell him, on the other side, that his ploughing, and his toiling, and his trading cannot keep his soul from being immortal; tell him he is the son of God, that heaven is waiting for him, that angels are ministering to him—yea, and evil spirits troubling themselves to fight against him; tell him the eye, the unsleeping eye of heaven, is open upon his cottage on the moor edge, by the mouth of the mine, or in the dull, close, sunless town, as widely and as wakefully as on the great queen upon her golden throne; tell him this in early life—let it grow with his growth, and increase with his increase—let it bring him to the common church, the common prayers, the common altar, and hold him up the hand as he faints softly and wearily away into the common grave; and how little then will earthly ranks, and bars, and distinctions, and unhappinesses disturb or ruffle the peace of his soul!”*

Fearfully, indeed, are we now paying for the sins and negligences of our fathers, who suffered this huge system of manufacture to rise up, and grow, and spread, without even one faint-hearted attempt to place it under the blessing of the Church, until now it covers one-fourth of the land with a shade deadly and poisonous as that of the upas tree.

We are sanguine enough, however, to believe that the climax of wickedness and folly in this matter has been reached; and it is with something akin to hopefulness that we look at the efforts, vague, desultory, and too often misdirected as they are, which are now being made to Christianize and educate the manufacturing population. Now, startling and improbable as the assertion may be deemed, our main ground for hope is the feudal

* “A Churchman’s Politics in Disturbed Times,” p. 33, by the Rev. F. W. Faber.

principle which lies lurking among the smoking chimneys, and stunning spinning jennies, and regularly built cottages of Lancashire; yes, we are bold to say, that more of feudal power pertains in these days to yonder gross bellied churl, in his fustian jacket and hob-nailed shoes, whose soul can hardly travel beyond the store-room in which his bales are heaped up, than—alas, that it should be so!—to the peer in his castle, or the queen in her palace. It is a grand despotism, truly! On that one man's nod depend, by no forced figure of speech we say so, the lives of 4,000 human beings; let him but utter those three short words, "*close the mills!*" and what becomes of them? Something, surely—but neither relieving officer nor Mr. Horner, as we have seen, can tell what. In a day almost, the uniform cottages, with their comfortable furniture, are empty, bare, and closed; the school, whereat it may be profane science was overmuch cultivated, is silent; the single public-house (the despotes allowed but one in his kingdom) deals out with careful jealousy its home-brewed no more; the hall of science attracts the half-skilled boys and maidens by its dangerous allurements no longer—that vast family is broken up; the work of years is at an end; and then comes Chartism, and Socialism, and despair.

To those who have not witnessed the minute discipline which is established in many of the manufacturing districts, this description may seem overcharged; but to those who have, we would put it, whether a more gigantic power was ever wielded by private men, in what is called a mixed monarchy, than that now possessed by the Greggs and the Ashworths, the Bashalls and the Grants, the Marshalls and the Swainsons? Is it untrue to say, that the more gigantic the power of the master the better the condition of the people? No! it is, in the first place, the interest of the master that his serfs should be well fed, well clothed, and well lodged; and, that point being well-established in his mind, it becomes a positive pleasure to him to watch the growing prosperity of his colony; to contrast the neat comfort of his cottages with the squalid misery of the dens in Manchester's or Bolton's back lanes; to hear, as he often must, the grateful declaration of the now prosperous housewife, whom he has snatched from the horrors of a manufacturing town life, that now her children, when they come home from the mill, or the school hard by, are sure to find a warm fire-side, and a bit of supper, while no gin palace allures their father from the circle; and the man, who, perhaps, began with no other notions of responsibility save those touching his own interest, by consulting that is insensibly drawn on to study the comforts and education of his living machines, to take a pride in their welfare, and ulti-

mately to regard himself, and, blessed consummation, be regarded by them, as the father of that great family. May the moment never arrive when such a man is compelled to dissolve his petty kingdom, and scatter to the winds of heaven his thousands of heretofore contented subjects !

And now the great question is this, can that man—striking, living evidence as he is of the excellence, we might almost say necessity, of this divine principle of headship—in one case, be induced to acknowledge and revere its divinity in its oldest and most sacred forms—parent, priest, king ? If he can, then do we entertain a most sanguine hope for England ; if he cannot, then we see nothing left for our poor Church and nation, as far as this huge manufacturing segment of it is concerned, but a choice between that ignoblest of all rules, a plutocracy and anarchy—we should prefer the latter. But away with such gloomy forebodings ! With Churchmen at work and at prayer from one end of England to the other—with Queen Victoria on the throne, and the aristocracy awakening to a sense of their high duties—we will banish our fears, and hope for a restoration of old faith and loyalty, and therewith of old cheerfulness and contentment to our cottage-homes.

Again, then, do we iterate our belief that it is by jealously guarding all the least remains of power and majesty in Queen and priest—by attempting whensoever and wheresoever an opportunity occurs, to add to those remains, by infusing fresh life and spirit into many a once breathing, though now inanimate, form—by discarding from our political and religious vocabulary the modern Liberal slang—and, more than all, by each in his own way setting an example of faithfulness and obedience, that England will right herself, and once again become a rallying point for the crumbling monarchies of Western Europe. We must remember, that “government, whether of a nation, of an army, of a fleet, or, in short, of any large body of men, consists in repressing individual interests, individual passions, individual wishes, individual properties, so as to produce one homogeneous action. It is hence of necessity oppressive to every individual freedom ; crosses throughout the country individual avarice, in manufacturers and traders ; and stands in the way of individual ambitions, which are ever aspiring after rule. It is, therefore, continually and necessarily irritating all egotism, and nothing but a sense of the duty of obedience can preserve men in willing subjection to Government ; and there can be no sense of duty towards men which is not founded upon a sense of responsibility to God—hence *point d'autel, point de trône*.” And we will add *point de paix* ; for “eventually the people will demonstrate,

even to those who will not perceive it now, that it is impossible that Government can proceed out of themselves."

Mr. Drummond then appeals to France for proof of this conclusion, and enters into a very ingenious argument to show that the peculiar characteristic of European Christian nations consists in their corporations; and this he sums up by asserting—

"In order, therefore, to fulfil the ends for which men were created, redeemed, and regenerated, in Europe, it is indispensable that they should be united in monarchies. Monarchies are as essential to the fulfilment of God's purpose in Christendom as the Church."

On the subject of Church and State Mr. Drummond is very explicit; and though we do not agree with all his opinions, undoubtedly in many of them there is much truth. For instance, we fear that there are points in which it is too true, that "that which has been termed 'the alliance between Church and State' has been nothing but an improper interference of each with the peculiar province of the other." Nothing, surely, could have been worse than the compact alliance—holy, it was not—entered into at the Restoration by the State and Church of England, and afterwards, at the Revolution, by the former and the Kirk of Scotland; and now is it not again true, "that a separation of this improper alliance is taking place, not by the substitution of what is better, but by the denial of any reciprocal duties at all?" The present state of the relations between the Church and the State is so anomalous, so contradictory, that it is hardly possible to imagine any man, soberly proposing to himself a just, consistent course of action in the legislature, and endeavouring to walk in it, without almost immediately experiencing an insurmountable barrier here, or an unavoidable precipice there. Protestantism and Romanism, Dissent and Catholicism, toleration and exclusiveness, Maynooth grants and Middlesex abrogation of Roman Catholic gaol chaplains, Indian bishoprics and honors paid to Juggernaut—these, and ten thousand other irreconcilable contradictions, may well make one throw down Mr. Gladstone's deep-thinking volume in despair. And yet perhaps all this too is working for good; that dull, sleepy indifference which patiently acquiesced in wrong, and refused to be aroused to combat for the right, has ceased to weigh down all the nobler spirits of the day—first principles are brought more and more into action—legislators, wearied of asking, "What does the minister say?" question with themselves "on which side is the right?" and, above all, that monstrous notion of Church and State, which consisted in a clergyman by day following the hounds of the squire whose port he imbibed by night, is at an end; while Ox-

ford and Cambridge are daily raising the standard of the men they send out from their venerable halls and Catholic cloisters, to battle for the cause of Church and Queen. There are at this moment so many zealous and able expositors of the rights of the Church, that we shall pretermit this part of the subject, and devote the remainder of this article to an attempt to vindicate for the Queen a higher status than modern notions of civil and religious liberty would accord to her, a recognition of which, as we have before said, on the part of the people generally, we hold essential to their true happiness. Let us first of all endeavour briefly to give an idea of the modern definition of an English monarch—his claims, rights, and power. The claim of her present gracious Majesty to the throne, according to modern Liberals, would be defined somewhat in this fashion: somebody must be at the head of the monarchy—Queen Victoria comes in by natural succession, and, therefore, let her be Queen until she has done something so exceedingly distasteful to us as to compel us to cashier her; which brings us to her rights. These would seem to consist of—a right to spend the money the House of Commons may vote for her maintenance—to call her children by what names she pleases, (though this on a late occasion was demurred to)—to ask whom she pleases to dinner—and, which is of most importance, to order any particular play at any of the theatres. We fear, in placing this latter instance to the score of rights, we have rendered that of power a notchless one, for, after considerable thought, we are unable to discover any other action committable by the Queen partaking in any degree of the nature of power, according to the modern estimate of the kingly office. Choice of servants, measures, peace and war, distribution of honours, rewards, punishments, army, navy, justice, law-making—all these appertain to, and are exercised by, a majority of the House of Commons. Thus much for the kingly office as it stands at present in England in practice. We say, in practice; for in theory it is far otherwise, and we would fain hope that it is a merciful dispensation of Providence which has led us still to adhere to many an old rite, and apparently unmeaning and childish ceremony, and derided form of words, albeit to all appearance the life has for ever departed from them.

Let us see, then, in the second place, what intimations are afforded us in customs, rites, and words still in use, of the older and truer notions of the claims, rights, and power of kings. With grateful reverence and love, we proceed to extract from the Prayer-book, some few clear indications of the view taken by the Church of England on this important subject; and were Churchmen only concerned in this matter, we would willingly leave the

question to be decided by her judgment. We can never listen to the magnificent "Prayer for the Queen's Majesty" in the daily service without being impressed by the great and sensible difference existing between the temper and spirit of that prayer and its composers, and those of modern politicians; so fully does it avow that great Christian truth, that there is but *One* "only Ruler of princes." How little does the humble worshipper, while begging in this sublime prayer the Almighty's benison on Victoria's anointed head, think of constitutional monarchies, or necessary rebellions, or indefeasible rights of the people! It would seem that these ideas cannot exist within the walls of a church. Then, passing on to the Litany, how urgent is the Church in her prayers for the Sovereign. One short petition suffices her for her own good estate, but for her most honoured child, she puts up three supplications, full to overflowing almost of unrestrained love and loyalty. Would the faithless reasoning submission of these days have granted to the monarch in the prayer for the High Court of Parliament, those high and glorious titles "most religious and gracious?" We trow not. Again, whenever the order for the administration of Holy Communion is read, the Church, not content with the prayers she has already offered for her earthly nursing Mother, with additional solemnity in the first of her collects for the Queen, prays, "that she, knowing whose minister she is, may above all things seek the honour and glory of God, and that we, and all her subjects (duly considering whose authority she hath), may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey her." *Whose* minister is she? *Whose* authority hath she? The minister of the King of kings, armed with the authority of Him, "whose kingdom is everlasting and power infinite!" Yet how shall they who toast at festive meetings, "the people, the source of legitimate power," agree to this saying? Is not this language altogether contrary to theirs? Do they behold in that fair and gentle Queen who holds the sceptre of these realms the vicegerent of God?—or is she not rather to them as the graceful exposition of the majestic, though obedient, will of the people? But Christian loyalty has not yet done all her duty; it is after that she has collected the alms of the charitable and faithful, that, fired with world-wide catholic love, the Church of England, in her prayer for the Church-militant, invokes the favour of heaven "to save and defend all Christian kings, princes, and governors;" and then she adds, with ever-recurring fealty, "and specially thy servant Victoria our Queen." The thoughtful mind, in reviewing the history of this country for the last two centuries and a half, cannot fail to be struck by the remarkable coincidence of our foreign policy with

the spirit of this prayer on behalf of all Christian kings. Against which crowned head, save in self-defence, have we raised our standard? For whom have we spent our blood and treasure unless for the monarchs of Europe? What king have we deposed? What rebellion have we excited? Have we not, on the contrary, been the restorers of sovereigns, and is it not our proudest boast to have replaced them on their desecrated thrones? Nay, talk not of the last ten years! Shall one passing storm mar the brightness of a summer day? Shall one defeat tarnish the glorious career of a Wellington? Shall one decade of disgraced Whig rule efface the recollections of long years of high-hearted, triumphant struggling for the ancient monarchies of Europe?

We have appealed only to the daily and common services of the Church, not because in them is her language stronger—rather the reverse is the fact—than in her occasional services, but because men might object to conclusions being drawn from the particular to the general, and argue that the tone, for instance, of the service for King Charles the Martyr's day, naturally partakes of the enthusiasm unavoidably kindled at the time by his barbarous murder. We do not say that they would be right, but they at least would have that plea to urge; and so we restrict ourselves to those prayers which our service-book has all along contained.

Mr. Drummond, however alludes, happily enough, to the important fact, that at a coronation "the crown is placed upon the monarch's head by the Church—not by a noble, but by a priest; not by one representing a body of nobles, but by a member of an abstraction, which the Church is; and," he continues, "she puts forth her act in this case by any priest, though usually, and most seemly, by the patriarch of the metropolis, or of the see in which the rite is performed. All this marks, in every way and mode by which such a transaction can be marked, that God alone appoints the king, and sets him over the people, irrespective of their wishes or will implied in any way. He is king by the grace of God, and not by the grace of the people."

We now proceed to note down a few legal saws, and common sayings, and still retained customs, which may serve to bring out in clearer contrast the differing lights in which the kingly office was and is regarded by our ancestors and ourselves. Bracton that fearless teacher of law truths in a Plantagenet court, thus lays down the duty of a king: "The king ought not to be subject to man, but to God, and to the law; for the law maketh the king. Let the king, therefore, render to the law what the law has vested in him with regard to others—dominion and power—for he is not truly king, where will and pleasure rule,

and not the law." But that this law is something infinitely higher than the will of the people, or their determination of what the law is, appears manifestly from what follows. "Rex est vicarius, et minister Dei in terrâ; omnis quidem sub eo est, et ipse sub nullo, nisi-tantum sub Deo." How strangely would this maxim sound translated into modern English, and propounded by her Majesty's Attorney-General in the House of Commons, and yet how harmonious is it with Queen Elizabeth's great declaration to that turbulent body: "Ye ought not to deal, judge, or to meddle with her Majesty's prerogative royal." In good truth, when we read or hear of the monstrous pretensions to absolute power now very generally advocated in St. Stephen's for the Commons House of Parliament, we cannot but call to mind Burleigh's foreboding dictum—"England can never be ruined but by a parliament"—once, and in the generation succeeding to that which heard it said, so fatally accomplished. "But if the king hath a villeine, who purchases land, and alien it before the king enter; yet the king may enter, into whose hands soever the land shall come. Or if the villeine buyeth goods, and sell them before that the king seiseth them; yet the king may seise these goods, in whose hands soever they be: because, *nullum tempus occurrit regi*." So saith old Littleton. The modern annotator very naturally adds, that this rule is subject to various exceptions, both at common law and by statute.

The dispensing power seems now finally given up, and we shall therefore not enter into that most difficult question, nor discuss the merits of dispensations *quoad mala in se, sub modo, or mala prohibita*; but merely remark, that even in the declaration of rights, the Lords and Commons, on tendering the crown to William and Mary, content themselves with declaring that the dispensing with laws by regal authority was illegal "as it had been exercised of late." The old adage of "the king can do no wrong," has been explained away in so many ingenious modes, that we much doubt whether any other six short monosyllables ever underwent so many curious permutations and combinations. Perhaps the most ingenious theory on the subject is that of Captain Marryatt, who argues from it the beatification of the late king at the expense of his ministers; yet, argue and explain as we may, still some meaning must remain behind; and that "the king can do no wrong" will continue to be, we trust, received as legal truth in some sense or other, elsewhere as well as in Westminster Hall. From beginning to end, Parliamentary customs are so tinged with a higher coloured loyalty than is now-a-days practised, that we marvel how the

lamentable incongruity has not occasioned many of them to be discontinued, though we are very grateful for their unreasonable preservation. In theory, it is the queen who calls together, prorogues, and dissolves the parliament; it is she who unlocks the mouths of the House of Commons, when, at the opening of each parliament, submissively their speaker "requests pardon for the speech of the members of his house." The enacting clause of every bill commences with "Be it therefore enacted, by the queen's most excellent majesty." She is thanked, in what might be called fulsome terms, for the speech she makes from the throne, which is afterwards bandied about, and pulled to pieces in the most unceremonious manner. The prayers which are said every day before the house is made, ascribe all earthly power to her, and arrogate to the Commons nought save deliberation and advice. The queen's assent to every bill is indispensably necessary, and a bill carried unanimously through both houses is worth nothing if she will not assent to it. Yet let us imagine such an event occurring tomorrow! "The king of England (says Lord Coke) is armed with divers councils, one whereof is called *commune concilium*, and that is the court of parliament." It is in truth a weapon of offence and defence for the king, "*habet rex curiam suam in concilio suo in parliamentis suis, præscentibus prælatis, comitibus, baronibus, proceribus, et aliis viris peritis**. We might multiply examples without end, but it is needless to do so. The word "parliament," which originally intended the king advising with his great council, and then stood for the Lords and Commons, now means the House of Commons; and Mr. Drummond is not far wrong in stating that "the power of the House of Commons has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.....Whilst abolishing the ancient rights of others, it has clung pertinaciously to its own, now grown useless for any good, and productive only of evil; and the house has gone the length of claiming the right to slander, and to propagate slander against all its fellow subjects, and exemption from the jurisdiction of the courts of law. Hitherto no tyranny, but the tyranny of monarchies and aristocracies, has been an object of alarm; and it is right that men should know of a worse tyranny than either, in order that they may feel the value of the corrective influence of monarchical and aristocratic institutions." "If it be not controlled, the House of Commons will be a greater collective tyrant, than a single dictator; six hundred licensed slanderers are worse than one Cromwell. I say, with the '*Dict. Philosophique*,' "Tyrannie, pour tyrannie j'aime

* "Coke upon Littleton," 110 a, vol. i., 19th edit.

mieux être dévoré par un gros lion que par douze cent rats, mes confrères.”

With respect to phrases and habits of thought indicative of reverence towards kings extant among the people, it is a common remark, that even now there exists enough of traditional loyalty among all classes to collect a crowd that shall cheer wherever royalty may be found; and the astonishing number of homely presents that have been made to her Majesty since her accession, proves that neither Chartism nor Corn Law Agitation has eradicated from the humble cottage homes of England that divine instinct which leads lowly-minded men to look upwards, rather than downwards, and to acknowledge in the sovereign a mysterious sacredness, not lightly to be handled or enquired into.

Let anybody begin to think over the earliest sounds that made an impression on his childish heart, and how surrounded his very cradle will appear with forms and phrases of bygone loyalty! Did his petulance insist upon another sugarplum, he was told, “*must* is for the king.” Was he to be soothed into a good temper, ten to one his nurse dandled him up and down, singing of feats which could not be done by

“All the king’s horses, nor all the king’s men,”

and straightway did dim majestic notions of unreal kingly state float before his pageant-loving eyes; but if he still continued naughty, the last expostulation was, “What would the king say if he saw you?” Let no one underrate the importance of these early lessons—like the gentle rain that falls upon and sinks into the earth, and seems to have thenceforth passed away, but is all the while nourishing the blades which are hereafter to spring up to bless mankind, so do these trivial childish things come to an end apparently, and the very man himself forgets that they have been—although they have acted, and are acting, and shall act upon him—even until he returns to his native dust. Carefully, then, let parents watch over the minutest things or words that may affect their children’s dawning imagination. The child grows, and still in sacred history are kingly shapes ever brought before him: a republic he hears not of (for the theocracy of Israel has nothing in common with an earthly republic) until he comes to profane Roman or Grecian history; and then if Harmodius and Aristogiton and Brutus excite his admiration, anon come our own hero-kings, our Richard Cœur-de-Lion, our Henrys, and our Edwards, to make his heart beat at the very mention of their names. And thus stand things at

present : it is true, the world of matter is hourly encroaching on the world of spirit ; it is true, faith is waxing faint, and loyalty is but a name ; it is true the cause of monarchy seems declining the world through ; it is true that many things for which our ancestors fought and bled are by their descendants looked upon as foolish toys and useless baubles ; but yet it is also true that the more the world of matter encroaches, the stronger becomes the opposition of the world of spirit—true that the fainter faith becomes, the more is her restoration craved and yearned after—true that if loyalty be but a name, the greater the necessity for rendering her a reality—true that if European monarchy is sinking, hearts here in England are taking warning thereby to strengthen her island throne—and lastly, is it true, in a most marked and signal manner, that if ancient glories and ancient rites and customs have fallen into reproach and desuetude, strenuous and successful are the efforts now made, not here and there, not in this university or that college, but throughout the land, to restore to them their former vitality and vigour, to bring out into service their hallowing powers, and to brush away from the regal circlet that surrounds Victoria's brow the dust, and damp, and mildew, of a gross-minded and material age.

Such are some of the reflections which have suggested themselves to us from a perusal of Mr. Drummond's book. Did our space permit, we would willingly proceed to compare it with Mons. de Tocqueville's equally remarkable introduction to his work on America. Both writers seem impressed, weighed down almost, with a conviction of the onward march of Democracy—both see in all the monarchies of Europe the sign and symptoms of a rapid decay—and both are anxious to prepare the minds of men for the struggle which appears to them inevitable. But here the parallelism ceases, and the divergence commences. In de Tocqueville's words :—

“ It is evident to all alike, that a great democratic revolution is going on amongst us ; but there are two opinions as to its nature and consequences. To some it appears to be a novel accident, which as such may still be checked ; to others, it seems irresistible, because it is the most uniform, the most ancient, and the most permanent tendency which is to be found in history.”

Mr. Drummond holds that it may be checked, and that efforts must be made to check it ; while Mons. de Tocqueville would have Europe prepare herself to meet with dignity and composure the gigantic revolution which he conceives to be approaching. We, of course, are with Mr. Drummond ; the struggle is to be made, the battle is to be fought, and amidst all the luxury and

crime, and intellectual pride, and irreligion, around us, we say, that the struggle is not so desperate, the battle not so decidedly against us, as to deprive us of hope. We have still the forms of a monarchy—we have still, “thank God! a House of Lords!” an agricultural population—and above all, we have still among us, a living witness of God’s presence, his Church. Let no one then despair, but let each, in his own place, and after his own way, endeavour to strengthen the hands of the sovereign, to cause more well-merited respect to be paid to the aristocracy, to knit the lower orders to those above them in the sanctifying bands of responsibility and obedience, and to clear away the obnoxious weeds that at present obstruct the triumphant progress of the Catholic Church to universal empire. But people will say, “It is too late—things have gone too far; it is the merest dream to talk about divine right, and a submissive people, and a triumphant Church; the time is not propitious for notions such as these.” We say, it is propitious. From one end of England to the other, the poor people are awaking to a knowledge of the unreality of the shams which are being palmed off upon them under the names of liberty, and a free press, and the dignity of human nature. The aristocracy are opening their eyes to the fact that they have high and holy duties to perform, as well as privileges to enjoy. The clergy appreciate, and teach others to appreciate, more and more the awful trust that is committed to them; while,

“Like some old vision of a fairy bright,
Armida, Glorian, or Titantia light,”

on the throne of the Athelings, the Plantagenets, the Tudors, and the Stuarts, sits one, round whom may well rally all that remains of chivalrous loyalty, unhesitating obedience, undoubting faith, and uncalculating devotion—“one,” in the glowing language of a young senator, “more simple and unostentatious than Anne, more courageous than Elizabeth, more constant in her attachments than Mary Stuart, more graceful and queenlike than Mary Tudor, with all these queens’ virtues, and with none of their defects.”*

* Speech of the Hon. G. S. Smythe, at Canterbury, 1841.

- ART. VI.—*Observations on the Statutes of the University of Cambridge.* By GEORGE PEACOCK, D.D., V.P.R.S. Cambridge. 1841.
2. *The Elements of the Theory of Astronomy.* By JOHN HYMERS, D.D., Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Cambridge. 1840.
 3. *An Elementary Treatise on Mechanics.* By the Rev. W. WHEWELL, B.D., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge. 1841.
 4. *The Mathematical Principles of Mechanical Philosophy.* By JOHN HENRY PRATT, M.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. Cambridge. 1836.
 5. *A Treatise on Optics.* By WILLIAM N. GRIFFIN, B.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Cambridge. 1838.
 6. *An Elementary Treatise on the Differential Calculus.* By W. H. MILLER, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, and Professor of Mineralogy in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge. 1837.
 7. *Mathematical Tracts designed for the Use of Students in the University.* By GEORGE BIDDELL AIRY, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, and Astronomer Royal. Cambridge. 1831.

THE study of mathematics in England has undergone many changes, and has ever been subject to vicissitudes, which have materially influenced the system of education in the Universities. Of late years, however, these changes have been fewer, the vicissitudes less marked, and a rapid yet equable progress has been the natural result. Fresh mathematical subjects have started into life supported and confirmed by elaborate experiments, which again in their turn have by unexpected ulterior results paved the way for higher developements in theory; so that it would be difficult to name any period in the history of science, in which so general an advance has been made. It is true that in the time of Newton the discoveries were more brilliant, and occurred with greater frequency; but it must be remembered, that they resulted from the studies of a single man who stood almost alone in his pre-eminence among a host of sciolists, either too ignorant or too envious to follow in his footsteps. Now, on the contrary, a succession of learned and diligent men has appeared, who have employed themselves by daily labour and nightly observation, in furthering scientific pursuits, and giving fresh interest to studies that have at first sight appeared

harsh and repulsive: and long will it be ere the names of Herschel, Airy, Whewell, Peacock, Babbage, Hymers, are passed over unheeded and forgotten.

The discoveries of Sir William Herschel are being continued and extended by a son, who, like Achilles of old, is greater even than his father; and thus a nearly boundless and untrodden field is opened to future astronomers. The Nebular hypothesis—the phenomena of double and periodic stars—the endless variety and inconceivable extent of Nebulæ—their unfathomable distance*—all tend to show that we have made a vast progress, though it may be still, as Professor Nichol well observes, “a step only towards acquaintance with a higher order of infinitessimals.” The step, however, has been made, and, in spite of the indignant vaticinations of Mr. Young,† there is still no lack of wise heads and ready hands to extend and confirm existing theories. Strange it is that such a man as Mr. Babbage should utter lugubrious laments over the “Decline of Science in England,” and describe his career as one “to which the institutions of the country hold out none of those great prizes that stimulate professional exertion;”‡ while institutions, such as the Universities, are in existence, and names such as those mentioned above are yet content to pursue so “prizeless” a science. It is, however, no less certain, that these constant outcries have tended insensibly to lower the character of mathematics in the eyes of the world, and have infused a growing dislike to abstract studies. Popular philosophy, nursery analysis, penny cyclopædias, and *hoc genus omne* have risen into notoriety; and mathematics have in consequence been decried as technical, useless, and highly unnecessary, for a man of literary pursuits.

To such arguments of the scullery (for the kitchen is, we think, above them), it is painful to answer; yet when they begin to pervade the upper region, it is imperative on all to endeavour to silence them, though it may be to little purpose: for from the times in which Galileo languished in a dungeon, down to the present day, there have never been wanting prejudiced minds to assail

* “Suppose a cluster ascertained to be of the 900th order of distances were seen first as a whitish speck by a telescope, whose space-penetrating power is 10, it is easy to calculate how far off it must be, to be first descried as a faint spot by an instrument whose power is 200. It would be just 20 times farther removed from us, or at the enormous remoteness of 18,000 times the distance of Sirius. Calculating from the elements of a few known clusters, Herschel reaches the depth of the 35,175th order of distances in which some of these Nebulæ must lie.”—*The Architecture of the Heavens*, by Professor Nichol, p. 51.

† Preface to the “Elements of the Differential Calculus,” by J. R. Young, p. xvii.

‡ Preface to the Ninth Bridgewater Treatise, p. xviii.

mathematical discoveries. Two centuries ago, it was deemed on the continent essential to the cause of religion, to assert the stationary dignity of the earth, and the locomotive propensities of the sun; insomuch that any attempt to demonstrate the fallacy of the opinion was received with shouts of derision and pontifical menace, and the offender, having been hunted out of society, was enjoined to remodel his theories in the philosophical solitude of the prison cells of the Inquisition. And even an hundred years later, several of our readers may remember observing the preface to the French edition of Newton's "*Principia*," in which the orthodox reader is entreated to take notice that the heretical doctrine of the sun's immoveability, though mankind had been disabused of it by the holy office, was still unfortunately assumed throughout the work.

Such have been the various absurdities into which excellent persons of limited understandings have plunged headlong, and they may justly afford ground for merriment: but when, as at present, our University system of mathematics is thought a superfluous adornment to a classical scholar, it becomes necessary in sober earnest to detail, even at some length, the advantages resulting from such studies to every one, especially in the present system of school education, and thus the alleged uselessness and technicality will be found having only an imaginary existence. To begin then—

The system of school education throughout England is invariable in principle, variable only in minor points and particular applications of this principle. At ten years old a boy goes to school, and having digested the absurdities of Mr. Valpy's "*Delectus*,"* proceeds to Eutropius, Cornelius Nepos, Cæsar, Virgil, and so on through the list of approved school authors. After two or three years have passed in preliminary instruction, Bland's "*Verse-book*" and a *Gradus* are put into his hands, and he is thenceforth expected to produce sundry kinds of Latin verse with facility and correctness. This course is succeeded by a devotion to Greek Iambicism, and after incredible exertions on the part of master and disciple, the candidate for literary fame too often leaves school for the University, laden only with a *materia classica* of synonyms, reproduceable lines, and flexible epithets. Meanwhile, the graver compositions in prose, both Latin and Greek, have been to a great measure neglected; and though

* We must protest against the use of this work in any respectable school. The instances of false Greek in it are numerous, owing to Mr. Valpy's predilection for inserting a little of his own. What does ὁ παῖδες ἐρασθε τῆς μητρος mean? ἐραμαι, we submit, is "to be enamoured of," not "to love," as Mr. Valpy conjectured.

in the public schools prizes are annually awarded to the juvenile perpetrators of sober essays in the Latin and Greek tongue, still the principles of this kind of composition are rarely inculcated with the care they demand, and thus not without reason the examiners at Cambridge, year by year, complain of the ignorance displayed in Greek, but more especially Latin prose composition. At Oxford the results of this neglect are not so marked in the concluding examinations for degrees, as composition in Latin prose is insisted upon by the different colleges, and thus the lecture-room in a measure supplies the deficiencies of the school-room.*

It can now scarcely seem strange if, after eight years' devotion to the above-mentioned studies, the freshman at the University at last becomes aware that the reasoning powers of his mind have been too sedulously diverted into mere classical elegances, and that his schoolboy fancies have needed sound sense to prune down their fruitless ramifications, and engraft thereon those principles of language which may hereafter pullulate with clear and comprehensive learning. The studies of mathematics come opportunely to his aid, and in spite of daily and hourly disgust, they at last gain possession of the mind, and winning their way into the senses, temper fancy with judgment, sickly fastidiousness with healthful reason, and exalt baseless and visionary theories into the firm-set practice of inductive philosophy. Such, with no poetical fiction, are the advantages secured by a *moderate* acquaintance with mathematics. Such are the rewards offered to those who, for a time only, will avail themselves of the privilege of investigating this language of "pure and undiluted truth." Nor are examples wanting to illustrate the truth of these assertions; for fairly may it be said, that our most distinguished scholars have shown a decided preference for mathematics, nay, that some have attained eminence therein. Dr. Barrow occupied the professorial chair in Greek at, or about, the same time that he was delivering lectures as Lucasian professor of mathematics—an office he afterwards resigned to Sir Isaac Newton. From Bishop Monk, himself of no mean scientific attainments, we learn that Dr. Bentley was sixth in order on the mathematical list of the year,† and as it was customary to affix the names of the three examiners to the head of the list, his position is elevated to that of third wrangler—a place subsequently occupied by the most distinguished scholar of the present day, the Bishop of London. In later days, every biographer of Porson has

* It may be safely asserted that there is not one in ten of the entire number of those who enter the University who is capable of writing Latin verse, and still fewer *Latin prose*, with tolerable correctness or elegance.—*Peacock*. p. 181.

† Bentley's "Life of Bishop Monk," vol. i. pp. 10, 11.

alluded to his singular passion for algebraical investigation ; and, lastly, we should do injustice to another of our eminent scholars, Dr. Maltby, if we failed to mention his high position in the list of mathematical honours. From such instances, this principle at least may be safely laid down, that a general acquaintance with mathematics is in no way irreconcilable with the perfection of classical attainments.

But this is not sufficient, the theory may be extended farther; and it may be asserted, that not only are scientific studies compatible with those of classics, but that they tend to promote them ; and although this view may seem somewhat paradoxical, yet on a nearer consideration of the system of classical education, the difficulty will at once disappear. The Greek and Latin languages being nowhere in daily use, it becomes impossible to correct grammatical errors by national usage, or by any other means except a careful analysis of extant writings ; from these it is the duty of the grammarian to elicit rules of universal application, to expedite exceptions, and from scattered individual instances, to deduce general principles, avoiding diffuse laxity on the one hand, and rigorous dogmatism on the other. Of this latter error Elmsley was a notable instance ; so that his assertions, however subtle and ingenious, must ever be received by scholars with doubt and suspicion, from their constantly finding rules laid down on insufficient evidence. In a word, we cannot help inferring that if Elmsley had in early youth paid more attention to inductive reasoning, his annotations on the six plays would have been handed down as an heir-loom to posterity. Great indeed are the difficulties ever experienced in editing Latin and Greek works ; so much, therefore, the more need is there for sound views and a mature judgment. Of a single work, Sophocles for instance, a great number of manuscripts exist—some of dubious authority, some carelessly transcribed, some garbled palimpsests—and out of these “*disjecti membra poetæ*,” it is required to form a sound and grammatical text. Would it not seem natural then for one, about to undertake the cleansing of such an Augean stable, to fortify himself with matured judgment—by habits of abstract study to acquire, not only a quick perception, but a methodizing mind—to cultivate, finally, that accuracy and precision which might enable him to restore a line palsied with a final cretic, or halting under the influence of an unnatural cæsara ? And this precision and accuracy, no study, not even logic excepted, will supply in the same time as that of mathematics.

Nor are classical studies alone promoted by this course of education. Every liberal pursuit is rendered more easy and connected, and though apparently far removed from the investigations

of science, has nevertheless visibly exhibited their influence. Let us hear Professor Whewell :

“No one who knows the recent history of this University can doubt that the mathematical studies of its members have produced a very powerful effect on the general character of their mental habits. Any one who is acquainted with the lawyers, or men of business, or statesmen, whom the University has produced in our own and the preceding generation, knows, from observation of them and from their own declarations, that their mathematical pursuits here have, in no small degree, regulated their mode of dealing with other subjects. With respect to lawyers, indeed, we have the evidence of their practical success to the reality of this connexion ; and, among them, the extraordinary coincidence of professional eminence in after - life with mathematical distinction in their University career, shows that our studies may be an admirable discipline and preparation for pursuits extremely different from our own. That mathematical habits do, or have done so much to make men good lawyers, is not an unimportant consideration with respect to that profession ; but it is far more important as showing what such a training may effect in reference to other and wider studies.”
—*Whewell on University Education*, pp. 175, 176.

We now consider our first position—the necessity of an acquaintance with mathematics, sufficiently established : it remains, then, to consider the style of reading which may best advance the student ; and this naturally leads to a few preliminary reflections on the alleged technicality of the present course of study. This is, indeed, a more difficult objection to answer than the former, as it seems to bear before it a certain semblance of truth, and to be consonant with the views of the present mechanical era. If, however, the “*design*” of the mathematical studies of our Universities be well considered, the answer will readily be supplied, and the present system, with a few alterations, will be found alone capable of directing the student along that royal road which Euclid truly said alone lay through his elements. In a word, the “*design*” of this study is not so much to sift each annual importation of young men for probable Laplaces, or possible Newtons, as to inculcate in all those principles of sound reasoning, with that precision of argument, which cannot fail to strengthen and elevate the mind, whether the studies be afterwards directed to the Church, the senate, or the bar. If this be, as we are well assured it is, the general design of the present course of education, how far will the study of the “popular” treatises on mathematics tend to effect the required end ? And to what extent will general outlines superinduce concentrated thought, or lead the pupil through the vistas of progressive reasoning ? It surely requires no protracted consideration to remind every reader, that the very system of

these works at once shows their incapability in both these respects; for, as the rationale of such publications is to present each subject before the reader in a single light, perfectly unconnected with any previous treatise, and therefore devoid of any liability to recapitulation of former principles, it must be evident, that however useful and interesting such works may be, they can do little more than explain the properties of a disunited link, severed from the connected chain of philosophy. Let it not be imagined, however, that our object is to depreciate these treatises; our attempt is only to demonstrate their uselessness in the particular system under consideration, and to show that no popular views of mathematics can for a moment be tolerated in the Universities.* The value of such publications will be found when combined with theory; in such a view they often afford the greatest assistance to students, and by exhibiting profound practical results, remove the doubts and obscurities ever attendant on algebraical research. To cite an example, a work may be instanced, whose title is prefixed to this article—"The Elements of Astronomy," by Dr. Hymers—and though it would be difficult to mention a treatise on this subject written with greater perspicuity and unity of plan, yet there are portions, particularly the section on the planets, in which Herschel's masterly work, in "Dr. Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia," would materially assist a beginner. Thus, in the case under consideration, the simple remarks on the heliocentric and geocentric places of a planet, with the accompanying diagram in chap viii. section 427, must be found intelligible to every reader. It by no means, however, follows, that the treatise of Dr. Hymers is to be considered in any degree obscure or deficient, as it is utterly out of the province of a work of its nature to embarrass the pervading system by that diffuseness, which belongs rather to elementary considerations.

The only two objections that have been advanced against mathematics may now be considered as fully answered; every other objection, whatever it be, is but a ramification from these two stems—alleged *uselessness*, and alleged *technicality*; and must, therefore, wither or flourish with its parent trunk. The advantages then appearing to be so great, we cannot think we are introducing an uninteresting subject, when we proceed to place before our readers a minute detail of the present course

* Treatises must not be of what is called a popular nature, consisting of assertions without reasoning, and propositions of the most different kind and evidence, jumbled together. Such systems as would here be wanted must contain none but the most vigorous demonstrations, although none but the most simple calculations.—*Whewell on University Education*, p. 180.

of mathematical study at Cambridge. For when we consider the increased numbers that are yearly flocking to this University, and the large moiety of these afterwards dedicated to distinction in the mathematical tripos, it would seem a duty to open the eyes of parents to the excellences and defects of the system of education their children must follow; and more especially, as the public journals have teemed with angry and expostulatory letters on the subject from every quarter of England.

The entire course of subjects for examination comprises Euclid, algebra, the theory of equations, trigonometry (plane and spherical), conic sections, statics, dynamics, Newton (sections, i. ii. iii. ix. and xi.), differential and integral calculus, differential equations and finite differences, hydrostatics and hydrodynamics, analytical geometry, geometrical and physical optics, plane and physical astronomy, and certain portions of the theory of heat, electricity, and crystallography. Of these subjects some are short and elementary; others are of great length, and involve the highest calculations: for instance, under the single article dynamics is included a considerable portion of Mr. Pratt's "Mechanical Philosophy," which proceeds from the simplest considerations of the laws of motion to the intricacy of tidal analysis. Physical astronomy again comprises the lunar and planetary theories, with the subordinate tracts on the figure of the earth, precession, and nutation: finally, an acquaintance with the coefficients of Laplace is also expected from candidates for high honours. This last subject has been lately presented to the public in a luminous and intelligible tract by Mr. O'Brien, of Caius College, in which the distinct purpose of this profound analysis has been briefly explained, and its uses exemplified in succeeding propositions. In explanation of these coefficients to general readers, it may be sufficient to say, that their purpose is to facilitate the integration of certain expressions which had long and successfully resisted the aggressions of analysts. And here many readers may express their wonder, that so little of Newton is incorporated in the system; the reasons, however, for this arrangement are very just, as the geometry of Newton has been superseded by infinitesimal reasoning, from which it is said to have been originally translated by the great author himself, that he might render his operations intelligible to his contemporaries. Thus all the higher parts of Newton, *mutato nomine*, are scrupulously preserved and read in their proper course, while the first three sections are retained entire, as conveying ideas of ultimate reasoning, in the tangible and inviting garb of geometry. The ninth and eleventh sections

proceed to give a rough sketch of the motion of the moon, and her various changes, thereby paving the way for the more accurate investigations of physical astronomy.

Such, then, is a general outline of the course of mathematics now pursued at Cambridge—various in detail, yet uniform in plan; ascending by steady gradations from the properties of the hypotenuse, to those laws, which ensure the stability of restless oceans, and regulate the motions of yet unseen worlds. Yet, as there are notes in the sun, so are there certain deficiencies and irregularities in this course, which are distinctly visible in the present method of treating subjects in natural philosophy. Rapid generalization has over-run sober reasoning, and the peculiarities of various schools of teaching have tinged the character of scientific speculation.* We shall, then, do well to consider, briefly, the style of a few of the more prominent treatises, noticing, as well as our limits will permit, the peculiarities of each.

We commence with Plane Trigonometry—a subject that never appeared to have any principles or internal coherence till within these last few years. It seems to have been originally regarded as a supplementary volume to Euclid, owing to which the subject was hewn into separate propositions, which possessed the additional advantage of being perfectly independent and wholly incongruous. To these were added certain analytical calculations at the end of the volume, which completed the confusion, and more effectually obscured the few principles that had a traditional existence. Dr. Woodhouse, we believe, first collected the portions of this mathematical Osiris into a connected, though somewhat prolix treatise. The subject revived under the hands of Professor Peacock, in a syllabus of a course of lectures; it was amplified by Mr. Snowball, of St. John's College; and has finally been invested with the dignity of a science by the novel and ingenious work of Dr. Hymers, of which the trigonometry of Lefebvre de Fourcy was the foundation; and we can here only express the hope, that others of our countrymen will be induced to fill up the clear English outline with the French breadth of colouring, and diffuse over the whole the same harmony of tint. We by no means desire to cast scorn on our national labours; yet we must honestly and openly register our opinion, that several treatises published in the last few years

* The characters of a peculiar school of mathematical speculation are to be found scattered through various branches of the science in various forms, often implied rather than expressed, but still so far characteristic and connected as to make them fit instances of that which it is my object to describe.—*Whewell on University Education*, p. 150.

have so laboured to be brief, that they have ended in obscurity, and tended, even if they have not been *intended*, more especially to promote private tuition. Professor Peacock (p. 156, note) considers “this paucity of works of learning and research,” as rather a consequenæ of private tuition; it is, however, highly probable that the two evils are so implicated as to mutually support each other.

We will next consider the subject of statics; this naturally divides itself into two portions—the elementary and higher departments; the elementary containing the principles of equilibrium of forces in one plane, the descriptions and varieties of the mechanical powers, and the principles upon which their action depends. The higher portion extends the theorems of the former part to bodies not in one plane, introduces the theory of couples, and prepares the reader for the difficulties of attractions. Such being the important nature of this subject, it might with justice be supposed that to recapitulate the treatises hereon would be as difficult as—

“Nosse quot Ionii veniant ad littora fluctus.”

This, however, is unfortunately far from the case: nearly all the treatises are deficient, and so arranged as to often considerably embarrass a beginner in natural philosophy. Professor Whewell has lately issued a new edition of an elementary treatise on this subject, in which we do not recognize his usual simplicity and clear arrangement; the work labours under the misfortune of being unfavourably printed, and seems throughout to be unable to convey the sound and original views of the author with precision and perspecuity. With due deference to Professor Whewell, we seriously object to the principle of making the lever the groundwork of the science, when M. Duchayla has formed a proof so simple as that of the parallelogram of forces. No reader could fail in understanding and appreciating it; while, according to Mr. Whewell’s system, there must necessarily exist a sort of confused idea, that this fundamental principle is dependent on the properties of a mechanical instrument. It would seem natural first to establish the parallelogram of forces upon most elementary reasoning, then to proceed with the resolution and composition of forces, reserving the mechanical powers as useful instances and examples of foregoing abstract laws. We shall only briefly allude to Mr. Pratt’s statics, as the higher parts alone of this subject are considered in his “*Mechanical Philosophy* :” we still complain here of want of arrangement. We object to his summary method of treating parallel forces, and the two technical solutions of examples in

the centre of gravity.* Still there is great perspicuity in individual portions, a laborious investigation of every difficulty, and a clear and vivid enunciation of the principles on which the solution of statical problems depend. Lastly, a treatise by Mr. Earnshaw claims a passing notice: this, again, comparatively neglects the elementary parts of the subject, and is therefore wholly unfit for a beginner. Mr. Earnshaw's fault is a too constant oscillation between extreme brevity and extreme prolixity, owing to which the attention of a reader is not retained equably throughout the work. We can, however, with this reservation, unhesitatingly recommend it to a student who has made some progress in the subject.

Several treatises of great merit have appeared on this subject in France, conducted on sound principles, and founded on the laws of the science; yet of these *not one* translation of any degree of merit has yet been announced. The curious and elaborate experiments of M. Poucelet, in his "*Mecanique Industrielle*," have been unnoticed: and a work that has no rival in any mathematical disquisition extant, in perspicuity and scientific arrangement, the "*Traité de Mecanique*" of M. Poisson has been most culpably neglected.

For an exposition of the principles of the Differential Calculus, the public is indebted to Professor Miller, of St. John's College: and here, again, we feel it our duty to protest against the extreme brevity in a subject so difficult and perplexed. The elegance of the style of this work, the perfect arrangement, and the masterly analysis, would receive the highest praise, were it not qualified by the remembrance that this style must inevitably cause the reader to apply for continual assistance to private tutors, and thereby lose the benefit of a fair exercise of his own reasoning powers. Again, to enter into details, it is right to take notice of the differential notation adopted by Professor Miller, and exclusively followed by other authors of St. John's College. It is well known that the symbol $du—dx$ has been used by Lacroix† and Laplace on the continent, and most writers in this country, to express the differential coefficient of x with regard to x . This notation, however, has been rejected by Professor Miller, and the symbol $du—x$ recalled, which has

* There is only one way of solving such examples: discard all formulæ, and commence with taking an element of the figure or body in question, integrate between limits and the question is properly answered. Compare the examples of the moment of inertia in Earnshaw's Dynamics.

† We have only mentioned Lacroix and Lagrange as the principal analysts, though we believe the same symbol is used by almost all continental writers.

nothing else to recommend it except facility of formation with the pen, and a generally neat aspect when printed in a continuous series, or in double or triple differentiations. It may seem obstinate and dogmatical to oppose so strenuously the introduction of a symbol; but when of two conflicting notations, the one continually reminds the student of the nature of his operations, while the other pleases the eye but perplexes the mind, we can no longer remain neutral, especially when we have this remark of Professor Whewell before us:—

“There are no doubt various methods, all satisfactory, in which the first principles of the differential calculus are sometimes presented; but there are other methods which, according to the view I am now taking, cannot be allowed to be sound and philosophical, because they endeavour, by definitions and other artifices, to evade all reference to the real fundamental principle of the subject. That fundamental principle is the conception of a ‘limit.’”—*Whewell on University Education*, p. 155.

Furthermore, this new notation introduces a change in that of integration; so that on integrating between limits, great care must be taken that confusion of inferior and superior limits do not occur from the conventional position of the limits on the right or left of the symbol of integration. In the other notation the superior limit naturally was placed at the top, the inferior at the bottom; and all confusion was thus effectually avoided. We have perhaps dwelt too long upon this subject, but we are persuaded that an uniform system cannot be too urgently recommended, as thereby evading those objections which may with justice be brought against public examination papers thus halting between two opinions.*

Passing through the list, great commendation is due to Mr. Griffin for his uniform and consistent treatise on Optics. The separate propositions are elegantly drawn out, but an absence of sufficient explanation is occasionally discernible, especially upon aberration and the focal lines in oblique pencils. For instance, the principles of aberration ought to have been impressed on the pupil in every figure, instead of being noticed in a cursory manner in Article 31. Unless it is perpetually borne in mind that, in spherical reflection, *the aberration is towards the surface—in plane refraction from the surface—in spherical refraction from or towards the surface*—we defy a beginner to draw his figures properly. In the next edition, section iv. has strong claims to be entirely re-written, as it seems to bear all the marks of hur-

* In the present year $du—dx$ was used; in 1838, our little neat friend carried the day.

ried compilation, and is moreover perplexing from its constant reference to Mr. Coddington's work on Optics, whose principles of notation are entirely different.

Professor Airy's masterly tracts next claim attention ; the last of which, on the undulatory theory of Light, is perhaps the most convincing treatise ever written on any subject. Step by step analysis receives the testimony of experiment, until, at the conclusion of the whole, the reader sees before him a host of evidence such as rarely has been marshalled on the side of gravitation itself. Fully to review this work, and award the commendations due to the separate tracts, would far outstrip the limits of this paper ; the general remarks, therefore, on physical astronomy will be incorporated with those on the entire system.

Previously, however, to making any deductions from the style of the works above, it will be necessary also succinctly to detail the method of private instruction now so prevalent in Cambridge, as experience has shown that this principle of education, to a great extent, tinges the character of the studies and productions of the day.

Almost the first day that a freshman of any literary pretensions arrives at the University, he is recommended by his friends, or his college tutor, to select a private supervisor over his studies. The gentleman upon whom the choice falls is probably a Bachelor of Arts, of one or two years' standing, who has attained a respectable position in the mathematical list. After a few days, the work of tuition commences in real earnest. The student pays his respects to his tutor at a fixed hour, bringing with him the particular subject upon which he is engaged, duly underlined wheresoever it had appeared obscure. After these difficulties have been fully cleared away, he is introduced to a few questions on paper in the part he is supposed to have prepared, and leaves written answers. The business of the day with his tutor is then at an end. The next day, at the same hour, a second visit is paid : the answers of yesterday are carefully scrutinized, and receive their due award of praise or blame, the difficulties of to-day are elucidated, answers for the revision of tomorrow written, and so on *ad infinitum*. When the subject, or a definite portion thereof has been thus read, the student receives a recapitulatory examination in the whole, and is bidden to proceed onward, or retrace his steps, according to the merits or demerits of his answers. Subject after subject is thus passed through, so that at the end of the ninth term the course of reading, howfarsoever it extend, is supposed to be concluded. The succeeding long vacation is employed in recapitulation of all the subjects, and then the duties of the tutor are at an end.

For the trouble and anxiety naturally evinced by the tutor during his pupil's course, he receives fourteen pounds each term, and thirty pounds each long vacation. Should, however, the tutor be in any public capacity in his college, as lecturer, &c., the remuneration is increased to twenty pounds for the term and forty pounds for the long vacation, on the principle, that if application for private tuition be made to a gentleman of such attainments as a college lecturer or tutor is supposed to be, an adequate return ought to be made by the pupil.

Such, we believe, is a complete sketch of the tutorial system now in full vigour at Cambridge; in which there is much regularity to admire, much unity of purpose to commend: at the same time there are dangerous errors within—originality is nullified, natural powers are never called into play, and superficial knowledge is the necessary result. The University is now at length becoming aware that this mode of instruction is unhealthy, and sincerely is it to be hoped that a prompt and judicious reform will be instituted; especially when so high an authority as Professor Peacock speaks of the system in such strong terms as the following:—

“The effects of this system are almost equally injurious to tutors and pupils. A tutor of superior attainments wants the stimulus which a large class of hearers supplies, and his spirits are exhausted by the weary and uninteresting labour of teaching pupils who are frequently unable to appreciate the value of what is taught; whilst a pupil, whose difficulties are thus smoothed over without labour or research, is too frequently enervated by this perpetual pampering of his appetite for knowledge, without the necessity of digesting that less palatable food which original enquiry must perpetually present to it.”—*Peacock*, p. 154.

Dr. Peacock then gives a sensible sketch of a fresh host of evils originating from a private tutor's inexperience and inability to present accurate views upon mathematical subjects; for it must be remembered (to use Dr. Peacock's own words) “that the veriest tyro in classical or mathematical knowledge, when himself hardly fledged from the nursing care of a private tutor, will consider himself perfectly qualified to teach as far as he has himself been taught, though in the most superficial and imperfect manner, and thus becomes the instrument of propagating crude and inaccurate knowledge through successive generations of pupils.”

The greatest evil, however, is the tendency of the present system to cramp in and confine originality of genius; for, as long as the sole care and solicitude of the pupil is to prepare his daily portion, and answer his daily questions, with a certain degree of accuracy, who cannot at once perceive that all the

views of the student, all his opening ideas, must take their colouring and adornment from the peculiar light diffused on them by their teacher? And although mathematics are not a study in which imaginative theories ought to be indulged, yet, if the heart follow the hand, and philosophy be pursued from a feeling rather of admiration than duty, it cannot be doubted that such studies will be pursued with far more eagerness, and far greater ultimate profit. But now, on the contrary, when a volume is selected for perusal, a certain number of its articles are marked with a significant R (read), as indicative of the probability of their appearance in the Senate-house examination, the other portion is disregarded, and too often cast aside without perusal; so that the adherence and unity of work is not unfrequently interrupted, and, instead of a full and free prospect, broken glimpses only are obtained. Again, as a consequent upon this objection, follows yet another, grounded on the extreme reliance young men usually place in their tutors. The *ipse dixit* of epicurean memory was hardly more sedulously respected than the peculiar fancies and philosophical idiosyncrasies of the young instructor. His manuscripts are copied, recopied, and diligently prepared for examination: his examples in each successive science committed to faithful note-books; his mind, as Goldsmith expressed it, “wandered over and over;” so that, instead of that extended enquiry in private, which never fails to confirm existing, while it lays the foundation of future knowledge, days, months, and even years are given over to this artificial system without the reservation of a single hour for a free exercise of the natural faculties. It may still be justly said, that in the case of many young men private reading may be ill-directed, method discarded, and the best endeavours rendered abortive from the lack of some well-judging person to point out the definite course. Others again, fresh from school, may plead positive inability properly to prepare college lectures, and fairly complain if they are debarred from taking such means as may render these lectures intelligible and useful. And these objections are so valid, that we fully agree with Professor Peacock in thinking that the first three terms might be with profit spent under a private tutor. The student would have the errors of his school education rectified and be directed onwards with judgment and precision.

“We should feel disposed to authorize private tuition during the three first terms, as a means of enabling young men to supply the defects of their previous education when they first enter the University; and to afford them the assistance which they very frequently require to enable them to follow with advantage the course of public lectures;

and more particularly when it is considered that students very generally require the experience of a public examination (such as usually closes their first academical year) to enable them to judge of their prospects of success in the final competition for classical and mathematical honours, and of their competence to trust to their own powers and to the aid of public instruction in the future prosecution of their studies. The mischievous effects likewise of private tuition in disturbing the course of public instruction are not fully developed before the second academical year."—*Peacock*, p. 155.

Were these suggestions put into force, not only would young men themselves be benefitted, but parents also would be relieved of a heavy item in college bills. For example, three terms at fourteen pounds each, amount to forty-two pounds, which, added to the "*minerval*" due for a long vacation, forms a total of seventy-two pounds, wholly independent of other personal and necessary wants. This is no light argument; for how many youths of slender fortunes must either incur the additional expense necessary to place them on a probable level with their compeers, or, by shrinking from it, render their poverty doubly galling, from the reflection that it has denied them a fair start in the race of life? Let, then, the first year be open to private tuition, and the two remaining years devoted to private study and the course of reading prescribed by the University; every difficulty will be evaded, and every reasonable objection practically answered.

These remarks apply principally to mathematical tuition, as greater latitude may be assigned to the classic; it now being considered essential to the formation of a classical scholar to produce composition of every kind with great rapidity and accuracy; an art which cannot be acquired without the keen eye of a critical tutor. Whether the system be a masterpiece of wisdom or no, is another question; we can only remark upon it in its present state. We are not heretical enough fully to assent to Dr. Peacock's scheme of classical examinations, and secretly to hope that composition in Greek, and perhaps Latin verse, be excluded; and we recommend those, however, who do, to forbear saying so openly, and to remember the *genus irritabile vatum*, unless they desire to provoke the Salopian hive which has so liberally offered to supply all schoolboys and private students with attic honey; but we are not writing on classical but on mathematical studies, and to them we must return "*revenons donc à nos moutons*."*

* "A Selection of the Greek Verses of Shrewsbury School;" for the use of schools and private students. Cambridge. 1840.

Another advantage that would result from an adoption of Dr. Peacock's schemes would be the improved character of the mathematical works. These would embody greater details, and gradually surround with explanatory matter the "bare winter-boughs" of thought, which are at present so distinctly traceable in most of the treatises of the day. Dr. Peacock has rightly said, that the ambitious views of mathematicians who are much employed in private tuition, are generally confined to "the compilation of elementary works destined for academical purposes." The highest praise is awarded to him who reproduces an old theorem in a neater garb, or diversifies a slender volume with the technical elegancies of a compendious notation. And here Dr. Peacock has well illustrated theory by practice. His voluminous and invaluable treatise on algebra forms a singular contrast to the thin publications of the day; and we do earnestly beg of him to issue a second edition. This work, with the *Astronomy* of Dr. Hymers, and the *Mechanical Philosophy* of Mr. Pratt, are nearly the only productions that have of late emanated from the University bearing the stamp of originality or universality. All the rest, unless we except Professor Airy's tract on *Light*, bear the internal remarks of having been written not so much for the furtherance of science, as for an accommodation to the peculiarities of the senate-house examination. If this system be continued with much pertinacity, mathematical studies *must* rapidly decline. Every scientific disquisition will be disregarded unless it foreshorten its speculations, and conform to the habits of this stenographic treatment of mathematics. And this is not an era in which such fancies should be indulged; already are we trembling on the eve of discovery of a law more universal than gravity itself*—a law which is confidently expected to yoke together the sister forms of light and electricity, and exalt the empiricisms of chemistry into the dignity of inductive science.† And this is no vain dream; already have numerous results in higher sciences seemed to indicate some higher arbiter

* "Ever since the period when Newton established the law of gravity, philosophers have occasionally speculated on the existence of some more comprehensive law, of which gravity itself is the consequence.....M. Mossotte has shown, that by supposing matter to consist of two sorts of particles, each of which repels similar particles, directly, as the mass, and universally, as the square, of the distance; whilst each attracts those of the other kind, also according to the same law—then the resulting attractions explain all the phenomena of electricity, and there remains a residual force, acting, at all sensible distances, according to the law of gravity."—*Babbage, Ninth Bridgewater Treatise*, pp. 163, 164.

† "Hence the whole of chemistry, and with it crystallography, would become a branch of mathematical analysis."—*Ibid.*, p. 167.

than gravity—singular phenomena in physiology* have broken as stars through the cloudy night, apparently but translations of some universal law; and galvinism, with its mysterious affinities to animal life, is awaiting the orient light of a theory whose rays are even now refracted above the visible horizon.

Yet with all these inducements, higher mathematical enquiry will inevitably languish, if every energy is to be called into life only to aid in cutting away redundancies, and perfecting the angular outline of lower subjects. Hence the more difficult parts of physical astronomy lie in sad confusion. Instead of a succinct and progressive exposition of celestial mechanics, for which such abundant stores lie in the "*Mecanique Cæleste*," or the scarcely inferior "*Mechanism of the Heavens*," by Mrs. Somerville. We have a set of isolated tracts on the figure of the earth, &c., written, it is true, by the most masterly hand in our country, yet still subject to the incontrovertible objection of being fragments only of the visionary whole of physical astronomy. If these higher subjects be considered by a learned University as fit studies for its youth, it is but reasonable to expect that the same progressive law obtain here also, and that the lunar and planetary theories be not considered so many pages of abstract analysis, but parts of a continuous description of the phases, motions, eccentricities, periodic and secular variations of heavenly bodies, which have been observed from the earliest history of the science, and are now, in these latter days, accurately traced to the prevalence of laws of analytical interpretation. It is not at all to be inferred that we imagine it possible for young men to attain anything more than the mere rudiments of physical astronomy; but we do consider it highly possible for these rudiments to be presented in a systematic way, that so he may go on to a more perfect knowledge after his academical course of study. At present physical astronomy in England lies scattered here and there, in tracts, in papers, in magazines, in journals of science, destitute of connection, and, consequently, useless and unprofitable. On the contrary, were a complete treatise gradually compiled from these abundant materials, scattered everywhere abroad, the deficiencies in the science would be distinctly visible, and additional excitement would be infused in the analyst, stimulating him to contribute his individual labours in carrying out approximations, and reconciling with existing laws apparently illusive phenomena.

But in this and some other subjects, we regret to say, the University of Cambridge, it may be unwittingly, tends to foster

* "*The London and Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine*," for April.
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and revive the Aristotelian method of teaching ethics—*δεῖ γὰρ ἴσως ἰποτυπῶσαι πρῶτον εἰθ' ὕστερον ἀναγράφαι*.* The mathematical works all more or less present nothing but an outline and Chiar-oscuro, while the private tutors are essential to the filling up the picture. So that, as we before said, the character of the books strengthens the system of tutelage, and influences the method of conducting the examinations. To give a complete view of the whole course, it may be useful to mention the general method of examining candidates. Examinations may be divided into public and private: the private examinations are those held at stated times in each college—the public examinations are “The Previous Examination (*vulgo*, the “Little-go”)—“The Examination for the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*vulgo*, the “Poll”)—and the “Senate-house Examination.” The Classical Tripos, University-scholarship examinations, being wholly classical, and of voluntary attendance, do not come under consideration; and, of the three above-mentioned, our remarks will apply solely to the senate-house examination.

The private examinations may be explained in a few words. At the end of the Easter term, each college holds an examination of three or more days. The residents of the first, second, and third year, are respectively examined in subjects read in the lecture-rooms during the three preceding terms, and are arranged in classes according to merit; the only exception to this system being St. John's College, which holds two annual examinations, one at Christmas, the other at the same time with the rest. These form useful and instructive preparations for the final struggle, by accustoming the student to express his thoughts and descriptions on paper with brevity and precision, and to acquire coolness and self-possession; and the classification according to merit has been found in the principal colleges to receive but little inversion in the senate-house examination; so that a young man at Trinity, or St. John's, may not only discern his position among the candidates of his own college for honours, but may even draw a probable inference of his place in the lists of the Mathematical Tripos. The great use, however, of these examinations is most clearly apparent, when combined with college lectures. College lectures are what Dr. Whewell terms, a system of “*direct*” teaching, or imparting instructions on the ground of their own value. Hence, if the examinations be founded upon the subjects read and explained in the lecture-room, and upon them exclusively, not only is attendance on lectures rendered necessary, but a systematic course of reading is

* Aristot : Ethics ed Becker, Book i. 33.

enforced upon the student, and the scheme of direct teaching fully carried out.

The senate-house examination now commences on the Monday week preceding the first Monday in the Lent term, and concludes on the following Saturday; on the Friday week afterwards the list is published, divided into three compartments—wranglers, senior optimes, and junior optimes. It closes with fifteen or twenty names who are allowed to take the degree of Bachelor of Arts, though considered unfit to be classed. This portion is not unaptly termed the “*gulf*,” as forming the impassable barrier between the three classes and the rejected or “*plucked*” candidates. The scheme of the examination is as follows:—

Monday...	Morning	9 — 11½	Pure Mathematics.
	Afternoon	1 — 4	Natural Philosophy.
Tuesday...	Morning	9 — 11½	Natural Philosophy.
	Afternoon	1 — 4	Problems.
Wednesday	Morning	9 — 11½	Pure Mathematics.
	Afternoon	1 — 4	Problems.
Thursday...	Morning	9 — 11½	Problems.
	Afternoon	1 — 4	Pure Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.
Friday.....	Morning	9 — 11½	Pure Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.
	Afternoon	1 — 4	Pure Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.
Saturday...	Morning	9 — 11½	Pure Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.
	Afternoon	1 — 4	Pure Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

From this programme it may be seen that the examination is progressive—the first day or two being restricted to subjects independent of the differential calculus, and the concluding day nearly entirely confined to physical optics and physical astronomy.

Such, then, is a description of an examination apparently unexceptionable in every point; yet the results of the last few years have shown that there are certain latent causes of perturbation which have produced visible eccentricities in the style of the examination, and the consequent effects upon the candidates. It may be difficult to accurately detail the origin and immediate operation of these irregularities, yet we would fain endeavour to exercise our microscopic powers, and then candidly state the result of our observations. First and foremost, “*the examiners*

are irresponsible." The nature of the examination, therefore, wholly depends upon the peculiar course adopted by four gentlemen, who, though learned and impartial (as they ever are), must still have a bias towards a certain style of mathematics, and a certain principle of awarding marks; for it is impossible that the peculiarities of two gentlemen can be so exactly counterbalanced by those of the other two as to cause an annual reproduction of examiners of precisely the same sentiments and judgment in deciding upon the merits of written answers. The result also confirms this statement: for instance, in the year 1839, the examination was generally considered of a simple and judicious character. A large portion of the questions was selected from the more elementary subjects, and it was commonly believed that the principle pursued was a nearly equal reward to perfect answers of similar length, whether from higher or lower subjects. Again, in 1840, a total change took place: questions from the more difficult subjects were in the majority, the more elementary being left in an unwonted minority; so that the divisions of classes must have been influenced by the change as well as the minimum amount requisite for "getting through." Such, in fact, was the feeling manifested in the University, that the examiners of the succeeding year were recommended to extend their patronage to less lofty theories. The year 1841 arrived, and the candidates, confident in this recommendation to mercy, entered upon their labours. The result, however, was unsatisfactory; for not only did the list of killed and wounded far exceed that of any former year, but our public papers were deluged with tearful addresses from country gentlemen, and angry remarks from reverend incumbents, whose hopeful *Juli* had returned home bereft of all protecting plumage.

"—————quos dimisere Philippi
Decisis humiles pennis."

The next question is, "how is the present system to be modified?" A question which, it must be admitted, requires great deliberation fully to answer. The first point, however, seems to be the establishment of a "*fixed*" and "*definite*" standard requisite to be attained; for it is certain that analysis and agriculture herein differ in their internal laws—that one is best conducted by a *fixed* standard, the other, it would seem, by a *sliding* scale. According to this principle, a certain number of subjects ought to be selected, which it should be considered incumbent on every candidate for honours to be competently prepared in; an arrangement that will, at the same time, definitely announce what is expected, and also confine the attention of the lower

candidates for honours to the proper elementary routine. For at present nothing is more common than for this class of students to speculate to a most injurious extent on the subjects and portions of subjects that are expected, as it is technically termed, "*to pay.*" We remember once hearing of a gallant young gentleman who equipped himself for his junior-optimeship with the elements of Euclid and integral calculus; the lovers of order will be glad to hear, that neither the simplicity of Euclid nor the intricacy of integral calculus saved him—he was plucked, a warning to those who trust on unsupported geometry, and a practical answer to "*Lemmata quid faciunt?*" This may seem a broad caricature; yet it is a matter of history, and may serve to open the eyes of college authorities to the incongruity of the garbled studies pursued by a very large portion of those whose object is to secure "*a pass.*" And the result is, that it had been better for them never to have opened a volume of science, as they might then have had no views of any kind, while, in the present case, what is infinitely worse, their ideas are confused, analysis is jostled by geometry, and, instead of being imbued with progressive principles, their minds are distracted with incoherences and absurdities of every kind.

There has been, it is true, always a sort of floating idea of the sufficient quantity of subjects; yet, even allowing this idea to have amounted to a tacit agreement, it is impossible, while any uncertainty remains, to prevent reckless speculations and consequent bitter disappointments.

Now suppose a list of the subjects and portions of the subjects required be drawn up, exactly on the same principle as the selection made for the common degree of B.A., though of course with less circumstantiality, all these evils vanish; a young man then enters the senate-house with his eyes open, and if he be among the rejected, he must reflect that he has failed in properly preparing his allotted portion, and that indolence, and not what is now poetically termed "*want of luck,*" has brought about his defeat. The subjects might comprise Euclid—algebra, part i.—plane trigonometry, excluding the consideration of goniometrical—conic sections, excluding, of course, the discussion of the general equation, &c.—elementary statics and dynamics—Newton, sections i. ii. iii.—and, perhaps, elementary hydrostatics, including the descriptions of the common pump, the air pump, and the atmospheric steam engine. The theory of equations might fairly be omitted, as well as spherical trigonometry, which latter subject claims no great merit for scientific reasoning, but is of use only when considered with reference to astronomy and practical measurements. Here, then, is a bill of

fare, apparently delicate enough for the weakest stomach, yet, if it be considered still too long, we will consent to part with elementary hydrostatics; it is with reluctance, however, as subjects of this nature are doubly useful, from their exhibition of theory in practical instruments and applications. Newton ought by no means to be abandoned, as the three sections contribute more to exercise the reasoning powers than any other subject on the list; they pave the way to nothing, but nevertheless serve as an example of the latent energies of geometrical reasoning, and their brilliancy, when elicited by a master's hand. This scheme might even be extended further, and a schedule of the subjects requisite for attaining the position of senior-optime, or wrangler, might also be drawn up; by such an arrangement the requisite course of subjects would be very definite, but would ensure no particular advantages, either to the examined or the examiner, and might ultimately restrict and hamper the studies of the candidates. And, perhaps, no system would prove more inevitably delusive, as seeming to point out with accuracy the exact quantity of information necessary for a particular class, while in reality the consideration of quality being so indissolubly connected with that of quantity, would often cause unexpected mishaps. A student, for instance, steadfastly purposing to *just* obtain a wranglership, would *just* read the prescribed course, and, in consequence, *just* fall among the first half dozen senior-optimes, from forgetting that accuracy of the most rigorous kind was necessary in such a case. On the other hand, suppose the line of demarcation between wranglers and senior-optimes be not known beforehand, our candidate will then be seduced onward from fear of missing the imaginary standard; he will, perhaps, read a little more than is absolutely necessary for his predetermined place, and will consequently obtain his wished-for class, with the additional embellishment of a highly respectable position therein.

If, however, it be alleged that the same objections apply to the fixed standard for securing admission into the junior-optimes, we can only reply, that if a young man be so utterly slothful and besotted as only just to prepare the prescribed course, and no more, he must take his chance—he will be below every standard the ingenuity of idleness could devise: on such an one all advice is thrown away; you may call out to him, but it is to no purpose—

“Hic fossa est ingens, hic rupes maxima, serva,—
Non magis audierit quam Fusius ebrius olim.”

Again, if it be asked, whether a complete knowledge is to be

expected of every subject in the above list, or in other words, whether, as in the examination for common degrees, a man may be plucked for ignorance of a single subject—we answer, certainly not: for if, in two or three of these subjects, great accuracy be displayed, and examples from these subjects in the three problem papers be correctly solved, the junior optimeship ought, without doubt, to be obtained, even though less attention had been paid to some others. But it is almost needless to observe, that the perpetration of problems is not generally one of the besetting sins of junior optimes, and such exceptions as the foregoing would be of very unfrequent occurrence; at the same time, it would hardly seem fair to reject a candidate for ignorance in one subject, if counterbalanced by a very superior knowledge of the remainder.

Another point in which the senate-house examination papers seem to claim some remark, is the fact of questions from different subjects being mixed together in the same paper. To explain more fully—the first four or five papers, as we before remarked, exclude questions involving infinitesimal reasoning; in these, therefore, the subjects range from algebra to the ninth and eleventh sections of Newton; in the remaining papers the restriction is removed, and the ultimate limit is removed to the higher parts of natural philosophy. In all this there is system, but not enough of system; for we freely confess, we cannot see the advantages derived from interweaving subjects together, and fancy we detect inconveniences, and even hardships, arising therefrom, under the present system; for if the fixed standard we have just considered were to be carried into force, it is very evident that the number of questions from lower subjects must be so defined, as to modify, to a great extent, this intertextorial system. We are treating of this, then, as an independent objection, and not as a mere consequence of the adoption of our former remarks; so that, were no other change made in the style of examination, the results from this change would be equally beneficial. According to the present arrangement, nearly all the elementary questions are inserted in the first day's papers alone, so that an expectant junior optime nearly realizes his hopes in his first two visits to the senate-house, and entertains only a distant hope of wringing a few approachable questions out of the succeeding days, as experience has shown, that after the first day or two all hope is past. It is, however, fair to remark, that in most of the examinations, the papers, with the exception, probably, of one or two, included something elementary; but it was on the true Lucretian principle—the

easy and honied question was intended as an allurements to dive deeper and imbibe the wormwood below.

“ Nam velutei pueris absinthia tetra medentes
 Quom dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum
 Contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore,
 Ut puerorum ætas improvida ludificetur
 Labrorum tenus: interea perpotet amarum
 Absinthii laticem, deceptaque non capiatur,
 Sed potius talo attactu recreata valescat.”

iv. 11-17.

Yet the wormwood may be too bitter—the draught may be so nauseous, that the patient may prefer his disease to health, procured by the proffered remedy; and we fear that this will be the case, ere long, with mathematics. For such a zeal in behalf of science has inflamed all, that, owing to their desire of enlightening the ignorant, and stimulating the indolent, they have occasionally caused a departure from the true principles of examinations, which, as Dr. Peacock truly observes, ought rather to reward the sound investigator than the brilliant man of genius:—

“ It is less the object of education, and therefore of examinations, to signalize and reward very great and striking talents, than to encourage the formation of habits of careful investigation, and the full development of the reasoning powers. The problems which are proposed in the senate-house are very generally of too high an order of difficulty, and are not such as naturally present themselves as direct exemplifications of principles and methods, and require for their solution a peculiar tact and skill, which the best-instructed and most accomplished student will not always be able to bring to bear upon them. It is not unusual to see a paper of questions proposed for solution in the space of three hours, which the best mathematician in Europe would hesitate to finish in a day.”—*Peacock*, pp. 152, 153.

This is like all Dr. Peacock's remarks, sensible and practical; but we do not see the force of the last sentence: the best mathematician in Europe might, perhaps, be a day in completing twenty-four or twenty-five problems, a feat that, we think, is by no means expected from the highest proficient in the senate-house. The number of questions seems only designed to embrace a greater number of subjects, and thus afford a student means of selecting examples and problems, dependent on those sciences with which he is best acquainted.

But we must digress no longer: we have now under consideration the arrangement of questions in the papers, and it does seem unreasonable to crush nearly all the elementary questions

into the first day's papers, as it must, of course, happen that many of the lower candidates cannot exhibit all their knowledge in the paper, from inability to complete the sum total of answerable questions in the given time. For it is a fact beyond all controversy, that rapidity in writing out mathematics arises solely from long practice, and a considerable familiarity with the science; so that it is highly possible for a young man to have prepared a subject very diligently, and yet be unable to write out portions of it with great swiftness of pen. In essaying an answer to a question, a young man of limited reading is distracted by many doubts and illusive difficulties, which necessarily delay the hand in writing, however well the subject be known from which the question was proposed. He first writes timorously and cautiously—proceeds more boldly, and with greater rapidity—a panic seizes him—he is morally convinced that he has left out some necessary line of explanation—the page of the book, which, during the whole operation, has been mirrored in his mind, is then mentally pored into—the very locality of the visionary line is detected, the evanescent words seem about to start into existence, and the poor victim thinks, re-thinks, and again strives to recal the spectral page, until several minutes have been wasted upon a line which probably never existed; the answer is slowly and fearfully completed, after tedious recapitulations, and the next question is approached with diminished and diminishing confidence.

Now all this may be considered mighty absurd to dilate upon, but it is true, nevertheless; and if arrangements could be made to give a little more chance to the many, without affecting the interests of students of higher pretensions, it would prevent the yearly nailing up of victims as mathematical scarecrows; it would repress the querulous expostulations of public journals, and what is tenfold more valuable, would allay the annual ferment in the University, out of which, like reptiles from the Nilotic mud, schemes are procreated, which, by their wildness, seem to threaten a total subversion of all existing arrangements. Some change must here take place. Dr. Peacock, speaking of these numerous failures in candidates, thus declares his opinions:—

“It is hardly possible to provide a remedy for so serious an evil, without a partial departure from the general conditions of the examinations for degrees; the only expedient of an obvious kind which presents itself is, a commutation of the mathematical parts of the examination (either in whole or in part) for a classical examination of considerable range and severity. Such a change would augment the labour, and somewhat complicate the machinery of these examinations; but it would tend to remove many objections to the present system of

the University, *which it will be impossible long to overlook.*"—pages 163, 164.

Without, however, departing so far from the prevailing system as Dr. Peacock seems to think necessary, a remedy may yet be found. Let the subjects for examination be arranged progressively in separate papers, and the principle of useless amalgamation done away with; this would not complicate the machinery of examinations, or invade the privileges of the mathematical aristocracy, while it would mainly protect and give fair chance to—not the democracy, for we abominate that word—but to the lower aspirants. Thus in a paper on any given subject, consisting of sixteen questions, the first six or seven might be in the reading of all, while the latter questions would naturally penetrate to the extreme bounds of the subject, and would form a fair allowance of difficulty for the highest readers. It is needless to observe, that the time would not be sufficiently long to admit of a consideration of each subject separately; the length, therefore, and difficulty of each would point out most clearly what pretensions it might have to a whole or divided interest in a paper. Again, this would repress, to a very great extent, that prejudicial system of speculation alluded to above; it would be distinctly known, that each subject in proportion to its length and difficulty, would have fair and impartial notice taken of it, and all the idle and absurd observations of such and such things not "*paying*" in the examination, would be effectually and with justice silenced. To fully illustrate this theory we subjoin a *possible* scale of examination, merely as an example, and not by any means as an unexceptionable arrangement: on such high matters we have not the presumption to dictate, but solely and entirely leave them to the arbitration of a powerful and learned University:—

MORNING, 9—11½.	AFTERNOON, 1—4.
<i>Monday</i> —Euclid and Trigonometry.	Conic Sections and Analytical Geometry.
<i>Tuesday</i> —Algebra and the Theory of Equations.	Problems.
<i>Wednesday</i> —Statics and Hydrostatics	Problems.
<i>Thursday</i> —Problems	Differential and Integral Calculus with Differential Equations.
<i>Friday</i> —Newton 1, 2, 3, 9, 11, and Dynamics	Geometrical and Physical Optics.
<i>Saturday</i> —Plane and Physical Astronomy.	Plane and Physical Astronomy.

The theory of heat, crystallography, and electricity, are not

included in the following scheme, as they are certainly imperfect at present. If it be thought necessary to include them it would be easy to tack on a question or two at the end of some of the higher papers. It may be observed, also, that we retain the problem papers in the same order in which they appear in the Cambridge schedule. According to this plan, the whole of Saturday is justly claimed by plane and physical astronomy, under which head are included plane astronomy as read at present, the lunar and planetary theories, &c., with some of the higher investigations of the "*Principia*." Dynamics is supposed to include the elementary portion, central forces, action in a resisting medium, &c.; and hydrostatics, also, is intended to comprise the whole theory of capillary attraction, the portion commonly called hydrodynamics and the theory of sound. The empiric theory of the tides may, perhaps, be annexed to Saturday's papers.

Imperfect as this sketch is, it is still useful in illustrating the opinions advanced, and serves to develop the important principle of each subject receiving attention in a systematic manner. Were such views ever adopted, it would be necessary as well as prudent, to affix some limit to the duration of the existing plan: this might easily be effected by the appointment of a syndicate of studies to periodically review the whole, and insert for the succeeding term of years such subjects as having grown up into full maturity, might claim more than passing or conventional notice. There is yet another topic to be considered, which will serve as a corollary to the foregoing reflections—the principle of annexing short problems to the questions out of books. To be a little more explicit, it may be well to observe, that, with the exception of the three problem-papers, the examination papers consist of questions in the different subjects, all answerable on a steady reading of the best treatises thereon sanctioned by the University. To these questions a short example, technically termed a "*rider*," is annexed, as an exercise to the student, and a test of the soundness of his knowledge. These riders naturally form the principal part of the question, and receive proportionate marks when completed; so that the example is, in some sense, valued more than the rule. But the value of the rider, compared to that of its attendant book-work question, is by no means defined, and is often so great as to render that of the book-work portion less than it fairly ought to be: a little modification, therefore, seems also necessary here. It may be easily effected by printing the riders on the opposite side of the sheet, or wholly by themselves, and considering the two portions as two separate

papers. The book-work may, out of the sum total of marks allotted for a completion of the whole, claim an equitable portion, the riders take the remainder, and thus the two parts of the paper are separately graduated. If the book-work portion were to be completed, it would only receive the sum of marks allotted to it, and similarly for the riders. If a part of the book-work and a part of the riders were to be finished, each part would receive separately the equitable moiety of the sum total, and these moieties added, would give the true value of the performance. By this scheme the rider would not overpower the parent question, as the aggregate of questions would probably be not so small when compared with the aggregate of riders, as the single rider when compared with the single question. These are theoretical refinements, but if their usefulness be practically tested, we are convinced they will not be found unmeaning or unnecessary.

Finally, on recapitulating, we see our charges are reduced only to three points: the irresponsibility of examiners, want of a fixed standard, and the mixture up of different subjects in the same papers. Slight comparatively would such changes be, yet great the good of which they would be productive; the few irregularities in a system that now even stands pre-eminent in our land, would be remedied, the asperities smoothed down, and the heads of the University would annually rejoice at the equable progress of those entrusted to their care. And be it remembered, that the charge of youths just emerging into active life is the most sacred trust imposed on man, and well and worthily is this trust sustained. Still, minor points may occasionally be defective, and to these it is that we now call attention: examinations may be considered as only affecting the local interests of young men, and so not needing revisal from without; but it is needless to say that the decision of examinations, and particularly the mathematical tripos, stamp an impress on the character of a young man which it takes long and weary years to obliterate. The "threads of many coloured life" often receive their appropriate tinge from the good or ill success of an University career, and unexpected failures have often damped hopes and weakened energies that might hereafter have been displayed in the unweary exercise of science, or in promoting the interests of society. Too often such mischances are due solely to indolence and recklessness; yet, if the standard necessary for attainment be too high—if the method of conducting the examinations be somewhat irregular—let those high in authority consider well these real or apparent defects, and, with their usual vigilance,

remedy them, if existing. Let those, too, to whom the examination is yearly committed, pause awhile, and be watchful that they do not, by a change of style in their questions, unwittingly draw a too rigorous line, and thus be the innocent cause of blighting the prospects of many whose talents and endeavours, directed it may be to classics, are thus rendered useless and abortive.

And this is no season for treating such subjects carelessly, or unheedingly; for at no period of our history has such rapid progress in science and the study of the classics been made as in the last half century. The tripled and nearly quadrupled numbers in the tripos' list, compared with those of twenty or thirty years ago, render the words of Milton far more applicable now than they were in the stormy and intemperate times of which he thus writes:—

“There be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas, wherewith to present, as with their homage and fealty, the approaching reformation; others, as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and conviction. What could a man require more from a nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge? What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil, but wise and faithful labourers, to make a knowing people—a nation of prophets, of sages, and of worthies? We reckon more than five months yet to the harvest; there need not be five weeks, had we but eyes to lift up, the fields are white already.”

Different, indeed, are the devotees to the peaceful studies of these days from the hoarse disputants and litigious wranglers of those times; yet the spirit of the age is equally enterprising, though in a better and more tranquil course. The practical inventions and mechanical triumphs, on the one hand; the theoretical discoveries, the undulation of light, the nebular hypothesis, on the other, have been the elucubrations of the “*sitters by their studious lamps*” of these later days, and the night, we trow, of supineness and inactivity is not yet at hand. Let all, then, now more especially, search out for and remove every stumbling-block in the course of scientific studies, that we may step onwards, swiftly and securely, into the yet untrodden paths of knowledge.

ART. VII.—*Cabool: being a Personal Narrative of a Journey to, and Residence in, that city, in the years 1836, 1837, and 1838, with numerous Illustrations.* By the late Lieut.-Col. Sir ALEXANDER BURNES, C.B., Author of “Travels into Bokhara.” 8vo. London: Murray. 1842.

THIS volume derives a two-fold interest from the talents of the lamented author, who had so much distinguished himself by his previous travels in Bokhara, and from the important and melancholy events which have lately taken place in the countries which it describes. It will, therefore, naturally be read with an eager desire for information; nor, as might be looked for, will this expectation be disappointed. It contains a clear and concise narrative of the journey of the author and his associates, illustrated with many curious and striking accounts of the customs and manners of the natives—of the commerce, agriculture, and political interests of the countries which they inhabit—accompanied with numerous antiquarian and scientific details.

In the latter end of November, 1836, Sir A. Burnes was directed by the Governor General of India, the Earl of Auckland, to undertake a mission to Cabool. Lieutenant (now Major) Robert Leech, of the Bombay engineers; Lieutenant John Wood, of the Indian navy; and Percival B. Lord, Esq., M. B., were associated with him in the undertaking. The objects of it were to work out the policy of opening the river Indus to commerce, and establishing on its banks, and in the countries beyond it, such relations as should contribute to the desired end. On the 26th of November they sailed from Bombay, and finally landed in Sinde on the 13th of December. Some portion of the work is occupied with an account of their journey through the country of Sinde; nor is it by any means the least interesting. They appear to have been treated with great attention by the ameers (the rulers) of Sinde, who, among other modes of showing their good-will, were very anxious that they should join them in their sporting excursions. We recommend the following novel mode of ensnaring fish to the attention of our piscatorial readers, although we fear it will not find much favour with the disciples of Isaak Walton:—

“We embarked in skiffs on the lake (of Kinjore), a large and beautiful expanse of water, for the purpose of seeing a new mode of ensnaring fish. Nets were stretched across the lake at a point where it was about six hundred yards wide, and four circular receiving nets were fixed at intervals along the line in such a manner as that the fish, their progress being stopped by the long nets, might be tempted to leap

into the circular ones. The fishermen conducted us to the end of the lagoon, where they commenced beating the water, jumping in their boats, striking their cooking utensils, shouting and yelling, and making all sorts of imaginable noises; at the same time, they gradually advanced. The fish, frightened, fled before them, and, finding no other exit, leaped into the circular nets, and became an easy prey to their pursuers. Upwards of a hundred fish were caught; and the fishermen seemed to enjoy the sport as much as ourselves." (p. 20).

This was not the only sport in which they partook. The author gives a very amusing account of a hunting excursion north of Hyderabad, in which he joined the ameers. These princes appear to make very scientific preparations for the sports of the field. They have parks, or "moharees" as they are called, which are thus formed: a large tract of ground, shaped a square or parallelogram, is staked off and wattled all round, so as to prevent the egress of the game. This again is subdivided into many triangular divisions, and at each of the angles so formed a shooting-box, or "koodunee," is placed, and the animals which escape at one point are constrained to pass to another.

A long and interesting account is given of the trade between Bokhara, Herat, and Cabool, and British India, which is carried on by the Lohanee Afghans, a pastoral and migratory people. The great emporium for this branch of commerce is the town of Dera Ghazee Khan, which is called one of the "gates of Khorasan." These Lohanee Afghans assemble in this town towards the end of April; and, being joined by their families, who have wintered on the banks of the Indus, they pass into Khorasan, where they remain during the summer. They effect this change of residence in a fixed order, by three divisions, or "kirees," which term seemingly means migrations; and these kirees bear the respective names of Nusseer, Kharontee, and Meeankhyl, which are also the names of the branches of the tribes conducting them. The first is the most numerous, and with it go from 50,000 to 60,000 head of sheep; but it is with the last that the Hindoo merchants and foreigners generally travel. The extensive nature of the traffic is proved by the Custom-house books, which show that 5,140 camels laden with merchandize passed up this year, exclusive of those carrying the tents and baggage of the people, which are rated at the enormous number of 24,000 camels: the Nusseer having 17,000, the the Meeankhyl 4,000, and the Kharontee 3,000. The tract which they pass leads, by broken rugged roads, or rather by the water-courses of the Goomul, through the wild and mountainous country of the Wazeerees; but the Lohanees have arms

and numbers to protect their own property and that of the strangers who accompany them. They all reach Cabool and Candahar by the middle of June, in sufficient time to despatch their investments to Bokhara and Herat; and at the end of October, as winter approaches, they again descend, with the same arrangement, into the plains of the Indus, bringing horses, dyes, fruits, and the productions of Cabool, in return for the goods of India and Britain. This channel of trade is ancient; for we find that in A.D. 1505, the Emperor Baber states, that when campaigning in the Derajat, he had fallen in with Lohanee merchants, and plundered them of "a great quantity of white cloth, aromatic drugs, sugar (both candied and in powder), and horses," which are the self same articles in which the trade is now carried on. It is due to the emperor to state, that if, during his own difficulties, he plundered these Lohanee merchants, he afterwards, when firmly established on the throne of Cabool, clothed them in dresses of honour.

Dera Ghazee Khan itself is a manufacturing town; at one time its trade with the west, and even with the east, was brisk; and though, from the great influx of British goods, it does not now exhibit its former prosperity, its native manufactures are still healthy and thriving. It is celebrated for its goolbuddens, and durriees, or striped and plain silken cloths, which being much sought for and admired are annually exported to Lahoree and Sinde, and are there considered to surpass those of every other country. To the east it sends its silks; the raw material being obtained from Bokhara and the west. To the west it sends its cotton, and a coarse white cloth, which is the most important of its exported manufactures; chintzes of different descriptions, with soosees, bafta, and some coarse coongees complete the list of manufactured cloths.

The value of all the cloths made here amounts to about one and a half or two lacs of rupees, and the greater part is exported. A coarse kind of cutlery is also made at Dera Ghazee Khan and exported. The bazaar consists of about 1,600 shops, 560 of which are engaged in weaving and selling cloth. The land around Dera Ghazee Khan is very rich; the town is pleasantly situated in a flat country, about four miles from the Indus, and is surrounded by gardens and lofty trees, among which the date predominates. It is said that around Dera there are no less than 8,000 date trees. But the most valuable production of the place is indigo, 2,000 maunds of which are sometimes exported. The place is rich in grain; the wheat and barley are excellent; but the rice is red and of a poor quality.

In the neighbourhood of Kala Bagh, which is subject to

Lahore, and which lay in the route to Cabool, Sir A. Burnes and his companions instituted enquiries for coal which were very successful. It was found close to the town, and in no less than twelve localities on one side of the Indus, and in three on the eastern bank. On both banks the situations in which the coal was found were dry water-courses, and the channels of winter-torrents. Four specimens of that on the western bank are stated by Mr. James Prinsep to be "of the very finest form of mineral coal, that in which all vegetable appearance is lost." Of one of the specimens, a kind of jet, he remarked, "that if found in sufficient quantities, it would not only answer well as a fuel, but be superior to all other coals, for the particular object in getting up steam, from the large proportion of inflammable gas it disengaged under combustion."

At Hund, between the Indus and Cabool rivers, they discovered some curious ancient marbles, with a Sanscrit inscription, which have been placed in the museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The marbles are mutilated, but Mr. J. Prinsep has, notwithstanding, been enabled to translate the inscription on one of them. He assigns it to the seventh or eighth century, and as it refers to the powerful Turuschus (Turks), as foes overcome by the nameless hero whom it celebrates, it appears to prove the fact of the extension of the Indian rule to this point of the Indus, and the early struggles of that race with the Tartan tribes beyond them.

At Peshawur, which is in the territories of Runjeet Sing, our author and his companions were entertained with great hospitality by General Avitabile, the governor. From thence, proceeding over the mountains by the Khyber Pass, on the 20th of September, 1837, they entered Cabool, where they were received with great pomp and splendour. Indeed, throughout their residence in this country, they appear to have received uniform civility, and even kindness, from all parties. This is the more surprising, when we recollect the dreadful atrocities which have been committed on our unfortunate countrymen lately by the Afghans. It is only another proof of the weakness, and even folly, of trusting too far to the fair and specious promises of a partially civilized people. And it affords an instructive lesson for the guidance of those who have to steer their course among the perilous paths, both physical and moral, of Afghanistan. Of Dost Mahomed our author speaks highly. "Power frequently spoils men (he says), but with Dost Mahomed, neither the increase of it, nor his new title of Ameer, seems to have done him any harm. He seemed even more alert and full of intelligence than when I last saw him." In reply to

my enquiries regarding the descent of the Afghans from the Jews, he said—"Why, we marry a brother's wife, and give a daughter no inheritance; are we not, therefore, of the children of Israel?" Sir A. Burnes states, that the book from which the Jewish lineage of the Afghans is derived, is the "*Mujinoo Causab*;" and it is said that the Urz Bege of Hajeo Ferozat possess elaborate genealogical trees on the same subject. Shortly after their arrival, they paid a visit to the far-famed gardens of Istalif:—

"We set out from Cabool on the morning of the 13th of October, and halted at Kareez-i-Meer, about fifteen miles from which we could see, in the hazy distance, a vast vista of gardens, extending for some thirty or forty miles in length, and half as broad, terminated by Hindoo Koosh itself, white as snow. Next day we reached Shuhardura, where there is a royal garden, but which is now in a state of decay. Our next march was to Kahdura, and thence to Istalif, the great point of attraction. No written description can do justice to this lovely and delightful country. Throughout the whole of our route we had been lingering amidst beautiful orchards, the banks of which were clustered over with wild flowers and plants, many of them common to Europe, and which were also in profuse abundance along the margins of the innumerable brooks which intersect the valleys. The roads were shaded by noble and lofty walnut trees, which excluded the sun's rays, never powerless in this climate. Every hill with a southern aspect had a vineyard on it, and the raisins were spread out on the ground, and imparted a purple tinge to the hills. There were very few songsters, however, to enliven the scene, most of the feathered tribes having flown to a warmer climate. I must not, however, speak in detail of this charming country, nor do the far-famed gardens of Istalif require any aid from me to establish their supremacy. We pitched our camp on one side of the valley; and directly opposite to us, at a distance of about a thousand yards, rose the town of Istalif, in the form of a pyramid, terrace on terrace, the whole crowned with a shrine, embosomed among wide-spreading plane trees. Between us lay a deep and narrow valley, at the bottom of which was a clear, rapid, and musically-sounding brook, on both sides of which the valley was covered with the richest orchards and vineyards. Looking down this stream, the dell gradually opens out, and presents to the eye a vast plain, rich in trees and verdure, and dotted over with innumerable turreted forts: beyond all this, rocky mountains are seen, with the fresh snow of yesterday upon them; and over these again tower the eternal snow-clad summits of Hindoo Koosh. The scene was as sublimely grand as it was beautiful and enchanting. The yellow autumnal leaves rustled in the breeze, and the chrystal waters rushed in their rapid course over craggy rocks with a noise which reached the summit of the valley. Thessalian Tempe could never have more delighted the eyes of an Ionian, than did Istalif please Boeotian Britons."

This must, indeed, have been a lovely scene, and the author has done justice to its beauties in his description. The curiosity of Lieutenant Leech and Dr. Lord was so much excited by the accounts which they heard of the celebrated pass of Hindoo Koosh that they determined to examine it in person. They found the actual pass to be about 15,000 feet high, consequently little inferior in point of elevation to Mont Blanc. They attained it on the 19th of October, and learned that it would be finally closed by the snow in about ten days; after which, until the spring, no caravan could pass. The ascent had been very gradual to within twelve or fifteen miles of the summit, nor was any considerable difficulty experienced till within a mile of the pass. The track then became very steep, and, in consequence of a partial thaw, very slippery and dangerous. The horses fell, and appeared much distressed, and the party was obliged to dismount and proceed on foot. They did not experience any personal inconvenience, but the natives informed them that they themselves were frequently seized with giddiness, faintness, and vomiting. The summit of Hindoo Koosh was of pure granite; on the southern side the snow only extended for four or five miles, while on the northern it reached eighteen or twenty. On their return they visited the rich lead mines of Fureenjal, the underground workings of which are so extensive, that they were occupied nearly three hours in examining them. Kohistan Proper, which Sir A. Burnes visited in company with Lieutenant Wood, he states to be a country rich without parallel. It is of no great extent, being about sixteen or eighteen miles in length. The fertility and productiveness of the soil is equalled by the industry of the people, who, forming bank above bank, acquire, as it were, land from their stony hills, all of which they irrigate with a care and skill worthy of admiration. Aqueducts may be often seen fifty and sixty feet up the hill, conducted round every swell or valley, till at last they pour out their contents on the embanked fields.

Near Choreehar there are some magnificent artificial canals, which, according to the people, are as old as the days of Timour. The canals are either dug by the Government, or the villagers make common cause. If the former, the revenue derived is considerable, one hundred rupees per annum being charged for every place through which the supply passes. In some parts of the country the water, after being conducted, is made free property; in others it is carefully distributed and sold. A cut from a canal ten fingers broad and five deep, is sufficient to irrigate eight khurwars of grain. For one night's supply to a

crop of twenty khurwars, from fifty to a hundred rupees are sometimes given. The following particulars of the prices of farming and labour in this province, may perhaps be interesting to our readers. A landlord who farms his estate is understood to pay one-third of the total produce for sowing, rearing, and reaping. The State takes a third, and the remaining third falls to the proprietor. In this case, however, he furnishes the seed and water for irrigation. If the proprietor also furnish cattle, and all the materials which are required, the labourers then receive only one-sixth for their trouble. It is not usual to hire daily labourers, but when a plough, two men, and a pair of oxen are so employed, the wages are half a Khan rupee, or three-eighths of a Company's rupee per day. Afghanistan is a cheaper country than Persia, for grain is more abundant. The returns of seed sown vary, of course, with the nature of the grain and the quality of the soil. Wheat yields from ten to sixteen fold, seldom more than fifteen : rice gives sixteen or eighteen; jùwaree as much as fifty fold.

On his return from the excursion into Kohistan, Sir A. Burnes found an agent at Cabool from Moorad Beg, the chief of Koon-dooz. The brother of this person had lost his sight, and it seems that he thought he might obtain relief from Sir A. Burnes. "I have heard much of you, and the great wisdom you possess (observed this chief, in the letter addressed by him to our author on this occasion) ; I have learned from many quarters that you are as the renowned Hippocrates among wise men. My younger brother has become dim-sighted ; if you can cure him I will be very thankful to you, and send him to Cabool." In consequence of this application, Dr. Lord, in company with Lieutenant Wood, departed to Koondooz. The letters addressed by the former gentleman to Sir A. Burnes, describing the events which took place during his residence in the country of this chief, are full of interest, and contain much curious and useful information. Dr. Lord and his associate took advantage of the occasion to visit different parts of the province, and to acquire as much knowledge respecting it as possible. They were enabled, among other matters, to recover many books and MSS., the property of the late Mr. Moorcroft, the traveller, and to ascertain the exact date of his death, and where it took place. Among the papers was one in the handwriting of Mr. Trebeck, the companion of Moorcroft, of the date of September 6, 1825. It was to the following effect : "Arrived at Balkh, August 25. Mr. Moorcroft died August 27." This places the date of Mr. Moorcroft's death beyond a doubt ; and as the author observes, "affords negative evidence against the supposition of its having

been caused by any unfair means." They also learned some interesting, although melancholy particulars, respecting the fate of poor Trebeck himself, who seems to have died broken-hearted, in consequence of the failure of his expectations, and of the difficulties by which he was surrounded. Whilst at Koon-dooz, Dr. Lord was fortunately enabled to make an acquisition of great antiquarian interest. He obtained from Arma Dewar Begge, the minister of the chief of Koondooz, two silver plates, or rather pateræ, which this person had procured from the family of the dethroned chiefs of Budukhshan, who claim a descent from Alexander. One of these pateræ represents the triumphal procession of the Grecian Bacchus, and is of exquisite workmanship: the subject of the other is, Sapor slaying the lion; it is in the style of the monuments at Persepolis, and appears to be less chaste than its companion. Sir A. Burnes assigns them both to the age of Bactria, judging from their appearance, and the site in which they were found. An engraving of both is given in the work which fully justifies the estimation in which they were held by Dr. Lord, by whose permission the first of them was presented to the Museum at the India House. Dr. Lord was equally successful in his search for coins; he procured one from the same quarter, which is as yet supposed to be unique. This is also figured in the same plate which represents the two pateræ. We shall transcribe Dr. Lord's own description of it in a letter from him to Sir Alexander Burnes:—

"Pends-toi, brave Crillon; nous avons combattu, et tu n'etais pas. I have got such an Eucratides! The great king Eucratides, with a helmeted head on the obverse (it may be reverse for all I know), and on the other side the same king with a more melancholy expression of countenance—no doubt of the cause, for this time he is accompanied by his wife—two busts on one side; inscription of Eucratides, the son of Heliocles and Laodice. There is something for an article in Prinsep for you."

"And to the journal of that ever-to-be-lamented individual (says the author), I must refer for the article which he did send forth regarding this rarest of all Bactrian reliques." Much information will be found in this volume respecting the different tribes of Afghanistan, particularly of the Siah-poosh Kaffers, who occupy the mountainous regions of northern Afghanistan, and whose history and condition have excited so much interest. In speaking of their nation, the Kaffirs term themselves as the Mahomedans do, Kaffirs, with which name they do not couple any opprobrious meaning, though it implies infidel. They consider themselves as descended from one Korushye, and their Mahomedan neighbours either corrupt the word, or assign them a

lineage from Koreish, one of the noblest of the tribes of Arabia, to the language of which country they also state that of the Kaffirs to be allied. They have no books, nor is reading or writing known in the nation ; so that they have no written traditions. The author met with several of these people in Cabool who had been captured, none of whom, he observes, had any resemblance to the Afghans, or even Cashmerians, but they looked a distinct race. From one of them, named Deenber, he learned many particulars relating to the nation. It appears there is no chief of the Kaffirs, but the great men are called Sabuninach. They do not seem to carry on any combined operations against their neighbours, but retaliate upon them when an invasion of their frontier takes place. They are very inveterate against the Mahomedans, and give no quarter to captives. They possess great ability and activity. Mahomedans seldom venture to enter their country as travellers, but Hindoos go as merchants and beggars (*faheers*), and are not ill-used. In killing animals for food, the Kaffirs use no ceremonies. They sacrifice cows and goats to Doghán, the Supreme Being, particularly at a great festival which occurs in the beginning of April, and lasts for ten days. They have idols, and know the Hindoo god Mahdeo by name ; but they all eat beef, and have either lost their Hindoo belief, or never had anything in common with it. They neither burn, nor bury their dead, but place the body in a box, arrayed in a fine dress, which consists of goat skins, or Cashgar woollens. They then remove it to the summit of a hill near the village, where it is placed on the ground, but never interred. Kaffir females till the land. In eating, the men set apart from the women. They have no tables ; the dish containing the meal is placed on a tripod, made of iron rods ; they assemble round this and eat, sitting on stools, or chairs without backs. They are very fond of honey, wine, and vinegar, all of which they have in abundance. They have no domestic fowls, nor is there a horse in their country ; wheat and barley are their grains ; there is no juwaree. They are very fond of music and dancing ; but in dancing, as in eating, the men separate themselves from the women, and the dance of the one sex differs from that of the other. That of the men consists of three hops on one foot, and then a stamp ; the women place their hands on their shoulders, and leap with both feet, going round in a circle. Their musical instruments are one of two strings and a kind of drum. Their mode of life appears to be social, since they frequently assemble at each other's houses, or under the trees which embosom them, and have drinking parties. They drink from silver cups—trophies of their spoils in war. The wine, which is both light and dark, will keep for years, and

is made by expressing the juice of the grape under the feet into a large earthen jar, which is described to be of delicate workmanship. Old and young, of both sexes, drink wine, and grape juice is given to children at the breast. The language of the Kaffirs is altogether unintelligible to Hindoos, as well as to their Usbek and Afghan neighbours. Some of its sounds—soft labials—are scarcely to be pronounced by an European. Sir A. Burnes received some additional particulars respecting this people, from a Mahomedan who had visited some of their villages. He described them as a merry race, without care; and stated that he had never seen people more resembling Europeans in their intelligence, habits, and appearance, as well as in their gay and familiar tone over their wine. They all wear tight clothes, sit on leathern stools, and are exceedingly hospitable. They always give wine to a stranger, and it is often put in pitchers like water, at public places, which any one may drink. To ensure a supply of it, they have very strict regulations to prevent the grapes being cut before a certain day. There are various opinions as to the origin of the Kaffirs. By some they are imagined to be descended from the race of ancient Persians.

During the residence of the author at Cabool, he was invited, with Lieutenant Leech, to spend a day with Naib Mahomed Shureef, at his country seat, at Kurgha, eight miles from Cabool. A visit to a "country gentleman" of Cabool is a thing of such uncommon occurrence, and the author's account is so amusing, that we cannot refrain from giving our readers a taste, not of the dinner—although we dare say it was very good—but of the conversation which passed at it. The party, besides themselves, consisted of the Nawab Jubar Khan, an Afghan moollah, and two or three other persons from the neighbouring forts. "The host was in high spirits and very amusing. The house was agreeably situated, and commanded a fine prospect. "The broad acres" of the proprietor, which he told us had cost him upwards of a lac of rupees, were spread out before us, whilst, equi-distant from us and Cabool, lay, in our rear, the fine valley of Pughman. Our host placed before us an abundant breakfast of kabobs, nicely served up, to which we did the most ample justice, and whiled away the rest of the morning in listening to his discussions on a vast variety of subjects; for he was a professed talker. He gave us a detail of his numerous ailments and his unsuccessful search after a cure for them, until he found it in wine, which he pronounced to be a specific for all earthly maladies. The moollah, in some long Arabic sentences, protested strenuously against the use of such unholy medicine; upon which the shureef quietly asked if he expected him to re-

frain from a remedy when he had one in his power?—and such a remedy too! He then launched out in praise of a particular vintage, which he and his brother had gathered in some years before; and then, with many a sigh, related how he had broken all the bottles of this matchless wine, for grief, on account of that brother's death; and how well it was remembered by every man who had partaken of it, "since two glasses set one asleep!" As the Naib appealed to me for my opinion on the subject, I told him that our notions of good wine consisted in being able to drink much without experiencing any bad effects. "A bad plan," said he; "for a man must drink till he is as large as a butt. No, no; our's is the best test." The curiosity of the moolah being aroused by this discussion, he begged I would prescribe for him something to improve his digestion, which all the party forthwith construed into a wish for wine, and great was the mirth which this gave rise to. The moollah, being put upon his mettle, now turned his batteries of religion upon us, and poured out quotation upon quotation in praise of temperance and water-drinking, until he fairly beat us out of the field. Dinner, or rather lunch, was spread before us at about three o'clock; and we returned to Cabool, much pleased with our party.

Naib Shureef, I may fairly designate as an Afghan country gentleman. He goes to his villa in spring and summer—feeds his own sheep, cattle, and poultry; has a small village on his estate, peopled by huzaras, who assist him in his agricultural pursuits; burns lime on his own ground to repair his house, and has enclosed a large tract of ground, and planted it with fruit trees, which now produce abundantly. In this garden is the largest willow tree known in the country, beneath which he often seats his friends.

There is an account of another dinner party, given to the author and his companions, which is so characteristic that we cannot avoid indulging our readers with it.

"Budro Deen, the great Bokhara merchant, invited us to dinner, and entertained us with singers, and with the 'suntoor,' a triangular musical instrument, with innumerable wires, an importation from Cashmere. The Nawab Jubar Khan was present, as well as several other persons. The dinner was well-arranged and excellent, and we had songs in many languages. The Pooshtoo is softer when sung than when spoken; but Hindostanee is the favourite language with the Afghans, having, to use their own phrase, 'more salt in it.' After dinner the hospitable Bokhara merchant dilated on the good qualities of his tea, and insisted on giving it to us in the real orthodox style. He accordingly commenced operations, stirred the fire almost out, and placed the kettle upon it, but for a long time he could not manage to

make it boil. At last, when he had succeeded, he put the tea into the pot, covered the lid with a cloth, and, not satisfied with this, planted the teapot itself on the fire, as he had done the kettle; and finally produced a beverage which certainly was of a superior quality, and which we all drank of and praised to his heart's content. The Nawab drank away at a great rate, and declared that he had never before taken so much. The man of tea, however, urged us on to further indulgence, telling us that at Bokhara, which is the fountain of tea, the repast always concluded with 'talkh chah,' or tea without sugar. The good Nawab declared 'he would not drink tea without sugar; that it was impossible for him to drink any more with it, and doubly impossible for him to drink any more without it.' "

The Afghans believe in a science which they call "Kiassa," and which seems to be something between phrenology and physiognomy; not only the eyebrows, nose, and features generally, but even the beard, form the discriminating marks, instead of the bumps of the skull, as with the professors of this *profound* study with us. They also place implicit reliance on dreams. A moollah of Cabool once told the author that "dreams are the soul in flight without the body;" and added, "Physicians may say, if it please them, that they arise, from digestive derangement, but no such paradise could spring from causes so material. It is in dreams that we find the clearest proof of an omnipotent Providence." This is a striking and beautiful observation to have proceeded from such a source.

The appendix to the volume contains a great deal of valuable matter. One paper in it is devoted to notes on the state of Cabool, and is full of details respecting its commerce, extent, the nature of its inhabitants, the size of the army, &c., some few of which we shall extract.

Cabool possesses a race of people far more hardy than the inhabitants either of India or Bokhara, and who have for the last eight or nine centuries enabled the rulers of Cabool to overrun the surrounding countries. Chief after chief has issued from the mountains, and enjoyed in succession the riches and the revenues of the lands which he subdued. The present ruler of Cabool, Dost Mahomed Khan, assumed a few years ago the title of Ameer. The chiefship comprehends the country extending from Hindoo Koosh to the southward of Ghuzni, and from Bameean to the mountains of Khyber. The eastern portion, or Julalabad, is a recent addition of territory, and has increased the chief's revenues from eighteen to twenty-four lacs of rupees per annum. This territory is apportioned in separate governments to the different sons of the Ameer. The Ameer himself governs Cabool, where he usually resides, having with him his brother, the Nawab Jubbor Khan. He has a park of

forty-five guns, most of which are serviceable; about 2,500 "Juzzalchees," or infantry, armed with a musket, as large as a wall-piece, which is used with a rest; and 12,000 or 13,000 horse, one-twelfth of which are Kuzzilbashes. About nine thousand of these are highly efficient; three thousand ride the government horses, and receive pay, under a system of raising troops, called "umlace." Although too weak to pursue foreign conquests on a large scale, the chief of Cabool, according to the author, is strong enough to resist the attacks of all those around him, and the rugged nature of his country gives to his troops a power which frees him from every hazard. The military position of Cabool is such that, if the governor of the city has any stability, a sum of money, placed at his disposal, can always command the presence of good troops, with every probability that the service performed will be to the advantage of the donor. Dost Mahomed's comprehension, according to our author, is quick, his knowledge of character very great, and he cannot long be deceived. He listens to every individual who complains, and with a forbearance and temper which are more highly praised than his equity and justice.

"Nothing marks this man's superiority more than the ability with which he manages all around him as he does with powers and resources so crippled. His patience and delays bespeak ambition; and as a rash act might be fatal to him, his caution is extreme, and his suspicion so easily excited, as to amount almost to infirmity, although self-reflection brings back with it his self-confidence."

In taking our leave of this work, we must not omit to notice the fine and spirited engravings with which it is adorned, which reflect equal credit on the engraver and the artist.

ART. VIII.—*The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe.* A new and complete Edition, with a preliminary Dissertation, by the Rev. GEORGE TOWNSEND, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Prebendary of Durham. Edited by the Rev. STEPHEN REED CATTLEY, M.A., of Queen's College, Cambridge, Rector of Bagthorp, Norfolk, and Chaplain to the Earl of Scarborough. London: Seeley and Burnside. 1841.

IN the following remarks, it is not our purpose to enter into the merits, or rather the demerits, of the edition of *Foxe* before us. We are quite willing to allow that it is, beyond all comparison, the very worst that ever was produced of any book whatsoever, and that we do not know whether the almost incredible ignorance,

or the almost superhuman ingenuity in making mistakes, which the editor has displayed, be most deserving of wonder. The book is a literary curiosity of a most extraordinary kind; but it must be remembered, first, that Mr. Cattley is not so much to blame as he is generally supposed to be, inasmuch as he evidently knew nothing of the onerous duties which must devolve on the editor of a work like that of *Foxe*; and secondly, that he was remunerated at about the rate of one-fifth of what he ought to have received for his labour. So that, at all events, the blame in this case must be divided in about equal parts between the publisher and the editor. The probability is, that both parties erred in ignorance, and we shall therefore say no more of their delinquencies. But we shall take the present opportunity of taking some notice of Mr. Townsend's part in the transaction; and we have no intention of involving him in the discredit which must attach to his fellow-labourer. It is punishment enough to him that he is compelled to see his name attached to a publication so full of errors.

Our boyish reminiscences of "aunciente John Foxe" amount to little more than the figure of a huge portentous volume in folio, with old-fashioned clasps, and garnished with tragic cuts, fitted to move pity and terror. Although "*The Acts and Monuments*" may be well authenticated, they leave less distinct impressions than Bunyan's incomparable fable, with Christian's slips and fightings against Apollyon, and the martyrdom of brave Faithful at Vanity Fair, so triumphant and glorious, that in the midst of his sad sufferings, he is more to be envied than pitied. Still "the Book of Martyrs" conveys generally two strong impressions; first, a horror of the tyranny and cruelty of Popery; and secondly, a dislike and distrust of all persecution for the sake of religion. For the last fifty years this work has been little read; the present generation has forgotten, that four editions of it were published during Queen Elizabeth's reign, and that, by an order of convocation, A.D. 1571, copies of it were placed in the halls of bishops, in the families of dignitaries, in the colleges of the Universities, and in the most conspicuous places in the cathedrals, as a companion to the translation of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer.

Our purpose then is to make some observations, not upon the voluminous work itself, but upon the preliminary matter, consisting of 495 pages, in three parts, a preface, the Life of Foxe, and a dissertation upon the objectors and objections to Foxe's work, and replies to them. There is, indeed, a previous question, namely, whether this re-publication was wise; whether it would not have been more prudent, in point of policy, and more

consistent with the Christian principle of virtue, to have suffered it to fall into oblivion. It is to give an answer to this question, and to vindicate the propriety of a new edition, upon the ground of meriting the support of sound members of the Church of England, that Mr. Townsend applies his labours, and they are worthy of full and impartial consideration, from the serious importance of the subject matter, and also on account of his own personal character, as a well-known author of pious, learned, and useful works, and as having come forward, on the present occasion, with an honesty of purpose above suspicion.

The preliminary letter, though consisting only of 42 pages, is rather wordy. Some itinerant lecturer against what he calls monopoly, that is, against whatever thwarts his own opinions, quotes Adam as the first anti-corn-law authority—this is to begin at the beginning. Mr. Townsend does not go so high; but his labours upon Foxe have induced him, it seems, to engage in some large work, containing reflections upon

“The object of Providence in permitting persecution, the manner in which the human mind is governed by four several influences, each of which is essential to the happiness of man, and which, when united, constitute perfect felicity on earth. The singular mode in which all modern history is divisible, under the perversion, by persecution of each of these four influences successively, and the consequent result of all, that the experience of the past, by the blessing of that Providence that foresees the end from the beginning, will be the accomplishment of a greater degree of good to man, than if the evil of persecution had not been permitted.” (p. 6).

“My principal argument (the author says) is the progressive nature of man, as a race, which is a proof that improvement shall proceed from age to age, until the establishment of some good era, when the chief evils of human society shall be removed. The notion of progression or improvement implies a prior deficiency, both of moral and spiritual excellence, which must be removed by the constant use of reason, as well as by the aid of revelation. It implies, the attack with zeal; the defence with pertinacity; the severity, which is called persecution; or the mildness, which is called weakness. It implies agitation and restlessness, and changes in dynasties and governments. It implies the endless, incessant exercise of the reason of man, and the result of that exercise, greater happiness to the human race. The next question is—in what manner the mind of man is so governed, that this advancement may be most effectually accomplished? Whoever, then, looks upon the history of mankind will discover that there are four several influences, which may be said, at all times, jointly or separately, to govern the human mind. The union of these four influences constitutes the greatest earthly happiness of which man is capable. Their separation constitutes his misery. Each is indispensable to a well-organized state of society—each has been separated from the other—each has been perverted to persecution, and all modern history, from

the ascension to this very day, is nothing less than a detail of the principal consequences of their separation from each other." (p. 7.)

These four influences or powers are, first, the civil power; secondly, the ecclesiastical power; thirdly, revelation itself; and, fourthly, human reason. And it must be owned the scheme is comprehensive, including almost all the ways and works of mankind. But still other motions have their sway over the human mind—namely, self-interest and the passions—and sometimes sweep the sea of life, like a hurricane or typhoon, with a tempestuous force, before which even these four powers united fail to afford protection. Nay, even fashion, an undefinable thing, has been known to defy and baffle them all.

The author sketches out "the error of the civil power by persecution from the ascension to the grant of authority by the Emperor Justinian, to the Bishop of Rome, A.D. 538." Then "began the transition state, when the civil and ecclesiastical authorities commenced that struggle for pre-eminence which ended in the transmitting the sceptre over the civilized world to the hands of the Bishop of Rome;" and this second era, ending with the publication of the Creed of Pope Pius IV., A.D. 1564, contains "the history and the perversions by persecution of the influence of the ecclesiastical power." The following are very just observations:—

"The modernness of the creed of Pope Pius IV., adopted by the Church of Rome, makes that Church, instead of being the most ancient of Churches, to be the newest and the latest. The creed of the Church of Rome was not fully defined before; and the articles of the Council of Trent, which it declared to be the faith of the Christian, had never been previously received, as its faith, by the universal Church. *The Church of Rome, therefore, in its present form, is of more recent origin than the Church of England in its present form.* Whatever is really worthy of reception, from antiquity, tradition, or Catholic practice, the Church of England receives in common with the Church of Rome.....The history of this period is to be surveyed with reference to the canons and acts of councils, by which the corruptions of ecclesiastical authority (one of the greatest blessings to civilized society when rightly understood) presented those fearful lessons to posterity, which the present ungrateful age does not care to remember, or, if it remembers, now begins to dispise the Reformers, who, by God's blessing, dispelled the fearful darkness. This was the time when the affirmation of a Christian bishop was believed, that he had power to command—aye, and did command—the angels of heaven to carry the soul out of purgatory, and to bring it into paradise;* for the Pope was superior to the angels in jurisdiction, in the sacraments, in knowledge,

* Bull of Clement III., A.D. 1188.

and in conferring reward. This was the memorable era when an emperor stood bare-footed three days and three nights, in the depth of winter, to solicit absolution from a deposing bishop, that he might hope to recover the respect even of his domestic servants, as well as dominion over his subjects. Here a king was scourged at the shrine of a rebellious subject—there a crown was laid at the feet of the insolent representative of an usurping ecclesiastic.”

The third era relates—

“To the history and the perversion, by persecution under the Puritans, of the influence of that principle of the Reformation which taught men to appeal to the Scriptures alone, as their sole guide in all matters of religious belief and ecclesiastical discipline. Two painful evils have characterized the opponents of the ancient errors—mitred bitterness, leading to persecution and disunion, and the unbounded multiplicity of sects, leading to the entire dissolution of spiritual authority, of religious discipline, and of true Catholic communion.* To these must be added infidelity, despising all religion because of the multiplicity of sects, and pious uncertainty, distracted with doubts and fears, and taking refuge too often in an infallible Church, more from the sense of pain than from the conviction of truth. These are great evils; but they are less evils than the monotony and the stagnant contentment of presumptuous, resistless, and unchanging error. The possession of the whole Scriptures alone, freely given to the laity, with the request, and with the charge, that they consider themselves responsible to God only for the use they make of his revelation, while they regard the priest as their friend, their helper, and guide, but not as their infallible and supreme director, is worth all the toil, and suffering, and martyrdom with which the blessing was obtained; and the Reformation deserves to be continued among us at the same expense of danger, vigilance, and suffering, if that suffering be necessary, with which it was originally established. I shall endeavour, as briefly as possible, to show the effect of the Reformation upon the different countries of Europe, and to point out also the wonderful and peculiar wisdom with which the removers of ancient superstitions in England avoided the extremes of rejecting ceremonies or doctrines merely because they were old, or adopting ceremonies and doctrines merely because they were new; and how they have united in one well-cemented fabric all the religious advantages which were desired by the two great parties of the Reformers and the Non-Reformers, which at the period of the Council of Trent divided Christian Europe. I wish to show that they blended into one wise system, more effectually than any of their brother Reformers in other countries, all the spirituality of worship and perfect freedom with the study of Scripture which the most conscientious Puritan ought to require; and how they retained also as much discipline, and as much security for the continuance of an apostolical succession and an efficient priesthood, as the member of the Church of Rome ought to desire.” (p. 17).

* “Guizot on the Civilization of Europe,” p. 354, 362.

In the fourth place—

“I shall treat of the history, and of the perversion by persecution of the influence of human reason. This period may be said to commence in the century prior to its chief trophy—the great outbreking of crime and folly—the earthquake of the French Revolution. Romanism and Christianity were regarded as one religion. The infidels of the school of Voltaire and of the *Encyclopædia* did not, like the Reformers, assail some one or more errors, while they still spoke of Revelation and of Christianity, in general, with seriousness and veneration. They turned the whole subject of revealed religion into ridicule. They denied at once transubstantiation, the perversion—the atonement, the truth perverted! They denied the existence of the Atoner, and the very possibility of revelation, as implying the possibility of miracle.” (p. 18.)

The reader will perhaps be startled to find that this infidelity is traced to the stifling of Protestantism in France, and that “the revocation of the Edict of Nantz was the remote cause of the French Revolution.” This fanciful scheme exhibits much original ingenuity; but still the thorny question recurs, why is evil necessary? It is indeed a godlike work to bring good out of evil; but why is previous persecution necessary in order to mature the millennium here anticipated? Whether it really be in the counsels of Divine Providence, that a time shall come when the four influences or powers enumerated “will all be blended in one harmonious system of temporal and religious regulation, and all the family of man shall be one united, religious, civilized, and happy people” (p. 21), time alone can show; but it is too certain that this state of complete happiness has not yet commenced among us. At all events, we heartily agree with the author in trusting that England will be found to act a part of moral greatness, in promoting civilization, knowledge, truth, liberty, and true religion. We believe with him, that “this will be the secret of our strength;” and that if England fails to act this noble part, she will no longer be the instrument of the Providence of God, and will be laid aside and deposed from her high state with the monarchies and empires of antiquity.

This projected and half-finished work is to be entitled, “The Re-union of Christ’s Holy Catholic Church; or Past Persecutions the Foundation of the Future Union of Christians.” Mr. Townsend feels that the martyrologist is not exactly the most fitting herald for those halcyon days, and he adduces reasons for his sanctioning the republication of the “Acts and Monuments.” The best reason is, that the materials which Foxe employed eleven laborious years in collecting and arranging, have been considered as substantially true—as, upon the whole, faithful records of facts—by competent judges; by Strype, by

Fuller, and by Dr. Wordsworth, the late respected Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. Collier, the Church historian, blames Foxe for his coarseness and prejudices, but does not impeach his general fidelity. Neale,* the Puritan, says—

“No book ever gave such a mortal wound to Popery as this..... Some spots may be found on the armour of this noble soldier of God. Those spots shall be pointed out, and be neither concealed nor denied; but his shield is the holiness of his cause. His sword, with which, in the days of our fathers, he smote down the Philistines of the persecuting and erring Church, was given him from the armoury of God; and neither the keen nor the solid, neither the satire nor the arguments of Harpsfield, or Parsons, of Milner or Andrews, have been able to resist that edge (p. 29).....The object of Foxe was two-fold: the first was to relate the history of the Church before his own day: the next to record the evils which have resulted, and which ever will and must result to the Church of Christ from the assumption and exercise of the power to govern the consciences of reflecting men by authority and severity, rather than by reasoning and persuasion, that men may remember the danger of permitting the most apostolical priesthood to usurp dominion. His pages are worthy of preservation as a record of the past, and as a warning for the future.....If it be said, ‘You of the Church of England have done such things;’ we answer, if we have done so, we repent us of our misdoings. We have rescinded the laws which enabled us to do these things. We ask you also, brethren of Rome, to repent and to imitate our example” (pp. 30-32.)

If the members of the Church of Rome are pained by the attempted revival of a work which had become obsolete, they must remember that Rome has not recinded its severe canons, nor abated its usurping claims. Their great historian in this country has endeavoured, by a milk and water narrative, to colour over the massacre of St. Bartholemew; but beneath that varnish, the spot of blood appears as red as ever, and all the perfumes of Arabia cannot sweeten it.

There is also a party in the Church of England whom this work will offend; and Mr. Townsend acknowledges (p. 35), that “there are views of Church discipline in the pages of John Foxe which a Churchman would neither wish to disseminate nor to sanction.” That party have upheld Church authority, according to true doctrine and primitive Catholic usage, with ability, learning, and an unction which melts the feelings to piety; but, unhappily, they have gone too far, and, in order to prevent people from straggling to Rome, they seem to have hit upon the ingenious expedient of going half-way thither themselves. *Deus det meliora.* The history of the Christian Church, abounding

* Vol. i. p. 186.

in the most beautiful examples of devotion and charity, yet shows that sincere religion may degenerate into superstition and enthusiasm, and that these are the parents of bigotry, intolerance, and persecution. The lesson never can be unnecessary, that no human authority is infallible, and it does not signify so much who teaches this truth, as whether his statements are founded in facts.

John Foxe was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, A.D. 1517, the year in which Luther published his "Theses against the Church of Rome." His principal biography is that usually, though not correctly, ascribed to his son. He was sent to Oxford by friends at the age of sixteen, and entered at Brazenose, where Alexander Nowel, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, was his chamber-companion. He took his degrees, was elected fellow of Magdalen, A.D. 1543, and was expelled from that college for heresy, A.D. 1545. During the twelve years of his residence at the University, Foxe "had read over all that either the Greek or the Latin Fathers had left in their writings—the schoolmen in their dissertations—the councils in their acts—or the consistories in their decrees." A statement of course to be received with great limitations. Especially, like most of the eminent Reformers in that agitating period, he made himself thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament in the original languages. He would leave his study or his bed, and retire to a neighbouring grove, and there, amid darkness and solitude, ponder deeply over what he had been reading. The result of these combats and wrestlings within himself was a conviction of the necessity of adhering to that purer and more ancient and Scriptural form of Catholicism which the Church of Rome had so long defaced by its novelties. King Henry VIII. had now for ten years shaken off the Papal dominion; but still he persecuted many Reformers with the hard-hearted tyranny natural to him. The patience of the English nation under this monarch's cruelties may perhaps be accounted for, partly from their dread of civil war and the fresh remembrance of the carnage of the Roses, and partly from the absorbing and perplexing interest of the religious controversies of the time, including the sweeping measures of the dissolution of the Monasteries.

There is an obscurity in this part of Foxe's life; and he appears to have been in a very destitute state, for his step-father, his mother's second husband, refused to shelter him. But two years afterwards, before the death of Henry VIII. (Jan. 28, 1547), he was engaged as tutor to the children of the unfortunate Earl of Surrey, "the noble soldier and accomplished

poet." Perhaps before this he obtained the situation of tutor in the family of Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote, Warwickshire, grandfather of the Lucy who is said to have prosecuted Shakspeare for deer stealing. At Charlecote, Foxe married a visitor in the house, the daughter of a citizen of Coventry; that town in which, A.D. 1519, seven persons were burnt for teaching their children and family the Lord's prayer and the ten commandments in their own language.

Foxe continued to instruct the three children of Lord Surrey for about six years at Reigate; and during that time was ordained deacon by Ridley, Bishop of London, on the 23rd of June, 1550. Edward VI. died, and Mary succeeded to the throne, July 6th, 1553. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was released from the tower in the October following; and the laws of Edward concerning religion having been repealed, the prisons of England began to be filled with victims. Foxe, whose zeal for the reformed opinions was already notorious, escaped the grasp of Gardiner with great difficulty, and chiefly by the care and affection of his eldest pupil, now become Duke of Norfolk, who had him conveyed to the coast of Suffolk, near Ipswich. He set sail with his wife, then great with child; but the vessel was driven back by stress of weather. In the interval an emissary of Gardiner had arrived with a warrant for his apprehension. Providence preserved him, and he crossed the channel in safety to Nieuport, and proceeded through Antwerp to Strasburg, where Grindal, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, then resided with his friend, Peter Martyr, who had been driven from his divinity professorship at Oxford. Many other exiles flocked from England to these parts; then began those painful controversies which are known by the name of the troubles of Frankfort; and we find Foxe's name appended to the letter which was sent from Frankfort to Strasburg, Dec. 3, 1554, in defence of the service-book which had been adopted by many of the exiles, in preference to the Book of Common Prayer, which had been used in England. John Knox was of the party at Frankfort, and brought to them little mildness or prudence: in an evil hour they appealed to Calvin at Geneva, the author and founder of Presbyterianism, whose advice widened the breach. The Book of Common Prayer was sent to him in a garbled form, and in two well-known words he pronounced it to contain "*tolerabiles ineptias*—bearable improprieties:" some modern Presbyterian services contain improprieties which may well be called intolerable:—

"I deeply lament (says Mr. Townsend) the fact, that John Foxe took an active part in opposition to our noble, primitive, catholic, and

most spiritual service. He was guilty of the common fault of his day. Loathing and abhorring, as he ought to have done, the arrogance and cruelty of the Church of Rome, he proceeded to the extreme of imagining, that in proportion as he departed, not merely from the perversions of the early doctrines and discipline of which Rome was guilty, but from the doctrines and discipline themselves, in that same proportion he was nearer to God and truth." (p. 87).

Still these troubles might have been appeased; for Knox, though a violent, was a generous opponent; but Dr. Coxe, who had been chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer and almoner to King Edward, injured the cause of the Church by an arbitrary attempt to force the Liturgy on the congregation, and afterwards by unjustifiably accusing Knox of high treason against the emperor.

The more public life of Foxe, as an author, began at this period, A.D. 1555, in which year he repaired to Basil, to become the corrector of the press to his friend Oporinus, the printer:—

"This place (says his son) for careful printing and plenty of diligent and wealthy men in that profession, then surpassed all the cities of Germany; and they preferred the industry of our men in that employment before any of their own countrymen. To these men Mr. Foxe joined himself; so much the better liked of, because having been always inured to hardness, and in his youth put to the trial of his patience, he had learned how to endure labour; and that which seemed the greatest misery to others, to suffer want, to sit up late, and keep hard diet, were to him but the sports of fortune."

Besides the mechanical labours of the press, he proceeded to collect the materials for his "*Ecclesiastical History*." Details of the transactions in England were sent to Grindal, one of the chief refugees, who communicated them to Foxe; for instance, the martyrdoms of Bradford and Cranmer. At the request of Peter Martyr, Grindal, and Aylmer, and other reformers, Foxe also undertook the difficult task of translating into Latin the controversial books of Cranmer and Gardiner on the true doctrine of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. These various labours supplied but a scanty subsistence for Foxe and his family, and he was sometimes reduced to his last penny.

A letter from Bale, afterwards Bishop of Ossory, intimates that the Puritans, as a party, took their rise at Basil, with the same dissensions which had kindled Nonconformity at Frankfort.

Queen Mary died Nov. 17, 1558, and many of the exiles returned to England. But Foxe was persuaded to remain at Basil, in order to complete for the press his history of the persecutions of the Church of Christ, which was accordingly published there in the year 1559,* under the title of "*Commentaries*,"

* At the same time another edition in French was in the press at Geneva.

in six books, in the Latin language; the first containing an account of the persecutions of the Wycliffites and Hussites (which had been published a few years before at Strasburg); the second, the stormy times of Luther, to the death of Henry VIII.; and the remaining books, the persecutions under Mary up to that very time.

Foxe states that Lady Jane Grey was the first to hint to him his writing concerning the martyrs. He laments that the holy eucharist, the symbol of peace and union, should be the chief cause of dissension, and that on this account no less than two hundred and seven persons were put to death in England only in one year.

Foxe had dedicated his "Commentaries" to his old pupil and constant friend, the Duke of Norfolk; and there is a letter from him to the duke, dated London, October, 1559, complaining of poverty and ill health. The answer is kind and affectionate, and he found an asylum in his patron's house. We next find Foxe at Norwich, under the protection of his two friends, Bishops Coke and Parkhurst, who seem to have been anxious to procure preferment for him. It was not till 1563 that he obtained, as is supposed at the instance of Secretary Cecil, the prebend of Shipton, in the cathedral of Salisbury, which not only supplied him with a respectable maintenance, but enabled him to transmit a valuable lease to his descendants. In 1571 Foxe was appointed to a prebend at Durham, which he resigned the same year; objecting, as it should seem, to conform to the Liturgy, and particularly to the vestments. He had written and thought so much about martyrs, that perhaps he considered some suffering for what he imagined to be religion was becoming in him. Still he retained Shipton, and at Salisbury perhaps his waywardness was overlooked.

In the year 1563 appeared the first English edition of "The Acts and Monuments," in one volume, folio.

"Its value (says Mr. Townsend) consisted in giving an energy to the public opinion, that unbribable tribunal, the mass of thinking, reading, religious persons, in establishing the axiom that conscience must be governed by conviction, and not by authority alone; in taking theological controversy from the priest, the scholar, and the political or ecclesiastical ruler, and summoning the common people to read, think, judge, and be convinced, that the system of Popery or Romanism is contradistinguished from the pure, ancient, and apostolical Christianity." (pp. 143, 144).

"In the same year, 1563, the Council of Trent brought its proceedings to a conclusion, and passed by acclamation a vote of anathema to heretics. What is the meaning of this anathema? the humble

Christian might demand. 'Take up the pages of Foxe and read,' was the answer of the Queen of England and the bishops of England, 'there learn the fearful meaning which is attached to the anathemas of Rome.'" (p. 146).

The reception of the book was enthusiastic. On Good Friday, 1570, Foxe was appointed by Bishop Grindal to preach at Paul's Cross, and

"Contrasted the effects of the papal doctrines with the Christian doctrines, to which they are opposed. He argued well and satisfactorily, that the Popish doctrine of the continual sacrifice of the mass, and the Christian doctrine of reconciliation with God, through faith in the one perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, which was made once for all, cannot consist together, but must destroy each other."

Elizabeth had now reigned more than ten years; and by the moderation of the Reformers, the national worship was framed with the express intention of including the whole people in one true and Catholic Church. This union was broken by foreign influence; for in 1569, Pope Pius V. published his bull of excommunication and deposition against the "*pretended*" Queen of England. Foxe now prepared a second edition of his work, with many more engravings than in the edition of 1563, and seven introductory prefaces.

"Those persons are much mistaken (observes Mr. Townsend) who suppose that the questions between the Churches of England and of Rome were merely political or ecclesiastical questions; that is, whether they referred only to civil liberty or clerical discipline, or to any points of a more earthly, temporal, or indifferent nature. Our fathers believed that the chief importance of the disputes between the two Churches consisted in this—that the salvation of the soul was endangered by the wilful errors of the Church of Rome. The Romanist spoke of the Church—its authority, dignity, and power; the Reformers spoke of Christ and his apostles, and defended their departure from the decisions of that Church, by appealing to that higher tribunal. The Romanist appealed to tradition, antiquity, and the fathers; the Reformer followed his antagonist into every dark page, pursued him through all the mazes of the recondite learning, which revived on the discovery of printing, and demonstrated that the Romanist retained the errors, while the Reformer retained the truths, which were sanctioned by those abused but venerable names." (p. 162.)

The term *Roman Catholic* had a civil origin, like the word *Protestant*, and under Justinian, denoted the Episcopalian Trinitarians, who were subjects, not of the Bishop of Rome, but of the Emperor of Rome (p. 174). The term "*Protestant*" is imperfect and inadequate, but in substance it has come to signify, one who owns no authority to be *infallible*,

except the Holy Scriptures; and we may less regret the deficiency of the appellation, when we consider how the best and holiest titles have fallen into disrepute, through the misconduct of those who bore them, as bigots, gospellors, Jesuits. One of our most correct writers asserts that

“It was the essential principle of the English Reformation throughout, that the doctrine and tradition of the Catholic Church of Christ, *in all ages*, were to be obediently followed; and the Romish party in these countries committed schism, in separating from the communion of the Church, and the obedience of their legitimate pastors, in the reign of Elizabeth.”*

But for the foreign influence, we might have been one fold; and the danger of admitting again that foreign influence will be best appreciated by those who study the history of this country under the reign of that illustrious queen.

It was this edition of the “Acts and Monuments” which the convocation, A.D. 1571, resolved should be placed in the churches and other public situations; and the copies were generally retained there till the time of Archbishop Laud. On the 3rd of June, 1572, the Duke of Norfolk was executed, and Foxe was one of those who attended his friend and patron to the scaffold. This is one proof that the duke died in that faith which he (Foxe) had first grounded him in; and Foxe had, by letter, warned the duke against his being drawn in imprudently to countenance the intrigues of the Papists, and particularly against his rumoured marriage with Mary, Queen of Scotland.

The third English edition of the “Martyrology” appeared in the year 1576. Foxe died in London, April 18, 1587, in his 70th year. “His domestic and family affairs never appear to have been in a very satisfactory condition,” but his last days passed in peace, and in the society of respectable and pious men, who often consulted him. A short time before his death, by the mediation of Piers, Bishop of Salisbury, and Archbishop Whitgift, with Lord Burleigh, he obtained from the Crown the power of leasing the prebend of Shipton to his son, on the old condition, that “every Sunday and festival day he will invite, entertain, and have to his table at dinner and supper, two couple of honest and neediest persons, being dwellers within the said parish, allowing to them sufficient meate and drinke for their relief.” One of Foxe’s last labours, besides preparing another edition of the “Martyrology,” was the completing Haddon’s answer to Osorius, at the request of Lawrence Humphreys, President of Magdalen College.

* A Treatise on the Church of Christ. By the Rev. William Palmer. vol. i. p. 451, 455.

“The work of Foxe is a defence of the evangelical view of justification, as it is so clearly expressed in the eleventh article of the Church of England, in opposition to the Romish Trentine Doctrine, that justification is constituted by an infused and inherent principle of righteousness. A brief account of it is given, with much eulogy, by Strype,* and an abridgment of the treatise has been lately published by the Tract Society in London.” (p. 212).

Foxe was buried in the chancel of Cripplegate Church, which was not destroyed in the fire of London; and near him lies the body of John Milton. Mr. Townsend concludes an eloquent passage with words which we would rather had been omitted:—

“With such fellowship may my soul be united—with such high society may my spirit rest hereafter—the kindred spirit, in all that our God and Saviour would approve, of such men as John Foxe and John Milton.” (p. 227).

Piety indeed leads us to hope that the communion of spirits in another world will be enlarged and perfected; but meanwhile we must not forget that upon earth the best men in intention are not always the best in regard of society:

“By following the law of private reason, where the law of public should take place, they breed disturbance. Unless we will be authors of confusion in the Church, our private discretion, which otherwise might guide us a contrary way, must here submit itself to be that way guided which the public judgment of the Church hath thought better.”*

Persons who are very far from approaching the vast powers of Milton, and cannot lay claim to the diligence or conscientious integrity of Foxe, shelter under the example of such eminent names all sorts of schisms, and dignify every capricious departure from Church-union with the titles of private judgment and the rights of conscience.

We have perused with some care the objections and answers contained in 250 pages. Upon the whole, we really think the public is to be congratulated upon the interest which this republication has excited. Among the formidable list of objections, ancient and modern, arrayed against the “*Martyrologist*,” there is not one who fastens upon *him* any serious charge, affecting his general fidelity and accuracy as an historian. No doubt, he was a partizan and a keen one; and it must be remembered that he had suffered exile and poverty, and only just escaped death, on account of his religious opinions. It is one thing to write under persecution in troublesome times, and another to sit down to compose at one’s ease a smooth narrative in after times. The

* *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 68, folio edition. † *Hooker*, book i. near the end.

strain of invective may be too bitter, but it is racy and genuine. It proves that the author had a fellow-feeling, from practical experience, with the persons persecuted. There is no pretence for saying that Foxe wilfully published falsehoods; on the contrary, he appears to have taken very great pains to collect true and authentic records, both from Christian principle and from shrewd good sense, which pointed out to him, that errors, detected in his accounts, would make against his character, and against what he seems to have valued more than any personal object, the cause of religious freedom and Christian truth. At the same time, allowances must be made for his temper, and the circumstances in which he was placed—and every reflecting reader, of whatever party, will make those allowances, both in the way of indulgence and of caution. Those histories that remain to us, written by persons actively engaged in the great civil war; are not thrown aside because they show party spirit. This, in fact, gives zest and reality to the different narratives, and the writers would neither have been honest nor interesting if they had disguised their principles and feelings.

The cool impartial reader compares opposite statements, weighs testimonies, and is obliged to confess that time is the great softener of asperities.

Nicholas Harpsfield, Greek Professor at Oxford in the reign of Mary, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and brother of Bonner's chaplain, was committed to the Tower early in the reign of Elizabeth, "for stirring the people to sedition." While in prison, he wrote six dialogues against the Reformation and the Reformers; the last is chiefly directed against Foxe in very abusive language:

"The Acts and Monuments are said to abound with blasphemies and lies.* The blasphemies are the antipapal propositions. The lies are the reports of the courage, constancy, sufferings, and testimony of the Papal victims against the faith and discipline of Rome." (p. 440).

This work is the chief storehouse from which his contemporary the Jesuit Parsons, and succeeding Popish assailants of Foxe, have taken their materials.

Foxe defended himself in detail with industry, care, and temper; and to Harpsfield's general accusation he answers:—

"I would to God that in all the whole book of 'Acts and Monuments,' all the narratives of this nature were false, all were lies, all were

* Here is a specimen of Harpsfield's language; *novos enim novus iste papa fastos, novas martyrum apotheoses, et tam admirabiles pro sua amplitudine excogitavit, ut nescias impudicitiam et impietatem hominis, an stultitiam magis demireris, edito nuper libro, ingenti quadam nugorum, mendaciorum et blasphemiarum mole onerato.*

fables ; I would to God the cruelty of you *Catholics* (!) had suffered all them to live of whose death you do now say that I do lie. I deny not but that in my book many things may have escaped me ; yet I have bestowed my diligence to profit all men, but to hurt none. If a lie be a wilful intention to deceive, I protest to you, and to all the world, that there is not a lie in my book." (p. 447, 448).

Robert Parsons was for ten years of Balliol College, Oxford, a professed reformer, and became tutor and fellow there. He afterwards went abroad, and was converted to the Church of Rome, and entered into the English College of Jesuits at Rome. The zeal of proselytes is proverbial ; and Parsons being a bold, able, turbulent man, came over in disguise to England in 1580, and was one of the chief fomenters of rebellion against Elizabeth's government, under the plea that he had been deposed by the Pope. He had, with his associates, Campion and Cardinal Allen, great influence in breaking the custom which had till then prevailed among the Papists, of frequenting the churches and joining in the service of the Church of England.

There are only two cases, those of Grimwood and Marbeck, in relating which Foxe is charged by Harpsfield and Parsons (whose coarse invectives their modern followers servilely adopt) with wilful falsehoods in his statement of facts.

Foxe had stated that Grimwood was an instance of God's judgment upon persecutors, for that he had fallen down dead suddenly. A clergyman quoted this statement in his sermon, and a person named Grimwood happened to be one of the congregation, and being indignant at the charge, he brought an action against the clergyman for defamation. The matter was noised abroad, and Foxe went down into Suffolk to make personal enquiries concerning the facts. The story is told at length by Strype, as "an instance of Foxe's diligence and care that no falsehoods might be obtruded on his readers, and to show Foxe and his friends' readiness to correct mistakes." Foxe retained the statement in his "*Martyrology*," because it turned out on enquiry that there were two Grimwoods of the same name, both christian and surname, one of Lawshall, and another of Hitcham, places both in Suffolk, and not ten miles apart ; and with regard to one of these men, the statement was proved by good evidence to be true (p. 376).

The letters are to be seen in the British Museum.

Foxe had stated that "John Marbeck, the organist at Windsor, with two others, underwent martyrdom at the fire with cheerful constancy, July 28, 1543," under the act of the six articles. Upon this Harpsfield observes with a levity, "Not convenient, but more wonderful than Lazarus he is yet living (1566), and

chants as beautifully and plays the organ as skilfully at Windsor as he was wont to do." Four persons had been condemned, and one of them was pardoned; Foxe was informed that his name was Filmer or Finmore, whereas Marbeck was pardoned and Finmore was burnt. Foxe took care to correct the error, but "still (he says) though I correct the error of which complaint is made, I am still condemned; I warn the reader of the truth, still I am called a liar. If such men could be satisfied, I have said enough; if they cannot, nothing I can add will satisfy them. May God himself amend them." (p. 378).

We confess that we rise from the reperusal of the work with a much more favourable impression than we had before of Foxe's value as an historical authority. His merits are thus summed up: (p. 471) "Foxe was the first publisher of the Saxon Sermons, which prove the peculiarities of Rome to have been unreceived by our Saxon ancestors. He first made generally known to the public the value of the historical manuscripts which he consulted before they were printed. He makes constant use of Matthew Paris, William of Malmesbury, Huntingdon, Hoveden, Ethelward, Ingulphus, and Matthew of Westminster, all printed after his first English edition. He quotes from manuscripts the epistle of Boniface or Winfred, the letter of Charlemagne, the letters of Alcuin, the laws of Athelstan, the laws of Egelred, the oration of Edgar—all these were then printed for the first time. He collected and printed numerous original documents from the registers of the Bishop of London, of the Bishop of Lincoln, of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, what are more valuable still, from the registers of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, in Scotland. Foxe prints many letters of Henry VIII. and Wolsey, which would have been otherwise lost, and many most important documents of his times. Burnet, Strype, and all our best historians, have derived their principal information and documents from John Foxe." Whoever will but impartially and candidly consider the mass of the materials collected, and remember that this work was the first attempt to give to the common reader a history of the Church of Christ, as well as a narration of the evil consequences of the one false principle, that the soul of the Christian is to be governed by authority that is fallible, on the supposition that such authority is infallible, unchangeable, and divine, must, I think, acknowledge that the work of John Foxe is one of the most useful, most important, and most valuable books we still possess. It has never been superseded. "Its loss could not have been supplied." (p. 475).

That no external power has the right to interfere with private religious opinion is clear, because each man is answerable for his

own soul before God, and, in fact, it cannot be denied or prevented, for thought is free. King Alfred wished the people of England to be as free as their own thoughts—a sentiment worthy of him and of them: but still, in putting it into practice and exercise, there always have been, and always must be, limitations in point of prudence and duty on the part of individuals, and restrictions on the part of society. Perhaps no man ever told to another all the thoughts of his heart. If a pope may err, as we upon good grounds believe, in his interpretation of Scripture, with all the assistance of cardinals and bishops, and councils of learned men, and the guidance of previous ecclesiastical canons, it must be allowed, that a private individual is liable to error in forming a solitary opinion. Does he say, that it is a matter entirely between God and his own conscience? We answer, that is true, as long as you are silent, and keep your opinion to yourself, but if you once begin to express your thoughts openly, and publish them to the world, you must take all the consequences of an appeal to the judgment of society. This is the case in secular matters; different countries have different customs and laws of restraint, and those differ in the same country at different periods of time, and under changing circumstances; but in all nations, in all ages, there have been some prohibitions preventing the unlimited expression of the opinions of individuals. At this day there are many States, in which a man would be taken severely to task for declaring his thoughts for or against hereditary monarchy, for or against a republican government, for or against slavery; and the more conscientious his opinions, the more dangerous would they be deemed. In time of war, no citizen is allowed to escape the common burdens, upon the plea, however honest, that he thinks this particular war, or all wars, unjust and unchristian. Whoever associates with his fellow-creatures must be content to resign some portion of this personal liberty. Religion is not exempted from this rule. Under the dispensation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, no man can be a Church by himself; and especial promises are annexed to union among Christians. In all societies and assemblies there must be authority, that all things may be done decently and in order; and that authority, whether rightly or wrongly, rests *practically* with the powerful majority. Intelligence will command brute strength, and sometimes resides with one single person, whose influence sways numbers, in science, in war, in policy, in religion. When Luther made his noble defence at the diet of Worms, as heroic an effort of manly courage as the world has ever seen, he appealed to the holy Scriptures, and, apparently, to his private judgment of their meaning, but in reality, he knew that his opinions

were confirmed by the usages of the primitive Catholic Church, and the support of the most learned men of his time, and of the popular voice throughout Germany. Singular opinions are usually derided and despised, but still there are some subjects so serious, and the interests at stake are so important, that upon them license of discussion cannot in society be allowed, for fear of endangering the public peace. A wise and strong government will indeed be cautious, slow, and moderate, in increasing its authority for the suppression of private opinions.

The great error of the Church of Rome is its claim to infallibility; this being once supposed, superstition, intolerance, and persecution are consequences almost necessary. It may indeed shock our feelings to consider that God should allow nearly the whole visible Church of Christ to fall into error; but it is certain this was the case with the Jewish Church at the time of our Lord's advent. The Church will, under God's providence, be less likely to fall into error, by abating this high pretension of infallibility, and by exercising its authority with humility, and vigilance, and perpetual caution, never omitting a constant reference to the perfect guide of the holy Scriptures in their simplicity, and to the usages of the primitive Catholic Church in the best times.

Mr. Townsend eloquently and feelingly asks—

“How long will it be before the records of the past are forgotten, and the Christian world is at peace? When will the union of Christians begin, and the prophecies be all completed which declare that the one fold of the Church shall be obedient to the one Shepherd, Jesus Christ? I answer again and again, the time shall come when civilized and christianized men, and the whole Catholic Church of Christ, shall take up the response—*all this shall be when Rome changes*. Is it to be imagined that century shall succeed to century, and one thousand years roll on after other thousands, and the saints-mediators still for ever share the throne of the Son of God, because Rome placed them there? Shall the holy word never become the unfettered inheritance of the peasant and mechanic? Shall there be no reform, no improvement, in the religious condition of the nations who hold communion with Rome, and profess subjection to Rome, because the spurious decretals, the ancient canons, and the doubtful traditions of an ignorant antiquity have woven the bonds of the conscience, and allowed Rome to fasten the chain and stop the cock?” (p. 477).

“The controversy will then begin to lose its bitterness, when the first desirable change *takes place in the laws* of Rome, as it has already taken place in the *professions of its people*, and when toleration shall be declared to be *the law of the Church*, because it is the *privilege of the Christian*.” (p. 479).

In order to accomplish this blessed consummation, care must be taken to avoid too low, as well as too high, claims for Church

authority, which, because we cannot grant to any holders of it a divine power so direct and inherent as to be infallible, we do not wish to depress or fritter away till it becomes almost a nullity, so that there should be no controlling power to prevent "every man from doing that which is right in his own eyes," foolishly, ignorantly, perversely. There are many steps between infallibility and lawlessness. Though we cannot admit that the rulers of the Church, however rightful their commission, are preserved from human imperfection; for even the apostle says, "We have this treasure in earthen vessels." (2 Cor. iv. 7). Yet still whatever honour, and reverence, and dutiful obedience are required from affectionate children to parents, from loyal subjects to sovereigns, the same ready and respectful submission is, in all truth and conscience, to be paid by the sons and subjects of the Church to her who is more than a parent, and more than a governor. Her lawful claims to power are indeed higher than those of any secular authority on two accounts—because she exercises dominion with regard to matters religious, which have not merely a worldly and temporal, but a spiritual and eternal, interest; and because the rulers of the Church hold their authority in direct line of succession from Christ himself, the Son of God. O! what have they to answer for, who, by stretching this authority beyond bounds, and misusing it to mischief and persecution, have caused the rightfully commissioned power of the Church to be odious and despicable. And what have they to answer for, who spread heresies and cause schisms wilfully, from vain-glory, and a jealous dislike of lawful power, even in indifferent matters.

If we cannot hope to see the Church of Christ universal speedily united as one body in discipline—as we cannot expect nor wish all the congregations of Christendom to use the same language (the attempt to employ the Latin language only in public worship being equally contrary to reason and the word of God), yet still, by God's blessing there may be peace among Apostolical churches, and an union of spirit, in acknowledging one Lord, and one faith, and in the great object of religious instruction, the salvation of souls.

In the prayers offered up through the different Churches of the world for the general welfare of mankind, there would probably be a variety of forms and words, while the meaning of the petitions would, in substance, be nearly the same. And this unanimity may extend throughout Christian Churches farther in the sight of God than in the sight of man.

And now let us say a few words on what ought to be the characteristics of a good edition of Foxe; for it will be seen that

we value the work, though we do not join in the blind ultra-Protestant admiration of it which is not unfrequently manifested. Much of Foxe's book is not original, but translated from the Latin. This, too, was not always done by the martyrologist himself, but by any persons whom he could find willing to do it: it is seldom elegantly, not always faithfully, rendered. *All this should be collated with the originals, AND CORRECTED.* The best editions should be carefully consulted, and that which received the author's last corrections should be taken as the basis. The references to ancient writers, more particularly the fathers of the Church, should be verified, and the citations printed *at full length* at the bottom of every page. Those parts in which Foxe displays a party spirit, or where he is open to the charge of unfairness as a historian, should be guarded by notes, adducing the testimony of other and contemporaneous writers.

All this we hope to see; and we are enabled with pleasure to state that an edition of the "Acts and Monuments" is already projected by some of the editors of the Parker Society's publications.

ART. XI.—*Three Sermons on the Church.* Preached in the Parish Church of St. James, Westminster, during Lent, MCCCXLII. By CHARLES JAMES, Lord Bishop of London. London: B. Fellowes.

2. *A Treatise on the Church of Christ; intended for Young Persons.* By JOHN WILLIAM WHITTAKER, D.D., Vicar of Blackburn. London: Painter.

WHEN a bishop speaks, it is the duty of the Church to listen with attentive reverence, and to assume that she is about to receive instructions, weighty in themselves, suitable to the circumstances around her and to the exigencies of the time in which her lot is cast; and no subject can be named of higher importance, scarcely any which is of greater pertinency to the present circumstances and exigences, than the subject which is brought before us in the sermons of the Bishop of London. It concerns the very being, and constitution, and permanency of the chosen temple and dwelling place of the living God. Under the sense of both the importance and the pertinency of the subject of these discourses, we are induced to notice them—thus endeavouring to extend the instruction they are calculated to impart beyond the sphere of the audience to which these sermons were first addressed;

a sphere which the bishop has himself enlarged in consenting to their publication.

But we do not think it a good general practice to make ordinary sermons a subject for criticism, which, when best as sermons, are local and limited—bear upon the auditors personally—are addressed to the condition and circumstances of that one congregation; and which would become vague in proportion as they ceased to have this close personal application. And still more should we disapprove anything which might tend towards producing, or encouraging, a critical spirit in those who are hearing sermons, when there should be nothing approaching to captiousness, but the heart entirely open to receive the instruction given from the pulpit with all simplicity and confidence.

From the sermons of a bishop, however, we may expect instructions of a wider range than ordinary—instructions to those who have to instruct others; and bearing, moreover, the impress of the sound learning, and matured wisdom which the episcopal station implies. And it is quite a pleasure to read and comment upon the writings of an accomplished scholar and accurate thinker, in reference merely to the style; for we are sure of finding no perplexed or turgid sentences, but clear meaning, expressed in the most simple language. Young men are liable to fall into the mistake of supposing, that an involved and manifestly elaborate style is necessary for deep thought. To correct this mistake, we could scarcely point to a better example than the one before us, in which, the clear apprehension we obtain of the thought shows its depth and accuracy, and the simplicity of the language is only the result of its precision. And though these are sermons in a parish church, and therefore not designed to be episcopal, the range and expression show that what a man is habitually, he will always be:—they are the sermons of a bishop.

We have associated with these sermons an excellent treatise of Dr. Whittaker, as not unworthy to be brought under review at the same time, and as giving us the materials for a more full development of those truths which are virtually inculcated in the sermon; truths which the needful brevity of a sermon constrained the bishop to assert dogmatically, or express by implication alone, but which we think it may be very profitable to draw out in greater detail, and also to corroborate and illustrate in a manner not suited to the pulpit, but not less necessary in these times. And would that the periodical press felt at all times as strongly as it ought its proper place!—not to arrogate to itself an importance which belongs not to it, as if it were above the pulpit and the Church; and then, as an ancillary to both, its real importance would be increased in a ten-fold degree.

In each of these sermons a distinct point is handled. In the first, the question in what sense a Church is necessary for salvation? In the second, what are the essentials of such a Church? And in the third, to whom is authority given to guide, regulate, or govern the Church? The argument of the first of these discourses is this: that we know nothing truly concerning ourselves, or God, or salvation, but by revelation, and that the same word of God has declared a Church to be the instrumentality by means of which that salvation is to be attained. Not that every one in the Church does, therefore, and of necessity, attain salvation, but that no other way is made known to us whereby it can be attained. And in showing what salvation, or Christianity, means, it is shown that it has its bearings, not merely upon individuals, not even only upon the fate of mankind, but that it bears upon God's moral government of the universe, and upon the attributes and glory of God himself; and that it is not, therefore, a mere remedial grace, called into operation by the casualty of the fall of man, but that it was determined upon in the divine counsels before the foundation of the world; and this determination embraced, not merely the fact of salvation, but the instrumentality whereby it should be accomplished—the Church, with all her appliances and means, “the workmen and the implements—apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers—His Word, His Church, and His Sacraments.”

“That all men stand in need of a Saviour, is a truth which lies at the very foundation of Christianity. It was the extremity of that need, and the impossibility of its being met by man himself, which justified, humanly speaking, all the apparatus of a preliminary dispensation of types, and prophecies, and wonderful providences, and the interruption of the constituted order of nature by miracles and signs. It was a case, the bearings of which upon God's moral government of the universe, and upon the fate of man, can never be known to us, except so far as they are revealed to us by God himself; and as it was a case in which man of himself could do nothing to accomplish his own moral restitution, and to undo the evil that had been done, everything depended upon the sole will and pleasure of Almighty God, who was free to choose his own method of achieving a work which none but himself could achieve at all. As far as we are able to judge, from what we know, or think we know, of the divine attributes, He might, had it so pleased him, have freely forgiven the sins of mankind, without the intervention of any Mediator, or the requiring of any propitiation; or he might have *preserved* them, as he *made* them at the first, holy and without sin. We can see many good reasons for his not having done so; but undoubtedly he might have so ordained, had it seemed good to him. But the whole plan of redemption was his own; determined upon in the divine counsels before the foundation of the world, by the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as well in its methods and instruments, as in

the putting forth of the divine attributes of justice and mercy, and their combination in the great mystery of godliness, the death of the incarnate Son of God upon the cross. ‘Of his own will begat He us with the word of truth, that we should be a kind of first fruits of his creatures;’ and of his own will did He appoint the methods by which those first fruits, and the more abundant harvest which followed, were to be gathered into his garners—the workmen and the implements—apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers; his Word, his Church, and his Sacraments.”

“Of that agency which God is pleased to employ in the fulfilment of his purposes of mercy, no part, nor feature, which is of his own appointment, nor any which follows by necessary inference therefrom, can be safely or innocently neglected. Those persons who acknowledge the duty of bringing all men to a knowledge of salvation, and would take the work in hand, must be content to do so by certain rules and measures, and to walk along the strait lines of God’s precepts and ordinances; and it has been for want of attention to this principle, that heresies and schisms have so fearfully rent the seamless mantle of Christ’s truth and love, and so little progress has been made in evangelizing the world—some undervaluing and neglecting the blessed word itself; some the ministry of that word; some the sacraments of grace; and others the Church itself—as though the Divine Author of our religion was not the best judge of the means by which that religion was to be diffused over the earth and made available to its ends—‘glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace.’” (p. 5).

We know not which to admire most, the breadth and depth of theology evinced in such statements as these, or the genuine humility and caution which equally characterize them. The Bishop of London dares to assert, with the utmost confidence, all the truths which God has revealed concerning himself and the Church; but beyond what God has revealed he will not go. And still less will he use that which God hath revealed *to shackle himself*, as the heathen bound their Jove by his own fate. Speaking in the abstract, it is unquestionably true that the Almighty can do all things, and could have accomplished what men call impossibilities; but these abstract speculations have nothing to do with the question concerning salvation. We do not misuse it so as to prescribe limits to the mercy of God, and thus to puff up our pride; nor to put a brand upon others, and thus harden our hearts.

“It is an unavoidable inference from the words of the text (Acts ii. 47—‘The Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved’), that those, who *are to be saved*, must be *added to the Church*: in other words, that incorporation into the Church of Christ is necessary to salvation. It becomes, therefore, a question of most serious import to us all, What is the Church? Upon which follows another of not inferior moment, who can be properly said to have been *added to the Church*?”

In like manner Dr. Whittaker, speaking of the Church of Christ, says—

“ It can neither be denied that the subject is one of the very highest, even of vital, importance to us as Christians, as sworn servants of God in his son Jesus Christ the Messiah ; nor that it has also kindled in the world the fierce flames of controversial rancour, and fanned them to a fearful and portentous blaze, at least as much as any other point of theological or ecclesiastical dispute. Therefore am I exceedingly anxious, and do most earnestly propose to myself, to bespeak the reader's attention to this great subject, as one of paramount and overwhelming importance.” (p. 3).

And speaking of the manifold blessings we have derived from the Church, Dr. Whittaker proceeds :

“ Look then, I beseech you, at the influence which the Church exerts, or is capable of exerting, on all of us—on that which the Church certainly has, more or less, exerted on every one.”

He dwells upon our early incorporation, by baptism, into that hallowed temple—on the holy nurture, and training, and example thence derived, not from the mere natural kindness of parents, friends, and benefactors, but from the Church through them ; and asks—

“ Whence did they themselves derive these blessed principles and lessons of holiness, of which you have reaped the collateral advantages ? Was it not from the Church ?

“ As we advance towards the full maturity of reasoning, intellectual and responsible agents, which God has made us, we become acquainted with the sacred written and revealed word of God. This holy volume, which exhibits to us our true and real situation with respect to Almighty God ; which instructs us how we may approach him in Christ Jesus, so as to receive the fulness of his favour both here and hereafter, and how to conduct ourselves so in time, that we may be blessed with him throughout eternity, it behoves us to know, and learn, and understand thoroughly.”.....“ For that blessed book, which can make us wise unto salvation, we are indebted in the first instance to the bounty and goodness of God, whose Spirit guided the inspired writers of its several portions. But it is now eighteen hundred years since the last sacred penman closed the volume and shut up the book, and finally completed the canon of Scripture, denouncing an awful curse against the rash hand that should add anything to, or subtract anything from, that divine roll. During the ages that have intervened, the glorious volume has been preserved uninjured by time ; it has been kept securely from profanation and mutilation in languages which have long since ceased to be spoken upon the face of the earth. For this most essential service, under God's providence, we owe our thanks and our deepest gratitude to the Church.”

“ But the Church has done much more. Out of her own bosom, nurtured by her own care, and animated by her own noble spirit of

love and devotion to God, she has brought forth men, who, betaking themselves to arduous and painful study, have spent their lives in the interpretation and illustration of God's word."....." Not only are we taught and instructed in the word of truth, and led into the ways of righteousness by her ministrations, but, if we are happily retained in those paths, it is by her exertions. And it is by her interposition that the wandering footsteps are brought back to the true fold ; that we are called upon and induced to forsake speculative error and practical misconduct. For we are in her, and by her supplied with the word of exhortation, reproof, and advice : her servants, in the name and for the sake of Christ, watch over our souls, like good angels forewarn us of coming dangers, point out the dangerous precipice, the hidden pitfall, the lurking enemy, or the treacherous quicksand to which we were about to commit ourselves."....." The Church, if I may be permitted so to speak, is a continual remembrancer to every one of us of God's presence with us. As we cannot escape his eye, and would in vain make any attempt to avoid his scrutiny, so we cannot put ourselves beyond the influence of his Church. It is so, however much some persons may try to persuade themselves to the contrary. At our birth we were initiated into it. We cannot put ourselves, by any act of our own, completely out of it. We have all, more or less, directly or indirectly, been taught by it. Our holiest attachments and affections in life have been blessed by the Church. She has laid her hand, and put her spiritual stamp upon us. We cannot efface it ; we cannot, by merely saying so, or believing so, cease to respect and to fear her."....." Possessed of this extensive spiritual influence over our hearts and minds, from first to last—the instrument and appointed means of benefits so substantial and unspeakably great—and characterized by a moral, a spiritual ubiquity in her superintendence and power over us, the Church of Christ must certainly be a most important subject of contemplation to us. It cannot be matter of indifference to us what are the sanctions, the power, the influence, the authority, which she possesses. We must, if we apprehend these things, consider it of the highest moment to be acquainted with her origin and her rights—the claims which she has upon obedience—the various duties which we owe to her." (p. 2-20).

These are only broken extracts from Dr. Whittaker's enumeration of the many blessings which come to us through the Church, and have come in no other way. And we have made these extracts to put our readers on thinking how many, how continuous, and how progressive are the elements which combine to make up the one total expressed in the term salvation : all of which are really included in the brief and weighty statements of the Bishop of London ; all included in the text, " the Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved." And further, we would impress it upon the minds of all, that this is not a speculative enquiry, not a mere theological question of the clergy or the

schools, but is altogether a practical question, and of the greatest importance to all men.

The Bishop of London, having clear ideas himself, and desiring also to impart them clearly, carefully defines his terms, and employs them precisely according to those definitions. "The English word *Church*, or *Kirk*, is derived from the Greek (*κυριακή*, from *κύριος*, the Lord), and signifies properly, *that which belongs to the Lord*; and thence, the people assembled in the house of the Lord, the congregation of believers." And although the word may have some variation of meaning, sometimes including "the whole body of the faithful in all parts of the world, sometimes those who inhabit a particular country or city," and is sometimes applied to a single family, as the church in the house of Nymphas, or Philemon; yet it always signifies a congregation, or body belonging to the Lord. In the text, "the word Church is to be taken in its largest sense, as denoting the general assembly of the faithful, called out of an unbelieving world, and forming one mystical body, members one of another, Jesus Christ himself being the head.".....They "are built upon the foundation of apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone; in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord."....."To this mystical body each individual sinner, who is elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ, *is added*—united thereto by baptism—which (says St. Peter) doth also now save us, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. A new principle of life is infused into him; he is regenerate—born anew of water and of the Spirit, and placed in a new relation to God, as one of his own peculiar family and household; furnished with all means of realizing to himself the promise of salvation given by Jesus Christ to all penitent sinners, and sealed to *him* personally in baptism."

"How little (adds the bishop) are these solemn and important ends of holy baptism considered and laid to heart by Christian parents, who bring their children to the font! How few are there who seriously reflect, that in so doing they are *adding to the Church those who are to be saved*; and that it mainly depends upon their own prayers, and instruction, and example, whether the tender branches, so grafted into the true vine, shall be fed with the sap of holy doctrine and principle, and grow up to be trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, fit to be transferred, in due season, to the paradise of God; or whether they shall be, like the branches of which our Saviour speaks, which, because they abide not in Him, are withered, and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned."

And he draws this conclusion from the words of the text—

“That if the Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved, those who are to be saved must be added to the Church ; and that, therefore, the Church is the appointed medium, or instrumental means, in and through which individual sinners must appropriate to themselves the pardon which Christ has purchased for all ; first, being admitted by baptism into the Church, and so acquiring a title to its privileges, and grace to use them ; and afterwards, being nourished with the food of sound doctrine, and of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who was given ‘not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance in that holy sacrament.’ This being the case, it is manifestly a question of very great importance to every one of us, to ascertain whether he be really a member of the Church ; and in order to determine this, it is necessary that we should know what that Church is, of which the sacred historian speaks, and of which our Lord himself had declared, that he would found it upon a rock, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against it ; for it is manifest, that the Church is one distinct and compact body, and since those who are to be saved must be added thereto, there cannot surely be wanting some distinguishing marks, whereby those who seek for refuge in that ark of safety may recognize the impress of its divine origin and authority.” (p. 11).

We are under the temptation of going on, quoting only the words of the bishop, as being far better than any language we have at command. But this would be neither fair to him nor to our readers, since in that case it would be better merely to recommend them to read the sermons. But we are anxious to express, in a small compass, the great points of doctrine contained in these sermons, and the bearing which they have especially on these times.

The bishop shows, that although our Lord, by his incarnation and death, did lay the foundations of his Church, yet “our blessed Lord did not himself *build* his Church.” The work of building he committed to his apostles, the wise master builders ; and the qualifications for this work they did not receive till after his ascension, and the sending to them the Comforter from the right hand of the Father. “The work of building the Church of Christ commenced on the day of Pentecost.” This work of building necessarily consisted of two distinct operations—one of which consists in the providing the plan and the materials for the building ; the other in cementing together, as one whole, the various materials which have been so provided ; and both were committed to the apostles.

The apostles, taught by the Holy Ghost, arranged the constitution of the Church, appointed its services and sacraments, preached the Gospel of salvation, and offered prayers and inter-

cessions for all men, and thus prepared for building; but beyond this, they, filled with the Holy Ghost, were commissioned by the laying on of hands to transmit the same grace to others in the Church, according to the measure which the place of each in the Church might require. And thus the blessing first given at Pentecost was perpetuated in the Church; and the individuals, not of that generation alone, but of all generations, who were gathered into the Church, were bound into unity by that one Spirit, having been admitted by the one baptism, and acknowledge the one Lord, and the one God and Father of all. The Comforter abiding in the Church, to teach all doctrine, to empower every minister, to fill every sacrament, and to open every heart among the people.

“The Church is a spiritual society, the foundations of which were laid by Jesus Christ himself, its divine and perpetual Head; its frame and constitution being afterwards constructed and settled by his apostles, acting with his authority, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost. Its office is, to bring sinners to Christ, by furnishing to those who are incorporated into it the means of knowledge and holiness; and that it is, therefore, not merely *instrumental* as a teacher, but *sacramental*, as a medium of the believer's personal union with his Saviour, conveying and dispensing grace.”.....“And the Church consists not merely of the clergy, but of the whole body of baptized believers; and every member of that spiritual household has his appropriate duties to perform in that capacity, as well as those who are set over the rest, to give them meat in due season. All are concerned in the Church's purity and efficiency, and bound to promote it as they have opportunity; and if it be the Church's duty to provide the food of God's word and sacraments, and all those ordinances which are requisite to the dispensation of truth and grace; and if it be the duty of her ministers to dispense them accordingly—it is in the same degree obligatory upon her other members to profit to the utmost by that provision, and not to neglect or despise any of those appointments, by which she realizes her sacramental character.” (p. 18).

It is next enquired, what are the essentials of the Church thus constituted to endure unto the end of time; and assuming the definition of the Church of England to be correct, that these essentials are purity of Scripture doctrine and sacramental completeness, it is asserted, that all things of necessity requisite to the due administration of the sacraments must be found in a Church which justly claims to be a branch of the holy Catholic Church. And in order to ascertain what those things are, and consequently, the justice of any such claim, it is enquired—

“What form and proportions did the apostles give to the great spiritual building which their Divine Master had commissioned and empowered them to construct, furnishing them with no precise direc-

tions, but leaving them to the guidance of the Holy Spirit? And secondly—How far are *their* example and authority, in the constitution of the visible Church binding upon the whole of that perpetual corporation, of which Jesus Christ himself is the Head?" (p. 25).

The bishop strenuously contends for the doctrine of all power and authority being given to Christ Jesus by the Father, and to him alone; and, consequently, the authority exercised by the rulers in the Church is not vicarial, as if they stood in his place, or ruled of themselves, as he would do if he were upon earth; but that the authority is in his hands still, and he must be distinctly acknowledged in every act to be done:—

"It was therefore to be expected, that this would be provided for by those holy and divinely enlightened men, to whom Jesus Christ had delegated power to do all things necessary for the maintenance and extension of his household, and to whom he had promised the sure guidance of the Spirit and his own unfailing presence. Had they possessed no such power, had they made no such provision, the consequence must have been disorder and confusion; the dissolution and ruin of the Church, as soon as the apostles themselves should have been removed from its government. It would have availed but little, that they had launched the vessel, with its precious charge, into the stormy and troubled ocean of a hostile world, and just steered it out of port, if, when they were summoned to leave it, none had succeeded to the helm; with the authority of *guidance* at least, if not of *command*, and with power to transmit that authority to others."

Our Lord, before his departure, had not even revealed, much less set in order, the constitution of the Church; first, for the obvious reason that no materials for a Church existed previous to the day of Pentecost. And for the further and deeper reason that the dependence of the Church upon him, might be shown by her dependence upon the Holy Ghost—the Comforter whom he would send: and this dependence upon the Son, through the Holy Ghost, to be shown in the arranging at the first by the master-builders, and continuing ever after by their successors the church fabric and the ecclesiastical polity:—

"We may therefore enquire, with an assurance of not being disappointed in the enquiry, what was the course pursued by the apostles, in order to secure the perpetuity, and purity, and efficiency of the Church of Christ? If we discover, as we readily may, in the inspired records of their acts, and in their own instructions to the Churches, the distinct outlines of that spiritual polity which they constituted for these objects, we have a model and rule of Church government which cannot mislead us: and if we find, upon pursuing our researches through the history of successive ages of the Church, that same rule and model followed, in its essential features, by all Christian communities, however differing upon other points, we have strong reason for concluding that

it is the *right* rule and the *true* model ; and that it was intended by the holy apostles to be (what in fact it was for more than fifteen centuries) the pattern and example, by which all the branches of Christ's universal Church should frame their government and discipline.

"Now this is undeniably the case with episcopacy. There is no one doctrine or tenet of the Christian religion in which all Christians were for fifteen centuries so unanimously agreed as in this of episcopacy. At all times, and in all parts of the world, however Churches might differ in other opinions or practices, all retained their bishops. Heretics and schismatics never ventured to raise their standard except under that authority." (p. 34).

And in a note, quoting Archbishop Bramhall:—

"Episcopacy is not only ancient, and cemented in our laws, but was also universally received, without any opposition, or so much as a question, throughout the whole Christian world, among all sorts of Christians, of what communion or profession soever they were—and the observer is challenged to name but one Church, or so much as but one poor village, throughout the whole world, from the days of the apostles till the year of Christ 1500, that ever was governed without a bishop. I except the Acephali, or such disordered persons that had no government at all."

The Bishop of London moreover adds, and in order to guard the true doctrine from all abuse—

"It is worth while to observe how exceedingly different, both in kind and degree, the evidence for the primitive existence and universal prevalence of episcopal government is, from that, which the Church of Rome adduces, for the imaginary supremacy of St. Peter, and of his so called successors in that see. The assertors of that claim do not pretend that it is clearly established by contemporary evidence, nor by the evidence of the ages next following that of St. Peter ; but admit the defect of such testimony, and say, 'It is not to be expected that in the second and third centuries there would be found, even had there been public documents, that clear perception of the designed succession to St. Peter which the ninth and tenth centuries present.' We maintain that it is to be expected that there *were* public documents, viz., the writings of the primitive bishops and fathers ; that the nearer that designed succession was to its beginning, the clearer must have been *their* perception of it ; yet that *they* never so much as allude to it, and consequently that they were wholly ignorant of it ; therefore that it did not exist. This argument will be seen in all its force, when placed in contrast with the historical proof of that episcopal government which the pretended successors of St. Peter, not being able to destroy, have, within the limits of their own power, shorn of its essential and legitimate authority."

And this argument will apply with the same force to all the other innovations of the Roman Church, which are, moreover, all of them usurpations of an authority which belongs, not to the

Church, but belongs to the head of the Church alone. To the apostles, *as a body*, and not as individuals, was the rule of the Church committed; and upon them *simultaneously* the Holy Ghost was poured out, to qualify or empower them to build the Church. And no single apostle could prescribe anything to the Church, save in concurrence with the other apostles; and still less could any one apostle prescribe to another. In no individual can supreme authority in the Church reside, save in Jesus Christ. This truth was foreshown by our Lord, in his always addressing the disciples collectively, and in sending them two and two, and in repressing all ambition for mastership, and in making them all brethren. And it appears afterwards, in the apostles continuing to labour amongst the Churches two and two, in their appealing to the collective body at Jerusalem when any difficulty arose, or any new order should be given, as in the case recorded in the fifteenth of Acts. And more especially it is seen in the visits which they made for confirming the Churches which were established, for “as they went through the cities, they delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem. And so were the Churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily.”

The faith in which the Churches were thus established was the apostolic faith, which is one and the same throughout all ages; and in all the Churches men were set by the apostles to be the guardians of the faith once delivered to the saints, as Timothy and Titus were thus commissioned by St. Paul. And these in receiving their own commission were enjoined to appoint others, through whom the faith might be handed down in unbroken succession to all generations of the Church. “Thou, therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus: and the things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also” (2 Tim. ii. 2). And St. Peter says, “Moreover I will endeavour that ye may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance” (2 Pet. i. 15). And if it be said by any that this transmission of the faith could be attained by the transmission of the Scriptures, such a supposition is negatived by what we have already said, viz., that the apostles themselves received not such detailed instructions from our Lord as would enable them to build the Church without the gift of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost; and that for the continuance of the same work, the same Holy Spirit is necessary, as it is of living men that the Church consists, and

through living men that the spiritual life is continued in the Church.

“Our blessed Lord gave to his apostles a general commission to build his Church, and a promise of the Holy Spirit to guide them in all things necessary for the due execution of their all important task, as well as an assurance of his own continued presence with the ministry, even to the end of the world. Under that authority, and with the certainty of that guidance, the holy apostles *did* proceed to construct the Church according to a certain form of polity; which, as being of apostolical origin and authority, was observed by the universal Church, in all its branches, for many ages: so that it never was even thought of, that there could be a *Church* without a *bishop*, nor that any persons should claim authority to minister the word and sacraments who had not been ordained by a bishop. The doctrine of an apostolical succession is asserted by the Presbyterian divines, as well as by ourselves, only *they* maintain that the ministerial commission has descended through a succession of *presbyters*, we, that it has come down to us through a line of *bishops*; and that *we* have the testimony of all history on our side, I think has been already proved.” (p. 50).

The bishop next discusses the great practical question of our proper conduct towards Presbyterians—towards those who are in the wrong, but of whom we are not constituted judges. And he draws the proper distinction between those who by their own acts have placed themselves in this wrong position, and those who have been forced into it by others; between those who separate themselves from a national Church, and so commit an act of schism, and those who are, by the act of that Church, separated, and who ought, therefore, to be regarded with charity:—

“That the apostolical model *ought* to be followed by *every* local Church I have no manner of doubt; nor that its adoption is absolutely necessary to the Church's perfectness and efficiency as a dispenser of truth and grace. But if I find entire branches of the great Christian family living under a different form of government, deprived of the advantages of episcopacy—in the first instance, not by their own fault, but through the tyranny and obstinacy of the Church of Rome refusing them those advantages—being also in that state of dependence upon the secular power, which was occasioned by the want of a legitimate spiritual government, and from which, by their own mere motion, it is difficult, if not impossible, to extricate themselves, I cannot consent to speak of those communities as being altogether aliens from the Church of Christ, nor to deal with them as though they were entirely destitute of the privileges which belong to it. I pity and lament their want of some of those privileges, and I pray that *they*, too, may *feel* that want, and that the great Head of the Church may bring them to the full perception and enjoyment of those privileges; but I dare not *think* of

them, still less *speak* of them, as heretics or schismatics ; I dare not pronounce them, as such, excommunicate ; and I tremble at the arrogance and uncharitableness which presume to deal out anathemas against those who deny no fundamental point of faith, but who are defective (it may be questioned whether by their own fault) in the form of their government, and, as connected therewith, in the clear and indisputable succession of their ministry."

The Bishop of London is referring to such cases as that of Luther and the continental Reformers, who did not *separate themselves* from the Episcopal Church then existing in Germany, but were forcibly excommunicated and driven out by the Roman pontiff and his servants, the German prelates, and who all along professed their desire to retain episcopal government, but who, by degrees, lost their respect for an episcopacy which had caused them so much suffering, and also their desire to recover such a form of rule. And in this manner it is possible to reconcile *truth* with *charity*, to hold to episcopacy, and yet not cut off from the Church those communities which, having been forcibly deprived of this blessing, have not yet regained it. Such considerations justify the caution manifested by the great lights of our own Church, who, while they extolled and prized the privileges they enjoyed, would not go to the length of unchurching all those who had not the same privileges. "This mistake (says Archbishop Bramhall) proceedeth from not distinguishing between the true *nature* and *essence* of a Church, which we do readily grant them, and the *integrity* or *perfection* of a Church, which we cannot grant them without swerving from the judgment of the Catholic Church."

And again, Archbishop Bramhall says, that the essential distinctions of the Church are an entire profession of saving truth, a right use of the word and sacraments, and an union under lawful pastors. "These three essentials do constitute both the *essence* and the *perfection* of a Church. Being *perfect*, they consummate the integrity of a Church ; being *imperfect*, they do yet contribute a *being* to a Church. It doth not follow that because faith is essential, therefore every point of true faith is essential—or because discipline is essential, therefore every part of right discipline is essential—or because the sacraments are essential, therefore every lawful right is essential." Yet with all this charitable judgment of others, the archbishop took care, in his practice, not to compromise the truth, and not to allow it to be supposed that he undervalued episcopal ordination in the Church over which he presided, by upholding it as indispensable both on ecclesiastical and legal grounds.

Accordingly, when a question arose as to the titles of some

incumbents who had received only Presbyterian ordination, the archbishop determined that they ought to be episcopally ordained, saying, "I dispute not the value of your ordination, nor those acts which you have exercised by virtue of it, what you are, or might do here when there was no law, or in other Churches abroad; but we are now to consider ourselves as a national Church, limited by law, which, among other things, takes chief care to prescribe about ordination. And I do not know how you could recover the means of the Church, if any should refuse to pay you your tithes, if you are not ordained as the law of this Church requireth; and I am desirous that she may have your labours, and you such portions of her revenue as shall be allotted to you, in a legal and assured way." [Non annihilantes priores ordines (si quos habuit).....sed solummodo supplentes quicquid prius defuit per canones Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum, et providentes paci ecclesiæ, ut schismatis tollatur occasio, &c.)]

These masterly discourses of the Bishop of London are chiefly for the clergy, and treat of the standing and constitution of a Church in itself, and the reciprocal claims, and duties, and blessings which result from this, its constitution, as a body. But the Church exists not for itself alone, or for the blessing and final salvation alone of those who are gathered within its pale and hold fast their faith to the end. The Church was ordained of God to manifest his attributes of grace and mercy towards those who are not brought within its pale, and are not the immediate and peculiar objects of her maternal care and love. As a loving mother, she first devotes herself to the blessing of the family and household; but the very same principles and affections which are called into action *primarily* to bless her own household, are, of necessity, and often unconsciously, diffused in *secondary* blessings upon all around—*secondary* as regards the Church, but the *highest* which can be attained by any who are *not* in the Church, and such as none would attain but for the continuance of a Church upon the earth, but for her hallowing and restraining influences, and her continual intercessions for the world."

The prospect of a future Church, and of that seed of the woman—her Head, and the destroyer of her adversary—stayed the total ruin incurred by man's coming under the penalty of the statute: "In the day thou eatest thou shalt die." The being of a Church stays the vengeance which the continual guilt of man is provoking; that time for repentance, and for the operation of her ministries of grace, may be afforded to each generation, and the fulness of the Israel of God may be gathered out of all succeeding generations of men. And in the consumma-

tion of all things, or the accomplishment of those things for effecting which the Church is the chosen instrument, there will be a full display of "the manifold wisdom of God."

To the manifold ways in which this wisdom is even now seen, in the action of the Church, we are looking, and looking with ardent hope and with active confidence, persuaded fully that God at all times does bring good out of evil, and that out of things which seem to us the greatest evils there often results the greatest good. And for dealing with those who are opposed to us in any respect, whether within or without the Church, we cannot do better than adopt a similar line of conduct with that prescribed by the Bishop of London for Episcopalians towards Presbyterians. We may not in any case compromise the truth, we may not take any licence for ourselves to deviate from the strict line of duty, under the pretext of liberality; but we ought not to judge others who do not perceive that they are under such obligations as those which we acknowledge. While God continues to bear with them, and with us, notwithstanding our deficiencies and provocations, we may well have patience with each other—remembering that the long-suffering of God is salvation, not willing that any should perish, but that all should be brought to the knowledge of the truth.

And such mutual forbearance is, especially at this time, incumbent upon those who love the truth—at this time, when Catholicity, whether real or assumed, is the universal cry throughout Christendom. Catholicity is not necessarily real, in all cases, where it is loudly professed, nor is it always wanting where no professions are made. The true Catholic will hope to find a true Christian in every baptized man; yet, while rejoicing in all that is true, will resist the contagion of every species of falsehood by the preservatives which the word of God, and the creeds and articles of faith of the Catholic Church abundantly supply. To such an one, many of those things, which may at first sight appear erroneous, will, on examination, be found not irreconcilable with Catholic truth. And if any one be not qualified to determine, he may still entertain charitable hope, and, sheltering himself under the defences of the Church to which he belongs, may leave the determination to those who are, by preparation, qualified to decide.

We mention this the rather because Dr. Whittaker has omitted the designation *Catholic* from among those characteristics by which the Church is distinguished; and we do not agree with him in thinking that the designation is superfluous, or that the false claims of sectarians render it indistinct or ambiguous. We see only the greater necessity for inculcating and defining

this characteristic, which has ever been held in order to distinguish that which is truly Catholic from that which falsely calls itself Catholic. And we are sure that Dr. Whittaker's other characteristics of unity, identity, and holiness will be as frequently claimed by sectarians, and with as little indisputable pretension as the claim to be Catholic and Apostolic.

The question is not what men say, but what the Scripture says—not what men are, but what they ought to be. And sure we are, that as there is but one Church having identity of character, and walking in holiness continually, so that Church must be united in the bonds of charity, and must acknowledge one common origin, that is, must be Catholic and Apostolic. The Romanist claim to the name Catholic is palpably false; it is a contradiction in terms, because coupled with the term Roman it becomes an *exclusive* denomination; a sectarian who calls himself Catholic is equally *exclusive* with the Romanist, and therefore equally absurd. But the true Catholic, who desires to embrace *all* the orthodox, of *all* apostolic communions, in his faith and love, uses the word in an *inclusive* sense, and to him its meaning is neither indistinct or ambiguous.

The living members of the Church of the present generation must be measured by the same scale which we apply to our fathers and all preceding generations. If we attempt to make uniformity the standard of Catholic faith we shall totally fail. The definition of the faith of the Church, as *semper, ubique, ab omnibus receptum*, will not apply to all or any one generation, if we seek for its application in forms, and ceremonies, and mere externals, most of which are of man's devising. We must seek for it in essentials, in those things which God hath ordained as essential to the *being* and *constitution* of a Church, and that these have not been wanting in any age the *present being* of the Church demonstrates; and just in proportion as the true *constitution* thereof is understood the *efficiency* of the Church will be increased.

One symptom in the Church is especially favourable; all parties are insisting upon *holiness*, and that not in profession merely, or in Church relationships alone, but real personal holiness in all the conduct of life. This the Bishop of London insists upon as the last and most important thing; this Dr. Whittaker puts forward as the prominent characteristic of the Church; this the Tractarians regard as their last hope, and the only remaining means of reuniting a divided Church. And it is, most assuredly, the only way in which we can become truly Catholic ourselves, and hold communion with all that is Catholic in the universal Church—in the one Church of all generations.

Like loves its like, and each grows into more and more conformity with that which it loves. Holy men may be found in every communion of the Church; and when we take the divine maxim for our guide, "*by their fruits ye shall know them*," and thus make holiness the basis of Catholicity, we meet each other in love and confidence, obstacles disappear, and controversies expire from the absence of those elements which give them being and supply them with strength.

Let each Christian bear in mind, that according as he himself is holy, or otherwise, he is doing all that in him lies to advance or frustrate that which is declared to be the very end and object of the being of a Church—"glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will towards men." And that the Divine command to each one of us is—"LET YOUR LIGHT SO SHINE BEFORE MEN, THAT THEY MAY SEE YOUR GOOD WORKS AND GLORIFY YOUR FATHER WHICH IS IN HEAVEN."

Notes of a Traveller on the Social and Political State of France, Russia, Switzerland, Italy, and other parts of Europe, during the present century. By Samuel Laing, Esq. 8vo. Longmans.

THE author of this work, if we may judge from the preface, and from the general tone of feeling pervading its pages, belongs to the ranks of what is called philosophical liberalism—a class of persons with whom it is almost needless for us to say we entertain no kind of sympathy. But after saying thus much, we must, in justice to Mr. Laing, observe that he is very different from his brethren of the same school, unlike whom he displays a spirit of impartiality, independence, and frankness, which must always command respect and fair treatment at the hands of his opponents, however much they may differ from him in sentiments and opinions. So much, indeed, is Mr. Laing imbued with the love of candour, that, when speaking of some of the most important subjects which at present interest the various parties in the State, he is not only continually making admissions, but also frequently bringing forward statements and arguments, which, so far from making for the interests of the party to which he apparently belongs, exhibit the most favourable tendency towards the opinions entertained by that party which wishes to preserve rather than to destroy. In making these admissions and statements, it would seem as if what the author says was wrung from him by an involuntary submission rendered by his mind to the power of integrity and truth, and

that, although belonging to a totally opposite school of sentiment, he is compelled to pay deference to the superior claims of Conservative principles. Of course, such acknowledgments of the truth of just and good principles, when coming from the mouth of an opponent, acquire an additional value, more particularly when, as in the case of Mr. Laing, the individual who gives them utterance possesses considerable talent and information, and extensive powers of observation. Still, notwithstanding these frequent admissions of right principles, the work in which they are contained is one which should be read with caution and watchfulness by persons of unstable mind and limited information; otherwise it is much to be feared, that the bold and rash expressions and sentiments, which occur, mixed up often with what is of a different tendency, may lead to hazardous consequences. Keeping this in view, there is much interesting and instructive matter to be found in Mr. Laing's pages, and we are bound to thank him for much valuable information.

His observations on the character and manners of the natives of the several countries which he visited are full of interest, and will well repay the trouble of perusal. Indeed, he seems to possess a particular facility in the discrimination of character, and in seizing on the peculiarities, both physical and moral, of countries and people. His statistics, also, whenever they occur, are curious and interesting. Much of what he says on the fruitful subject of the corn-laws will be found highly important. The greater part of his reasoning on this topic is full of testimonies and admissions to the good working of the late system, and we are inclined to think, will prove a storehouse of useful and available weapons in defence of restrictive duties.

One great object put forward by the advocates for the abolition of the corn-laws is, a reciprocity of trade with the German states. But Mr. Laing says, it is a mistake to suppose that these states would consume more of our goods if the corn trade should be thrown open. The Germans produce most of the articles of necessary use themselves; the greater part of the clothing, for instance, of the working classes in that country being manufactured at home by the hands of those who use it. If the corn-growing provinces of Russia on the Baltic, from which quarter the greater part of the supply of foreign corn is derived by this country, were inclined to receive manufactured goods from England, which it is not improbable they might be, yet they would not be allowed to do this, as Russia would choose the supply to come from her rich provinces on the Rhine, which are chiefly employed in manufacturing industry. Mr. Laing also observes, that without some adjustment by

treaty with Prussia, previous to the abolition of the import duty on corn, we should be merely paying the same sum of money which is now levied as a duty on corn brought into this country, into the Russian exchequer, instead of into our own. That would be the only effect of the abolition of the corn-laws. What we took off in the shape of import duty, they would lay on in the form of export duty. Nor is there any effective competition from other corn-exporting countries sufficient to render the British market for grain independent of the supplies from the Prussian ports, and those connected with Prussia in the German custom-house league. It appears also to be the policy of Prussia to keep down the class of landowners in her Polish corn-growing provinces; it is therefore to be presumed, that she would gladly seize the opportunity of doing this, by laying an export duty on corn, which would, at the same time, enable her to remit some of those taxes which press on other classes of her subjects.

The home consumption, also, and not the foreign, is undeniably that which the great mass of British manufacturing labour and capital is engaged in supplying. It is calculated that four-fifths of our manufactures are consumed at home. Take away from the home consumers the means to consume; in other words, the high and artificial value of their labour—a rate of wages which, according to Mr. Laing, is produced by the working of the corn-laws—and you stop his home market at once. You cut off the spring from which it is fed—you sacrifice a certain home market for an uncertain foreign market; you sacrifice four-fifths for the, at best, uncertain chance of augmenting one-fifth. If the one-fifth, the foreign consumption, could be augmented so as to equal the four-fifths, it would still, even in that case, which is a most improbable conjecture, be a question of very doubtful policy whether it should be so augmented—whether the means of living of so large a class should be made to depend so entirely upon a demand which political circumstances might suddenly cut off.

It is, certainly, not any demonstrated improvement in the condition of our labouring class by the increase of their numbers, and reduction of their wages, necessarily following a reduced price of bread; nor is it the magnitude of the amount of employment given by the foreign consumer to our manufacturing industry and capital; nor is it any reasonable fear of the removal to foreign countries of any important proportion of the manufacturing capital and industry of Great Britain, that, according to Mr. Laing, would lead an unprejudiced man to join in the cry for the abolition of the corn-laws. He also observes—and,

by-the-bye, this is what many of the opponents of the corn-laws appear to have entirely forgotten—that if these laws were to be abolished, it would be absolutely necessary that all those burdens which now fall on the land should be removed.

These are sentiments, it will be seen, which do not very often proceed from members of the Liberal school. Coming from a person of sense and ability, such as Mr. Laing possesses, who is at the same time a professed follower of this party, we hail them with sincere pleasure, as an omen of a better state of feeling among the intelligent members of this political section. Nor is this improved tone of thought confined to the corn-laws alone. On the part of our author it exhibits itself on other topics of equal interest. The advocates for the centralizing system, which is so favourite a scheme with the Liberal party, will not derive much comfort or aid in their opinions from Mr. Laing's pages. The picture which he draws of the working of this system in some of the continental states is not likely to create much admiration in his readers for *bureaucracy*, or much desire to adopt it in their own country.

France, it seems, is divided into eighty-six departments, containing 38,061 communes, or civil parishes, each having a local government functionary. This is exclusive of policemen, tax-gatherers, &c. The total number of civil offices under government in France is 138,000, costing yearly 200,000,000 of francs. Taking the population of 1830 at 31,851,455, this gives one paid functionary to every two hundred and thirty persons—one family in every forty-six lives by functionaryism. Mr. Laing compares the number of public functionaries in the Scottish county of Ayr, with the number existing in the department of the Indre et Loire (chief town, Tours). The population of the latter is 290,160; it is divided into three arrondissements; divided again into twenty-five cantons, which are subdivided into two hundred and ninety-two communes, or parishes; each of these last has a mayor, adjunct, and municipal council; which officers, although not paid by, receive their confirmation from government, and are held by persons expectant on the paid offices. Each canton has a primary local court, with five paid functionaries; each arrondissement has an upper court, with ten paid officials; that containing the chief town, with twenty clerks, officers, &c., included. Thus, for the administration of justice, there are one hundred and sixty-five persons, paid functionaries, divided into twenty-five primary local courts, and thirty-three superior courts, for the civil and criminal business of a population about double that of the shire of Ayr. For the collection of Government taxes in this department, there are—

Receivers of taxes	...	..	...	68
Inspectors, stamp-masters, registrars				37
Directors and comptrollers of land-tax				10
Measurers of land for land-tax	...			12
Receivers of indirect taxes	...	...		23
Receiver-general	...	..	...	1
Treasurer	...	...	...	1
				<hr/>
				152

For the general Government, there are—

The prefect	...	...	...	...	1
Sous-prefects	...	...	..	...	3
Council of the prefect	...	...	...		3
Chiefs of Bureaux	...	...	...		6
Keepers of archives	..	...	...		2
Officers of roads, bridges, and mines	...				6
Officers of woods and waters			...		3
Officers of affairs of the mint	...		...		3
Officers of the national lottery	...		...		2
Officers of the post office	...		...		26
					<hr/>

Grand total of functionaries in this department 55

Paid functionaries in administration of law	...	165
Ditto in receipt of taxes	...	152
Ditto for general and other Government business		55
		<hr/>

Total for a population of 290,160 372

This is exclusive of the douane, or custom-house, and of the whole executive police, or gendarmerie—of the whole establishments for the conscript system, and the passport system, which give employment to an army of clerks in every town, and also of the whole educational establishment.

Now the county of Ayr, with which Mr. Laing makes a comparison, has a sheriff depute, a sheriff substitute, a procurator fiscal, and sheriff clerk, with three deputies, answering to the one hundred and sixty-five functionaries, living by the administration of law in the French department—being seven persons in the judicial functions.

In the collection of taxes in that county, there are—

Collector of taxes, surveyor, collector of county rates	3
Distributor of stamps	1
Collector and comptroller of customs	2
Excise officers, collector, clerk, and supervisors	8
Post-masters, living entirely on salary—suppose	} 7
one in each town or village in which sheriff or	
justice of peace courts are held	

This number is equivalent to one hundred and fifty functionaries in the French department of double the population. In order to cover all possible omissions, it may be as well to state the whole number of functionaries at from thirty to thirty-five, which includes all persons living in a Scotch county by public function in the law, finance, and civil government, which, in a French department, employs three hundred and seventy-eight paid functionaries.

What a striking picture does this comparison present of the working of the bureaucratic system! And yet this is an order of things which a party in this country—one, moreover, which claims for itself a most enlarged desire for the uncontrolled freedom of the subject—is eager and desirous to introduce, to the prejudice of those venerable institutions, under the operation of which, our native land has attained its existing power and greatness, and to the utter destruction of all those old and time-honoured feelings, prepossessions, and opinions—prejudices, we suppose, the Liberals will term them—which are associated and linked together with the very name of our country. The motives of these persons are easily discoverable. Beneath the thin and transparent covering of an assumed desire for the public good, selfishness, covetousness, and an insatiable rapacity for power and profit, may be detected by the most careless observer.

And what is the moral effect on the mind of the individual, produced by the operation of such a system? Let us hear what Mr. Laing says on this subject:—

“All this subsistence in the field of government employment (he observes) paralyses exertion in the field of private industry. This is an effect which the most unobserving traveller on the continent remarks. The young, the aspiring, the clever, and the small capitalists in particular, look for success in life to government employment, to public function, not to their own activity and industry in productive pursuits. Abroad, all other employments are as nothing in extent, advantage, social importance, and influence, compared to employment under government. Abroad, it attracts to it all the mind, industry, and capital of the middle classes. The little capitals stored up in those classes are saved, not to put out their young men, as with us, into various industrial pursuits, and with suitable means to carry them on, but to support their sons while studying and waiting for a living by public function. It is at the hand of government, by favour and patronage, and through subservience to those in higher function, that the youth of the continent look for bread and future advancement. All independence of mind is crushed—all independent action and public spirit buried under the mass of subsistence, social influence, and honours, to be obtained in the civil and military functions under government on the continent. The private rights of individuals, as members of the social union, are every hour infringed upon by their social institutions.

The police of the country, the security of person and property, are, it is alleged, better provided for by this governmental surveillance over, and interference in, all individual movement. The same argument would justify the locking up the population every night in public gaols. Good police, and the security of person and property, however valuable in society, are far too dearly paid for by the sacrifice of private free-agency involved in this ultra precautionary social economy. The moral sense of right, and the individual independence of judgment in conduct, are superseded by this conventional duty of obedience to office. Men lose the sentiment of what is due to themselves by others, and to others by themselves, and lose the sense of moral rectitude, and the habit of applying it to actions. The non-interference of government in our social economy with individual free-agency, and the intense repugnance and opposition to every attempt at such interference with the individual's rights of thinking and acting, have developed a more independent movement of the moral sense among the English people than among the continental. It is their distinguished national characteristic. In France and Prussia, the state, by the system of functionaryism, stepped into the shoes of the feudal baron on the abolition of the feudal system; and he who was the vassal, and now calls himself the citizen, is in fact as much restrained in his civil liberty and free-agency as a moral self-acting member of society, by state enactments, superfluous legislation, and the government-spirit of intermeddling by its functionaries in all things, as he was before his feudal lords. An unseen power, called the state, is held now to be the owner of all the materials of human industry—of all occupations, trades, and professions—of human industry itself—of all the deeds and thoughts of each individual. He cannot engage in the simplest act of a free-agent in civil society without leave and license, and being in some shape or other under the eye and regulation of this unseen proprietor" (p. 72).

This is a very strongly drawn picture, but we are inclined to think it contains a good deal of truth. Such as it is, we recommend it to the particular attention of those would-be political philosophers amongst us, those self-styled sages in law and political economy, who would wish to make the continent in many of her civil and political institutions a model for England to follow; forgetting entirely, in the plenitude of their self-conceit, that the institutions of England have always been the example for other countries to imitate, and if they have failed to copy the original with sufficient closeness, the power rather than the will has been in fault. Yes! we recommend it to the attention of those who, among other changes, would wish to abolish the ancient constitutional constabulary of the country, and to replace it by a rural police; in other words, by a species of gendarmerie—a species of official utterly alien to every feeling of an Englishman—and who would wish to supersede the unpaid magistracy

of England, and thus destroy a feature in our civil polity, which we do not hesitate to say has done more towards producing and maintaining independence of action, self-respect, and true individual dignity, than almost any other of our institutions.

Much of what Mr. Laing says upon the subject of the educational systems on the continent, is well worth attention, and may be considered with advantage by those who advocate schemes of education under the superintendence of the state. He has spoken at some length of the effects of these systems in other countries; and from the facts which he brings forward, it appears, that so far from an improvement in the moral and mental condition of the population being always commensurate with an increase of the means of education, as many persons are led to suppose, the reverse is often the case; and it is somewhat singular, that the countries in which these instances to the contrary occur, render the example still more striking. In Rome itself, according to what Mr. Laing says, the schools and other means for education are more numerous, and of greater extent in proportion to the population, than is the case in many countries much superior in general intelligence and morality. In Prussia, again, where a compulsory education under the superintendence of the state is spread to so great an extent over the country, it appears that the population at the present day are in a remarkably demoralized condition. Parental tuition is broken in upon by the interference of the state, its efficacy and weight are annulled, and the natural dependence of the child upon the wisdom of its parent is ruptured. One of the most lamentable consequences of this is, according to our author, that "female chastity is lower in Prussia than in almost any part of Europe. The number of illegitimate children born in Prussia in 1837, was 39,501."

These are rather startling facts, and must be somewhat staggering to the delusive dream in which some persons are apt to indulge—as if education were the end instead of the means; as if it were sufficient to open schools and to compel people to attend them whether they like it or not; and whether they are in a fit condition, or enabled by circumstances to receive education, in order to render a population well informed, moral, and self-restraining. Now, independently of the gross violation of parental rights which these persons would commit, by taking children out of the hands of their natural guardians, and placing them under the control of the state, for the purpose of education, and of the gross folly and ignorance of imagining that the young, who are obliged to earn their bread in early life, as must be the case in many conditions in every country, can give time

sufficient for receiving the sort of education in which these philosophers would bestow, they fall into that one grand mistake, which in itself involves every evil consequence that can result from such a system. They educate the child as an inhabitant of earth alone, and forget to train him up as an inheritor of heaven. They forget to make religion the foundation upon which the superstructure of education is to be raised. Open as many schools as you please: allow as many persons as are willing to attend them, *voluntarily*; but remember, that a religious instruction—a knowledge, namely, of the doctrines of our pure and apostolic Church, must be the *indispensable* basis upon which all other knowledge is to be raised. Without this, all else is as nothing worth. What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

Mr. Laing has devoted a considerable portion of his volume, as might be expected, to the German States and to Prussia; and, under these several heads he has furnished his readers with much useful information. His account of the German Commercial League—of the causes and motives which have led to its formation, and of the probable effects which may result from it—possesses considerable interest. The same may be said of the very full and detailed account which he gives of the German military system, and more particularly of that of Prussia. By this latter system every subject between twenty and twenty-five years, without distinction of fortune, birth, class, or intended profession, is bound to serve, as a private soldier, in the ranks of a standing army for a period of three successive years. He must also serve in that particular branch of service or regiment for which he is best adapted. After this period of three years, the person returns on leave of absence as a supernumerary, liable to rejoin his regiment in case of war; but upon attaining his 26th year after his three years' service, he is discharged from the standing army into the army of reserve, and into that division of it which is first for service. The army of reserve is called out for exercise and field manœuvres for fourteen days every year, which is sometimes extended to four weeks. After his thirty-second year, the individual is turned over from this first division into the second division of the army of reserve. In case of war, this division would do garrison duty. After his forty-ninth year the person is turned over into the land-sturm, or *levy en masse*, which is only mustered or exercised in its own locality, and would only be called out in case of actual invasion or domestic tumult. The soldiery are only in pay during the time they are actually embodied. "This kind of force," Mr. Laing observes, "will be found the most expensive and ruinous, instead of the

cheapest, a country can support. It is an enormous pressure, a reckless waste of the property—of the time and labour which constitute the property of the labouring and middle classes. The operative, taken away from his factory to be drilled, and lead a military life for three years, and afterwards yearly for several weeks, returns with his habits, mind, and hand *out*. A public, trained in the habits of military life, are also bad consumers, as well as bad producers.” He appears to think that a force raised in this manner is far less available for military purposes than one formed after the method of the English army. His observations on this subject are so just that we shall not hesitate to extract them:—

“Regiments of the line, almost totally renewed in the course of three years—with one-third of their strength always raw recruits, and their oldest soldiers, generally speaking, of less than three years’ standing—can scarcely be equal to old regiments of seasoned soldiers, although they may be pattern regiments for drill, dress, and good arrangement. And regiments of reserve, although of soldiers of three years’ standing, if only embodied for a few days or weeks in summer, are, after all, only a good militia. Such an army as the Prussian cannot be freely used in the field by its government as a political machine. The property, the industry, the intelligence, the influence of the country, are in its ranks; all that is valuable to a nation, is in its ranks, and not merely a class given up to military service as scape-goats for the rest, and composed generally of the least valuable and most isolated members in a community. The loss would be the loss of the owners or heirs of the property of the country—of men on whom the interests and industry of the country hinges, of the most useful and influential classes in it; not of the unconnected, idle, and outcasts only, of whom an ordinary standing army is composed. The loss by a victory would be greater to Prussia, in a political and economical view, than the loss by three defeats of ordinary troops. An army of such materials cannot be risked unless on the rare occasions, as during the last war, when national existence and safety are at stake.”

The whole available exercised force of Prussia is said to be 532,000. The funds required to keep up the army in times of peace and non-movement of troops, appear to be 22,798,000 thalers.

There are many other subjects in this work which are worthy attention; but our notice of it has already extended so much farther than we originally proposed, that we must at once conclude, without adverting to any of them.

ART. XI.—*A Fresh Plan instead of the New Poor-law.* By the Rev. E. Duncombe, Rector of Newton Kyme, Tadcaster. London: Whittaker. 1842.

2. *Metallic, Paper, and Credit Currency, and the means of Regulating their Quantity and Value.* By J. W. Bosanquet, Esq., Banker. London: Richardson. 1842.

3. *The Factory System illustrated.* By William Dodd, a Factory Cripple. London: Murray. 1842.

WHAT are the Conservatives doing? We put this in the form of a question, and we shall seek to give to that question, first, a positive, and, second, a negative, reply. We shall show what they *are* doing, and what they are *not* doing: and whilst we shall cheerfully render them the humble tribute of our praise for what they *are* doing that is wise, national, moral, and religious—as well as for their not consenting to do anything they consider unwise, anti-national, immoral, or irreligious, to please any party, or to secure the support of any faction—we shall, at the same time, take the liberty of pointing out some things which they *ought to do*, that they are *not* doing, at least with the promptitude and energy which were expected from them.

What are the Conservatives doing?

First, they are repairing a ruined exchequer—putting the national house in order—rebuilding dilapidated walls—and looking with honest attention to the national ledger.

It is a fact which cannot be disputed, that Whig Governments are invariably extravagant; and it therefore follows, that the country has no confidence in Whig finance. If Lord Melbourne, with all his good temper and nonchalance, or Lord John Russell, with all his self-satisfaction, had proposed an income-tax to Parliament, that very same Parliament which now votes it, would then have refused it. We mean, the very same members of the House of Commons who have passed the measure when proposed by Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington, would have rejected it if brought forward by the members of the late Administration. Why is this? What is the reason for such *apparently* contradictory conduct? It may be all traced to one cause, and that cause is—the want of confidence, even of a portion of the Whigs themselves, in the financial competency of a Whig Government. It is not that Lord Monteagle profited from the illegal issuing of fraudulent exchequer bills—for there is not a more honest man in the three kingdoms than his lordship. And it is not that Lord Melbourne received in any shape or form one farthing more of the public money than he was entitled to appropriate to himself. Nor is it that any of the men, now permanently, expelled from office, were other than English gentlemen. But

the Whigs have no fixed principles of government ; are always, when in power, necessarily exposed to the “ pressure from without ;” are, from the nature of the principles they profess, compelled to court public favour by popular but unwise measures ; and to embark in enterprises which make good men tremble and wise men stare. Take, as an example, the measure of the *post office*, and the levelling of all postages to one common tax of a penny. None but such men as Lords Melbourne and Russell would have had the temerity to entertain or propose such a measure. It was one so obviously ruinous to the treasury, that the House of Commons voluntarily pledged itself to make up the deficiency ; and Sir Robert Peel, on arriving at office, was obliged to call upon the house to redeem that pledge. Wise and prudent ministers, would have proposed at least three kinds of postages—a penny, twopenny, and threepenny, according to distances from the metropolis ; but it was *capital fun* to a *Whig* Chancellor of the Exchequer to propose a measure which should lead to “ shouts of applause ” from Mr. Thomas Duncombe and the electors of Finsbury ! With the Whigs, the art of government is the art of pleasing ; not of pleasing the sound, sensible, hard-headed, right-thinking portion of the nation, but of pleasing the members of the Reform clubs, the Dissenting societies, the Radical press, the loungers of the world, the spouters of nothings on hustings or at *cafés*, and the “ wise saws ” men at the opera, in the parks, in the lobby, and at the club-houses, who issue their *fiats* of approbation with all that importance, which ignorance and conceit can always contrive to assume. When the Conservatives are in power, they first of all ask, “ What is *right* ? ” When the Whigs are in office, their first interrogatory is, “ What is agreeable ? ” If any one had proposed to the late Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer to lay on some tax which should have exclusively attacked the aristocracy of the country and exempted the whole of the democracy—for instance, a tax upon all three-course dinners—he would have rushed to the house, got up a serenade without, and a hullabalo within the house, and laughed with his comrades right jovially at such a popular and notable measure. Now it was just this sort of feeling which led to the proposal of the *penny postage* tax, and which so much augmented the previous deficiencies in the treasury. The same mode of acting, and the same principle of government, led the same men to propose those measures of corn, sugar, and timber, on which they were finally and irretrievably beaten. “ *Neck or nothing !* ” said Lord John. “ *A faint heart never won a fair lady !* ” exclaimed Lord Melbourne. “ *Now or never !* ” ejaculated Mr. Baring ; and though they would all have wagered five to one that they would

be signally beaten if they appealed to the nation, still the joke was not to be resisted, and such a *Charivari* was got up against the very corn-laws which these same men had supported and defended, that it required all the sedateness and reflection of the English people to resist the burlesque movement. "There is no salvation for our country, unless the corn-laws be repealed!" cried Mr. James Acland and the other anti-corn-law agitators; and Lord Melbourne looked on and laughed, whilst Spring Rice and Lord John said "capital!" But when the Conservatives were appointed to counsel her Majesty, and assist her in governing the country, they treated national affairs as affairs of importance, and not as affairs of party, and they set about devising some rational, honest, straightforward plans, for repairing the wastes and dilapidations of their thoughtless and inconsiderate predecessors.

The *Income Tax* is an unpopular and exceptionable measure. The Duke of Wellington has said "that it should not be resorted to but in extreme cases, and should not be continued for one hour longer than it is absolutely necessary." We thank the duke for that declaration. It is precisely what we feel. But then the Whigs left the Exchequer in that very state which rendered it essential to resort to such a tax; and we doubt not that Conservative prudence, watchfulness, and economy, will, by the expiration of the next three years, have so changed the condition of the Treasury, as to render the continuance of the duty upon income wholly unnecessary. It has been suggested, indeed, by some, that a permanent income-tax would be desirable, as it might, and indeed would, lead to the repeal of many other taxes, which press upon the necessities of life, and upon the middling and working classes. In this opinion, however, we cannot concur. To the *principle* of the income-tax we object—to its mode of collection we are opposed. But we admit that it is a productive tax, a certain tax, and sometimes, a necessary evil, but it is an evil; and therefore we say, with the duke, that it ought not to be continued one hour longer than it is absolutely necessary to impose it. We believe and feel most strongly, that the state of the national finances was such, that nothing short of a very powerful and productive remedy would have been sufficient to meet the exigencies of the Exchequer, and we applaud Sir Robert Peel for his measured, decisive, and well-sustained conduct. The credit of the country will be maintained, and the income be brought to meet its expenditure. In this the Conservatives are doing well.

What are the Conservatives doing?

Second. They are providing the *necessaries* of life for the

working classes at cheaper prices; and are enabling the manufacturers and merchants to cope with foreign producers.

We are not about to inflict upon our readers the discussion of the Corn Laws, or the Tariff; but we wish to state, as briefly as may be, the general principles upon which those changes have been founded. With respect to corn, the objects of the Conservatives have been, to protect the corn growers, or the agricultural interests, by securing to them a fair and remunerative price for their produce; to protect the consumer from exorbitant prices, or, in other words, from dear bread; and to protect the country generally from the greatest of all physical calamities, the dependence on foreign countries for a supply of corn. The plan proposed by the Whigs of a *fixed duty* would not have secured these results; for when, in consequence of bad harvests in our own country, corn would be wanted from abroad in large quantities, a fixed duty would have operated as a bar to its introduction. And when, on the other hand, in consequence of good harvests, corn should not be wanted, the fixed duty would tend to keep up the price of our home produce. The tendency of a fixed duty is to keep up the price of bread, rather than to secure a cheap loaf. It was, therefore, wisely opposed by the great majority of the Conservatives, and opposed with success. The merits of the sliding scale are obvious. It is suited to the character of the article, which must vary in price as in quality, according to the nature of the harvests. It is suited to the foreign commerce in that article, which must likewise depend on the harvests abroad. It is suited to the protection we desire to afford to our agricultural interests, inasmuch as it prevents our land from being glutted with foreign corn so long as our own granaries can supply the market at a fair and remunerative rate. It is suited to the protection which we also wish to afford to the manufacturing interests, since the sliding scale admits of the introduction of foreign corn, at prices, and according to a duty, which enables the manufacturer to part with his goods in exchange for foreign corn. And it is suited to the general desire to have a cheap loaf without ruining any of the staple interests of the country. These are the principles upon which the new Corn Law was founded, and its results must be favourable to all classes.

The *principles* upon which the NEW TARIFF has been settled are not those of free trade. They are those of moderate protection, but of non-prohibition. Some of the young and impatient portion of the Conservative party have cried during the debate on the Tariff, "This is free-trading—these are Whig and Radical principles!" This was unjust and incorrect. The

principles of free-trade are these :—“ Let every nation introduce to every other nation such raw or such manufactured articles as they may think fit ; and let no impost or duty be laid on the produce of other nations.” These are free-trade principles. If adopted, they would overthrow all the mercantile and manufacturing, all the commercial and agricultural arrangements of ages ; they would destroy all the past and present combinations of the wisest and most experienced legislators, statesmen, merchants, and economists ; they would introduce anarchy into all branches of trade and commerce ; and society would have again to be formed, again to be established, again to be developed, again to be subjected to all the chances and changes of accident, experiment, and the new classifications of men and their occupations. But before this could take place, other nations must consent to adopt the same principles, or we should be inevitably ruined without even the chance of benefitting ourselves by any other combination. Free trade principles, therefore, are destined to be confined to books and pamphlets. They cannot be brought to bear upon the present state of society ; and even Lord John Russell, who would “command a fleet, or operate for the stone,” without deigning to ask himself whether he was qualified, would, we believe, have some hesitation as to seeking to apply to Great Britain the principles of free trade.

The new Tariff is based upon the principle of subjecting foreign produce, whether raw or manufactured, to such duties as shall protect British produce from injury ; and yet not to such duties as would, by their amount, prevent foreign produce from coming into the markets at such prices as would, by their reasonable cheapness, be advantageous to the working classes. The late tariff greatly wanted revision. There is no denying this. Experience had shown, that the duties on many articles of daily consumption were too high, and that sweeping regulations had been adopted instead of minute and special rules. There were an infinity of distinctions, where real and essential differences did not, and ought not, to have existed, and a want of classification which had for years been regretted. Besides this, the luxuries of life were taxed too low, and the necessities too high, which tended in some degree to justify the accusation of “class legislation.” The attention paid by the Conservatives to this part of the subject entitles them to the praise and confidence of all ranks. They have examined the Tariff, well investigated and probed it, gone into its minutiae, and displayed in the course of its discussion such an acquaintance with every part, as greatly to have encouraged their friends as well as to have confounded their enemies. Sir Robert Peel and the President of the Board

of Trade have, in an eminent degree, shown themselves to be practical men. All the complaints and remonstrances of parties likely to be affected by the new Tariff have been heard, enregistered, examined, and considered. Where alterations in the first proposed scale of duties were evidently necessary to be made, the Conservatives have not, from any false pride, refused to make them. On the other hand, the Conservatives have not allowed the general principles of the new Tariff to be touched, and have not permitted individual interests to interfere with those of the whole community. There has been a justness, an equity, a deep regard for all parties, but especially for the working classes, in all the propositions made, and in all the decisions come to ; and it is quite certain that those classes will be greatly benefitted by the reduction of their daily expenditure, in consequence of the approaching diminished prices of bread, flour, meat, potatoes, salted provisions, and coffee. Already, indeed, prices are coming down. Already the necessaries of life are arriving in large quantities and at much cheaper prices from America, and from Europe, waiting for the passing of the Tariff into a law. Already tradesmen and shopkeepers are selling off large stocks at reduced prices, knowing that, ere long, the continental and American arrivals will compel them to do so. And already the working man is looking forward to the day, which will arrive, aye, and will not tarry, when he will be able to enjoy more of the necessaries, and a few of the comforts of life, with the same wages which now do not procure enough of the former, and none of the latter.

The merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain have also abundant reasons to be satisfied with the new tariff. How many sources of new occupation and enterprize will it not discover ! How many branches of trade which were withering or dying will it not revive ! How many means of coping with the foreigner in the foreign market will it not supply ! How many articles which were dear, and, therefore, inaccessible to the mass, will it not render acceptable to all ! The diminution of the timber duties will be of incalculable service to all classes. Houses will cost much less ; furniture will be cheaper ; boats will be built more economically ; and all those little comforts of daily life which depend on the price of wood, will now be more easily procured. But, we repeat, that which we most admire in the new Tariff is the attention which has been paid to the comforts and condition of the working classes. Such a Tariff as this the Whigs never dreamt of. If they had dreamt of it, they would not have proposed it ; and if they had proposed it, they could not have carried it. And why ? Because, first, they felt, during

the last five years they were in power, that the country did not confide in them. Secondly, because the measure of the Tariff was only proposed and carried in conjunction with the income-tax. Thirdly, because those who had always and systematically opposed the income-tax could not have afterwards proposed it. And, fourthly, because the country would not have confided to them the great task of making a mighty change in the financial affairs of the nation. To levy an income tax in time of peace, and to change all the export and import duties of such a nation as Great Britain, required wise men to plan, and powerful men to carry into execution the project. There must have been entertained by the Government which proposed such measures great confidence in itself, and by the country, which approved and seconded such measures, great confidence in the Government. Such confidence the country did not feel in the Whigs; but it did in the Conservatives, and, therefore, both propositions will become law.

Third. The Conservatives are renewing the POOR LAW, with modifications and improvements. We confess that with reference to this subject we are not quite so satisfied with the Government as we had hoped to have been. Sir James Graham, we all knew, had very strong views with respect to this subject; but we anticipated that he would have been induced to yield to the general opinion held throughout the country—*first*, that the central board is too arbitrary, too absolute, too much exempt from all appeal and control, to suit English tastes, habits, views, and opinions; *second*, that out-door relief should be rendered more general and less restrictive; *third*, that more attention should be paid to the classification of the inmates of the unions, not subjecting them to so indiscriminate and cruel a separation; and, *fourth*, that a better local system of management and superintendence should be adopted, so as to bring to bear upon the poor in their sorrows and wants, all the local knowledge of those appointed to watch over and to protect them. As the New Poor Bill has only been read the second time in the House of Commons at the time these observations are written, it is impossible to predict what it may become, when it shall have finally been examined and amended by the House of Lords. Still we are disposed to think that the general principles of the bill, as proposed by Government, will be maintained, and that the changes which were hoped for, will not be made. We regret this. We think that while the established institutions of the country should never be touched with inconsiderate or irritable men, and that that which is, should be maintained, until that which it is proposed to put in its place, is demonstrated to be

vastly superior; still we view this Poor Law question in the light of an experiment, and we must treat it as such. Short as has been the experience of the country since the great change was sanctioned by Parliament, which led to the establishment of the central board, that experience has been amply sufficient to prove that the measure is replete with objections and errors. Vagrancy has been fearfully augmented by the New Poor Law. Concealed bastardy and promiscuous intercourse have been increased. Desertion of wives and children has become a far more common occurrence. The migration of the poor from the southern to the manufacturing districts in the north, has led to untold sorrows and disappointments; and this migration was encouraged, nay, directed and ordered, by the Assistant Poor Law Commissioners. The state of the unions, both physically and morally, has, in a large number of cases, been proved to be as bad, even if not worse, than the old work-houses and houses of industry. And the poor are gradually losing that attachment to the localities of their birth and earlier years, which, after all, is the greatest of all incentives to the love of home and of country—in other words, to true patriotism. Now the expulsive principles of the present Poor Law—its unprotecting and unkindly bearing towards the poor—are calculated to drive the working classes to emigration or to despair; and we had, therefore, hoped that many more important changes would have been made in the law than now appears likely to be the case. The Poor Law and its Commissioners always appear to be established on, and acting upon, the principle, that the poor are wilfully so—that the unemployed are so because they are wilfully so—that a man is bound to accept all wages which may be offered to him, be they ever so small—and that he must shape his expenditure to his means as well as he can. They seem to think and to act, as if all applicants for parochial aid were impostors—as though there was a *permanent* conspiracy on the part of the poor against the pockets of the wealthier classes—and as though no poor man would work, if he could, by feigning inability or want of employment, obtain from charity the means of subsistence. Now we enter our protest against these incorrect, unkind, and unchristian views. The poor are a legacy left by Christ to all Christians; and in a Christian country like Great Britain they should be treated with Christian firmness, kindness, and charity. We need not be told that there are impostors. We know that too well. We need not be told that there are multitudes of idle, profligate, and wicked people, who would desire nothing better than to live without working. We know this full well too. But we assert most unhesitatingly, that

a very large majority of the poor in this country are not so from their own fault, and are entitled to the best consideration, and compassionate affection of the laws and their administrators. We hope the bill, now pending, will be greatly improved before it shall become the law of the land.

That admirable and enlightened Conservative, Sir Richard R. Vyvyan, has addressed a letter to his constituents at Helston, which has given us unfeigned sorrow. He has found it to be his duty to protest against measures which we have thought it ours, to approve. He has thus summed up his views of the great measures which have been proposed and passed :—

“ Sir Robert Peel’s Government have laid before Parliament four distinct measures, involving a financial and commercial revolution.

“ 1. They began by proposing resolutions upon the colonial trade, which throw open the market of our dependencies abroad to the foreigner, upon terms so favourable to him, that the British manufacturer may cease to supply that market with many articles which have been heretofore imported entirely from the mother country.

“ 2. They followed up this suggestion by a proposal to admit foreign grain under a new scale of duties, with the avowed object of lowering the price of agricultural produce raised within the United Kingdom ; although the minister declared, in the speech with which he introduced the measure, that the commercial distress of the country was not to be attributed to the late corn-law.

“ 3. They then proceeded to recommend the most obnoxious tax which can be levied in a country—a tax upon income. Those among you who recollect the Parliamentary proceedings upon this subject in 1816, the attempt of the ministers to maintain such an inquisitorial impost, the determined will of the nation at large that this war-tax should not be levied during peace, the universal satisfaction and public rejoicing occasioned by the vote of the House of Commons, by which the Chancellor of the Exchequer of that day was defeated, and the commendable caution with which every government since that period have abstained from proposing it, will appreciate the motives which actuated the conduct of its opponents on the present occasion.

“ 4. The alteration of the protecting duties upon foreign commodities is the complement of the measures proposed by the present administration. One thousand two hundred articles have been taken into consideration by these advocates of free trade, and in most instances they have recommended a vast diminution of protection. Every producing interest has been attacked by the newly proposed tariff ; the usual hackneyed phrases of the doctrinaires have been uttered in Parliament by the prime minister, as if they were novelties ; and persons presuming to differ from him and his colleagues have been stigmatized as ultras and prejudiced supporters of existing abuses. The consumer has been the object of their great sympathy ; and the producer, whether he be engaged in raising the raw material for manufacture, or in manufacturing it, has been sacrificed to the doctrine, that

it must be the great object of a nation to obtain articles at the lowest possible price."

After the laudatory observations we have made on the improved corn-laws and tariff of Sir Robert Peel's Government, we do not feel called upon to enter into a long refutation of Sir R. R. Vyvyan's errors ; and yet his high station and commanding worth require from us more than a passing notice of his sentiments. We hold that Sir R. R. Vyvyan makes use of the language of prejudice when he says—"that the measures which will affect our colonies will throw open the market of our dependencies abroad to the foreigner upon too favourable terms." We think, on the contrary, that the just mean has been preserved, and that our colonies will be greatly benefitted.

Deeply, indeed, do we regret that those measures were not accompanied by a large and general plan of emigration from the mother country to them, such as we had the right to anticipate ; but, at any rate, we accept with confidence and gratitude the measures which have been proposed, and hope that the day is not far distant when Sir R. R. Vyvyan himself will perceive his errors.

Nor can we agree with the second proposition of that noble-minded and admirable man. It is not accurate to say that the object of the Government, with reference to the new corn-bill, has been, to lower the price of agricultural produce raised within the United Kingdom. The object has been, to prevent great fluctuations in the prices—to keep them as much as possible in an equable state—and to secure the price of 56s. per quarter to the corn growers, and therefore, a moderately cheap loaf to the public. These are not only fair and legitimate, but honourable and praiseworthy efforts, and we deeply regret that the member for Helston holds such far different opinions.

With reference to the third of his propositions, we would observe, that it does *not* follow that, because in 1816, after a five-and-twenty years' war, and an amount of taxation quite unexampled, the nation rejoiced to its heart at the relief afforded to it by the repeal of the income-tax—therefore, that now, as a temporary measure, it may not be disposed to bear it, simply because it is financially indispensable. This is the true way of looking at the income-tax now imposed. It is *not* a permanent, but only a temporary measure ; and those who have rendered it necessary are not the men in office, for then they would be entitled to blame, but their predecessors, who have offered to it the utmost and most excessive opposition.

The *fourth* proposition of Sir R. R. Vyvyan does not display

his usual good temper and kindly feeling. Sir Robert Peel is *not* a free trader—has *not* uttered in Parliament the hacknied phrases of the doctrinaires—and most assuredly, has not stigmatized any one who has differed from him. He has had convictions, and he has acted upon them—he has made concessions, but he has preserved his own system of moderate protection—not prohibition. He has undoubtedly held firm and fast to his new tariff, because he felt convinced that it was eminently just and prudent; and whilst he has opposed the propositions of those who have attempted to raise the amounts of duties, he has also opposed all the amendments proposed by those who are known to be the champions of free trade. He has steered the middle course with great talent, and with not less success.

How much, then, have we grieved to read the following conclusion to Sir R. R. Vyvyan's powerful but dangerous letter:—

“The suggestions which I thus lay before you are the results of a solemn belief, that unless some change occurs in the policy of the Administration—powerful as they are in Parliament, because they coerce it with the threat of resignation—the whole nation will, ere long, be exposed to dangers of an appalling character. The poorer classes will be the first sufferers; but the reduction, and in some cases the annihilation, of their means may lead to such social evils, affecting all its inhabitants, as Great Britain has never witnessed. As regards foreign politics, our condition may soon be that of an empire which has given up the hope of ever diminishing its national debt, and which, having anticipated its best resources during peace, will be unable to engage in a war, however just and indispensable, without imposing much more onerous indirect taxes than those for which Parliament has substituted the income-tax, and without throwing the principal expense of the struggle upon the poorer classes of society instead of upon the rich. This danger would have been averted had the tax upon property and income been reserved as a fund for the charges of military operations. Our colonial system may become an useless burden on the mother country, profitable only to the foreign producer or manufacturer, who contributes nothing towards maintaining our political connexion with our colonies, instead of affording, as it now does, a valuable market for British products.”

This is *not* the language of sound reason, but of partial and party opinions. It is not the calm judgment of the conscience, but the feverish ejaculation of disappointment. No; the poorer classes will be the greatest gainers by the late measures. No; the social evils to which the writer alludes will be warded off by the Corn Bill and the new Tariff. No; never did our country take a bolder or a more decided attitude, with regard to foreign powers, than she does under a Conservative Administra-

tion. No; should war again become necessary, the nation will be in a healthier and more vigorous state than she has ever yet been, provided there shall be time for the working of the new tariff. No; Great Britain will, if necessary, meet the expenses of "a just and necessary war" (and she will engage in no other) by a greater income and property tax than that about to be temporarily levied. And no; our colonies will become, yet more than ever, sources of profit, and of pride, to the mother country.

Fourth. The Conservatives have paid attention to the wants and sufferings of the working classes.

They have done so by ordinary and by extraordinary measures. Not that they have adopted the suggestion of Mr. Ferrand, and taxed *all* classes to relieve a portion of one class; but they have subscribed individually to a fund for the relief of the sufferers, and have suggested to the Queen (who is ever ready to second all generous movements) the propriety of addressing a letter to the archbishops and bishops, and thus obtain voluntary donations from all who can afford to give to this national fund. That its amount may not be equal to meet all the wants of the suffering and sorrowful, we have too much reason to apprehend; but the sum raised will be very great, and its wise distribution will produce an amount of good almost impossible to imagine or describe. Munificent has been the donation of her Majesty, and her bright example must produce the most beneficial influence on others.

We know that there are some men, with manly and generous hearts, but with natures too impetuous and enthusiastic for the every-day world in which we are destined to live, who think that one, two, or three millions of pounds sterling should be at once voted by Parliament, to meet the exigencies of the moment. We cannot concur with these gentlemen in their view of this important matter. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that it would be just or wise, at the present moment, to increase the amount of our direct taxation. And we say *direct* taxation, because, as to increasing our *indirect* taxation, we cannot do that. We are, in fact, diminishing, to a vast amount, our indirect taxation by our new tariff. And how could the House of Commons vote further direct taxes after the feeling of uneasiness, anxiety, and very reluctant acquiescence which the income-tax has excited? It would be wholly impossible; and, although we know well that such men as Mr. Ferrand, who proposed the measure, would *not* be unprepared to defend the taxes which such a vote would have necessitated, such men as Mr. Thomas

Duncombe, who seconded the measure, would, when the taxes to meet the grant should have to be levied, blame the Government for both the grant and the taxes.

Thus much have we praised and supported, on independent principles, the Conservative Government of Sir Robert Peel. But we have now another duty to perform; it is that of pointing out some of those measures which the Conservatives have *not* brought forward, and which were expected from them; others which they have supported, or left to others to undertake, when they ought indubitably to have taken them in hand themselves; and others, of a questionable character, which they have supported, though brought forward by the enemies of peace, order, and of wise and rational principles of Government. There has been in all this a want of self-respect, self-confidence, and of a conviction of what was right, and of a resolution to perform it, which we most respectfully, but firmly, indicate and disapprove.

And, *first*, we complain that the subject of CHURCH EXTENSION has not been brought forward as a Government measure.

When the Whig-Radicals were in office, and saw, or fancied they saw, reasons satisfactory to their minds in favour of any measure, they brought that measure forward, fought for it, and did not abandon it until either it was converted into a law, or until it was utterly rejected. But although Sir Robert Peel is fully and conscientiously aware of the vast importance of Church extension; although he admits that the country is most inadequately supplied with the means of authorized and parochial religious instruction and worship; although he has deplored, both in public and in private, that Voluntaryism finds an apology for its system in the deficiency of church room; and although he admits and contends for the great principle, that it is the duty of a Christian Government to provide for the religious instruction of the lower orders; yet not one word has he uttered in Parliament in behalf of Church extension, but seems to look on unconcerned at the vast evil which it is in his power to grapple with, and to remedy. Now we ask Sir Robert Peel this question, does he suppose that the nobility, clergy, and gentry—and, in one word, the true and zealous Conservatives of this country—will be satisfied with the mere fact, that himself and his friends are in power, although himself and his friends shall follow in the footsteps of their predecessors? We tell him, no! They do not ask for a repeal of the Emancipation, the Reform, the Slavery Abolition, or the Penny-post Laws. They are willing to take these as final measures. But now that the Conservatives are in power, they look for antidotes to the evils inflicted by the general policy of the Whig-Radicals during

the last ten years. And first and foremost they look for the restoration of Church influence. That influence cannot be more usefully or successfully exerted than by Church extension. To Sir Robert Harry Inglis is again left the task of bringing this matter forward. We hope that it will not be got rid of by any side-wind. We hope the question of a grant will be brought to "yes or no;" and that, if necessary, a call of the house may be resorted to, to ensure a full attendance of members. Let us see who will dare to vote against such a measure. Who form the great *majority* in the House of Commons? We answer, Churchmen. And who sent them there to uphold and extend the Church? We answer, Churchmen. Yes, Churchmen form the *majority* of the electoral body; and Sir Robert Peel is Premier, simply and exclusively because it was the will of the Churchmen of this country that he should be so. But Sir Robert cannot remain at that post except on certain conditions. Those who placed him there did so, because they were resolved that the Church should no longer remain in a state of abeyance; and his threat of resignation will be accepted by the whole Conservative body, unless he shall remain, not passively, but actively and zealously, a friend to the Church. Is Sir Robert afraid of the Dissenters? Impossible! Then let him prove by acts, not words, that he is devoted to the Church.

Second. We complain that Sir Robert Peel did not speak on Sir John Easthope's debate upon Church-rates.

We respect the piety and worth of Mr. Goulburn, and we admit his talents and aptitude for business; but yet we are not satisfied that to him was left the management of the Government portion of the debate in question. It was the duty, and it ought to have been the delight of Sir Robert, to have come forward on that occasion to vindicate the rights of the Church, to uphold the laws which protect the Church, and to put an end, by some strong and decisive language, to the hopes of Sir John Easthope and his friends—that by continuing to agitate on the subject, they will eventually succeed in obtaining the object they desire. When the Whig-Radicals were in power, some offers were made to the Dissenters by Lord Althorp. They were rejected: they ought never to have been made. That was the great fault. But they were rejected. Now the self-same Dissenters would be abundantly satisfied with those very propositions. But it is too late. A Conservative Government can have no propositions to make. Church-rates are part and parcel of the common law of the land. This has been repeatedly declared; and the courts of law and equity, as well as the ecclesiastical courts, have concurred in that

decision. It is very true, that upon the validity of certain particular rates, voted in certain particular parishes, questions have arisen. But then, those questions never affected, never touched, the general *principle* of the legality of church-rates. The mere circumstance of Sir Robert Peel not having spoken upon the last Church-rate debate has filled the minds of the Dissenters with hope and expectation. They whisper among themselves—"We have only to prove our grievance, and Sir Robert will relieve it—after all, he is our chief anchor." We know this language is and has been used. Yet the Premier cannot really mean, when the law, the constitution, and the vast majority of the nation, are in favour of Church-rates, to yield to a few hundred clamorous men in, at best, 50 parishes out of 12,000. In the 11,950 there is no opposition. In the 50 there is. Which should yield—the 50, or the 11,950 parishes? The answer is clear, and yet we regret to find that Sir Robert Peel is hesitating.

Third. We complain that the subject of Colonization, or of Emigration, has not been brought forward by the Conservatives as a Government measure.

The distresses of the working classes are really heart-rending. Spring has not brought them the relief that was expected. The looms are still unemployed. The factories and mills are still but half occupied. The food of the poor gets worse and worse; and their hopes are well nigh blasted. The New Poor Bill, from which they expected much, will utterly disappoint them. Mendicancy, as we have elsewhere said, is fearfully on the increase. There is not work to be had. To starve they are not willing, and they therefore resort to begging. Our agricultural districts are swarming with beggars. Our manufacturing districts are teeming with paupers. Something must be done—that something ought to be Colonization. This, we understand, is the opinion of one of the ablest men in the Government—we mean Lord Stanley. But what is of far more importance than that, it is the opinion of nearly the whole of the Conservative body. We have colonies which demand settlers. We have tens of thousands of labourers and mechanics, who desire nothing better than to colonise. It is, then, the bounden duty of a Conservative Government to ask for a large grant for such an object as this. It would not be a tax made on all, to relieve a part, as would be a grant in favour of the manufacturing workmen now out of employ; but it would be a tax for the improvement of the colonies, for adding wealth to the nation, for increasing our national resources, and for so increasing them in the very best possible way, viz., by diminishing at the same time the misery which exists at home. We tell Sir Robert Peel, with per-

fect respect, but with perfect candour, that he cannot expect the working classes to be placed in such a situation as is essential to national peace and prosperity, by the simple measure of the Queen's letter, or by urging on others the duty of alms-giving. Our population increases too rapidly for our means of furnishing employment. That employment can be found to a very great extent in our own colonies, and it is nothing short of cruel to allow of such a mass of misery at home, when, in our own settlements, we can effectually provide for untold thousands. We call, then, upon the Conservatives, to bring forward, with all reasonable and proper haste, the great measure of Emigration.

Fourth. We complain that the greatest of all subjects, that of *National Education*, has likewise been kept in the background.

We have no right to hope for good, if we take no steps to secure it. The last ten years have been fraught with much of moral evil to this country. The unstamped as well as the stamped press has done its worst to pollute and corrupt the people; and both have succeeded. Infidelity has greatly increased. The circulation of the *Weekly Dispatch* in all the public houses of the kingdom, has done more to destroy the respect which was felt for the Christian religion by the labouring and middle classes, than any other effort which Infidelity has made since the time of Thomas Paine. Religion is not on the increase in this country, neither among Churchmen nor among orthodox Dissenters. It is high time, then, that the vast subject of national education should be taken up by a Conservative Government. Infidelity, in various forms, is making tremendous ravages in our agricultural, as well as in our manufacturing districts; and if strong and well-reasoned measures be not adopted, we shall soon have our population become as indifferent to religion as are the light and inconsiderate French. We know we shall be told that this is a vast subject, and must be approached with caution. We shall be again reminded that the Dissenters will be very jealous of any plan which shall not respect all their prejudices and opinions. But really we are wearied with this state of subjection to Dissenters. Either *they* are the minority, or *we are*. Either it is their privilege to govern, or their duty to submit. But why do we put this matter hypothetically? The *Church and State Gazette*, in a series of articles under the title of "*Dissenting Statistics*," founded on the official statistics of the Dissenters themselves, has ably shown that "*Congregationalism*" does not supply means of religious worship to more than one-fortieth portion of the whole population. Therefore the fact of their minority cannot be disputed. Whilst, then, every candid and Christian attention should be paid, in a gene-

ral plan of national education, to the conscientious scruples of religious Dissenters, it should never be forgotten that Churchmen form the immense majority of the nation. That Sir Robert Peel should not hitherto even have alluded to this subject, has grieved—has pained us.

Fifth. We complain that the Conservatives have not taken up themselves the whole question of Bribery, and of election compromises, but have left them to the management and direction of Mr. Roebuck and Lord John Russell.

It was not the duty of Sir Robert Peel to leave the preparation of a bribery bill to the chief of the Opposition. Lord John Russell would as soon have thought of abandoning office, when he was in power, as of requesting Sir Robert Peel to prepare any measure for Lord Melbourne's Administration. Nor was it the duty of the Premier to have assented to the sweeping demands of Mr. Roebuck, when he asked, on his own responsibility alone, for the appointment of a committee to examine into compromises alleged to have been made by certain parties, not upon proof being given at the bar of the House to that effect, but simply upon the verbal declaration of the member for Bath. Nor ought Sir Robert Peel to have acquiesced in the Witnesses Indemnity Bill. The whole measure is too inquisitorial to please or satisfy the right-minded, straight-forward, people of England. In countries where individuals suspected of offences are called upon and required to convict themselves, this sort of committee of Mr. Roebuck would be approved of, even if it were not popular. But we English people retain all our predilections for the old-fashioned courses of witnesses and legal evidence; and we do not look upon a man as a criminal who has been compelled or induced to convict himself. The varied and the contradictory decisions which have been come to in the different cases, have also much shocked all reflecting Conservatives. For Sir Robert Peel knows, quite as well as we do, that it is not because he has obtained a certain majority for some of his decisions, therefore that the Conservatives, *en masse*, have approved of them. He knows that many would not vote at all, lest their hostile votes should impede the general march of his government. He knows that others supported him most reluctantly, simply to maintain him in a commanding situation, and which they regard as indispensable. But at the same time he should know that these concessions, sacrifices, and reluctant votes will have their bounds, their limits, and that the Conservatives have not, after centuries of wise and effective resistance to democracy, become all of a sudden Radical Reformers.

We have not adverted in our foregoing remarks to the *foreign* policy of the new Government; because we think that whilst on the

whole we approve it, a sufficient length of time has not yet elapsed since the Conservatives took office to allow us to judge of it with great correctness. We hope that nothing like vengeance will be exemplified in our Indian war. We hope that it will not be forgotten in our negotiations with Indian tribes and Chinese barbarians, that we are a Christian nation, and that it is a solemn mockery to offer the peace-making, peace-creating cross of Christ with one hand, and with the other to raise the sword of infuriated vengeance. We know well, that "offences must come;" but we also know that it is said, "Woe to him by whom the offence cometh." Our Government is bound by every moral and social obligation to obtain ample redress both in India and in China; but let that redress be obtained with as little loss as possible of human life.

Before we conclude this review of the conduct of the Conservatives, we must do ourselves the honour, and Lord Ashley the justice, of rendering him our humble mede of praise, for his most benevolent and judicious conduct with respect to the truly disgraceful and horrible proceedings in the mines of our collieries. Already has he gained for himself imperishable laurels for the whole of his bright and beneficent conduct with respect to the factory children; and he has now added another claim to national gratitude, by espousing the cause of the naked, degraded, insulted, brutalized, female population of our coal-pits. This is the line of conduct which Christian Conservatives should pursue, and they will then gain, not only for themselves and their party, deathless renown, but they will prove to their libellers, and, what is of far more importance, they will prove to the working classes, that their true, active, zealous, disinterested friends are to be found amongst the Christian and Conservative gentlemen of England.

Ecclesiastical Report.

THERE are several subjects of considerable interest and importance, to which our attention is necessarily directed in the review of Ecclesiastical proceedings since our last publication. But before we enter upon these questions, we cannot but offer a few remarks on

THE ATTEMPT ON THE QUEEN'S LIFE.

Our readers are aware of the particulars connected with this atrocious act, as they have been announced in the daily papers. It appears that the individual meditated the attack on the Sunday, as her Majesty was returning from the Chapel Royal.

On that occasion, it would seem, he was restrained from actually making the attempt; for it was stated in evidence, that he took the pistol from his breast, and returned it to its place, without discharging it, muttering at the same time something indicative of regret that he had not perpetrated the traitorous act. Her Majesty was made acquainted with this fact; yet she was determined that it should not be the means of interrupting her usual exercise. One circumstance cannot be too frequently repeated; and though it has been stated in all the newspapers, so that it must be familiar to every reader, yet it cannot be passed over by us in our notice of her Majesty's most providential deliverance. We allude to the fact, that the Queen would not expose the life of any of her female attendants in her drive on the Monday. On that day, accordingly, she was accompanied by Prince Albert only. The circumstance was mentioned with gratitude in the House of Lords by the husband of the lady whose duty it would have been to have attended the Queen on that occasion. She was ready to brave the danger herself; but she would not unnecessarily expose the lives of her subjects. For this magnanimous act her memory must be held in veneration by all classes of the community.

But in the whole of these proceedings, we cannot but be struck with the wonderful display of God's providence. On the Sunday the murderous act was contemplated, not attempted; the prisoner—for it is pretty clear that he was the individual—was restrained from putting his intentions into execution. An invisible arm interposed. On the Monday the attempt was made, but her Majesty was preserved. Surely the inhabitants of this country have reason to bless and praise Almighty God for this signal interposition of his providence. A sparrow cannot fall to the earth without the notice of our heavenly Father, and the very hairs of our heads are numbered. The person of our gracious sovereign is, therefore, under His special protection; and it is our duty to recognize and acknowledge the divine interposition by the liveliest emotions of gratitude. We rejoice in the fact, that such is the view taken by the Government, and that a special form of thanksgiving has been appointed to be used in all our Churches and Chapels.

There is another circumstance connected with her Majesty's preservation to which we feel compelled to direct attention. Our readers will bear in mind, that Sunday, the day on which the attack was meditated, was the anniversary of the restoration of King Charles II.—a day specially appointed for the purpose of returning thanks to Almighty God for our national deliverance from rebellion and treason, as well as for the purpose of

prayer, that our sovereign and the country may be delivered from similar evils in time to come. On the very day on which this service for the Restoration was used, and immediately after her Majesty had quitted the House of God, an attempt upon the life of the Queen was meditated. The circumstance is certainly remarkable. We feel, indeed, that it cannot be overlooked, when we consider the following passages from the service for the day—

“Almighty God, who hast in all ages showed forth thy power and mercy, in the miraculous and gracious deliverances of thy Church, and in the protection of righteous and religious kings and states, professing thy holy and eternal truth, from the malicious conspiracies and wicked practices of all their enemies: we yield unto thee,” &c.

Again—

“Protect and defend our sovereign lady, the Queen, with the whole royal family, from all treasons and conspiracies. Be unto her a helmet of salvation, and a strong tower of defence against the face of all her enemies. As for those that are implacable, clothe them with shame and confusion, but upon her and her posterity let the crown for ever flourish. So we that are thy people, and sheep of thy pasture, shall give thee thanks for ever, and will always be showing forth thy praise from generation to generation, through Jesus Christ our only Saviour and Redeemer: to whom with thee, O Father, and God the Holy Ghost, be glory in the Church, throughout all ages, world without end.”

Nor is it going beyond the bounds of Christian prudence to attribute, in some degree, her Majesty's preservation to the prayers of her people. Undoubtedly the petitions which we have quoted were most fervently used by thousands of her Majesty's faithful subjects. And if the prayer of a righteous man availeth much, it is not enthusiasm to believe that the prayers of many thousands were heard on that occasion.

It gives us the most sincere pleasure that a *form of thanksgiving* has been prepared in consequence of her Majesty's providential escape. Of the *thanksgiving* itself we need not say much, as it is familiar to all our readers. We may, however, remark, that though very concise, it is very comprehensive. And we envy not the Dissenters their fancied liberty in being excluded, by their system, from uniting in the use of the same words of praise and prayer with the mass of her Majesty's subjects. Such liberty is not to our taste! We rather prefer worshipping in the great congregation not only with one heart, but in the same form of words.

THE SERVICE FOR THE 29TH OF MAY.

Much attention has been directed this year to the service for

the Restoration, from the circumstance of the 29th of May falling on a Sunday. Many individuals ventured to put forth their own views on the subject in the daily and weekly newspapers; and some of these lucubrations were pre-eminently absurd, being remarkable for nothing except the ignorance displayed by the writers. We feel, therefore, that a few remarks on this subject will not be misplaced.

By some of the parties to whom we have alluded it was argued, that the clergy would not be justified in using the present service for the 29th of May, because it was never sanctioned by Act of Parliament. With the parties who can plead the authority of an Act of Parliament as superior to the authority of the Church, we have no feeling in common. We know, indeed, that an Act of Parliament is omnipotent, and that it must be submitted to, even when it actually contravenes the authority of the Church. But how a clergyman can argue in favour of the Parliamentary sanction for a special service, and contend that it cannot be used without such authority, we are quite unable to determine. We may be compelled to *yield* to an Act of Parliament in matters spiritual, but we cannot understand why an Act of Parliament should be *desired*. Such *Erastian* notions we utterly repudiate. Let the Church have the power of settling such things; and let the State confine itself to its legitimate objects.

But there is another view of the subject which demands a little more attention. It has been argued by some persons, that the present form, inasmuch as it rests only on the authority of the King in Council, ought not to be used to the supercession of the ordinary service. This question involves the consideration of the sovereign's power to appoint a special service, a point which we may discuss presently. We confine ourselves, in the first place, to the other question—namely, how far the present service may be considered as having received the sanction of Convocation. Our readers are aware that the original *form* was confirmed in the Convocation of 1661. It was prepared for two special objects—the *one*, the commemoration of the restoration of the royal family after twenty years of rebellion and confusion; the *other*, the commemoration of the birth of King Charles II. On the death of that monarch it became necessary to modify the service, simply on the ground that the nation could not reasonably commemorate the birth of Charles II. after his decease, and when another sovereign was seated on the throne. It is true, that the alterations made in the reign of King James II. were not confirmed in convocation; though it is pretty certain that had the synod been convened, its sanction

would have been granted without hesitation. We say without hesitation, because the changes were rendered necessary by circumstances. But what were these changes? Were they such as to destroy the character of the service? In our opinion its character was preserved. Coupling, therefore, the two facts together, namely, that the material portions of the present form have actual convocational authority, and that the service was set forth by the king in council, and was never objected against by convocation, though many opportunities were afforded in the reigns of William III., Queen Anne, and George I., we feel convinced that no clergyman ought to have any hesitation on the subject. It may be observed, too, in connexion with this subject, that the objectors to the service for the 29th of May must decline to read the *Thanksgiving* for the preservation of our most gracious sovereign: for in their estimation, the *form* for the restoration, and *that* in commemoration of her Majesty's deliverance, rest on the same authority, namely, an order in council. As supreme governor in matters ecclesiastical as well as civil, we conceive that the sovereign has that power, and that it has always been recognized by the Church. At all events, the parties in question must consider the authority for the *Restoration Service* and for the *Thanksgiving* to be the same: consequently if they feel bound to decline using the former, they cannot consistently use the latter. Yet we apprehend, that no clergyman will be so rash as to omit the *Thanksgiving* for her Majesty's preservation. We apprehend, too, that the diocesan has authority in both cases to enforce obedience. Our own opinion is, that the service for the 29th of May, as it now stands, has the *virtual* sanction of convocation, inasmuch as the alterations in 1685 can scarcely be considered as destructive of its character. But be this as it may, the authority of the sovereign, founded on the supremacy, and supported by the sanction of the diocesan, is of such a nature, that no clergyman can resist it without justly exposing himself to censure and punishment.

THE TRACTS FOR THE TIMES AND THE BISHOP OF OXFORD'S
CHARGE.

The Bishop of Oxford has taken a just and moderate view of *The Tracts for the Times*, as well as exercised a paternal part in the advice which he has given to both parties in this controversy. There are some opponents of the Tracts who are displeased with his lordship's commendation of the spirit and the temper of the writers, as well as with his admissions respecting the benefits which have resulted from these publications. This feeling arises from partizanship, not from a love of truth. Why should

not the writers of the Tracts merit commendation? It would be strange, indeed, if the Bishop of Oxford could see nothing to commend in the "Tracts for the Times." Opposed as we are to their main principles, we are, at the same time, ready to confess that the publication of the Tracts has directed the attention of the great body of the clergy to points of order and discipline which for years had been greatly neglected. This admission involves no approval of the Tracts. We are as widely opposed to their *peculiar views* as are those "gentlemen and ladies," who deal out their indiscriminate censures; but it by no means follows that we should look upon the writers themselves as Papists and Jesuits. Mistaken we believe them to be, and their errors have again and again been exposed in this journal; but we cannot bring ourselves to allow, much less to assert, that they are dishonest. The tendency of their writings may be evil, while the writers themselves may be sincere. Of course, the sincerity of the authors does not render their works less dangerous in their character, and it has never been our desire to conceal the danger; but still truth and justice demand that we should not join in a clamour against them, as if, because they are in error on some points, they are so on all; or that they are in reality Jesuits or Papists, because their writings tend to foster Romanism. The Bishop of Oxford has pursued a wise and temperate course. He has not departed from the principle laid down in his charge four years ago; nor has he attempted to palliate any of the errors of the Tracts, though he has spoken kindly of the writers. His censures, indeed, fall the more heavily, inasmuch as the public will perceive that his lordship is not actuated by any feelings of party. We are, therefore, thankful for his lordship's charge; and we are confident that, from its temperate tone, it will tend to diminish the evils which may have originated from the Tracts; for indiscriminate censures have in this, as in all other cases, led many persons to favour writings which they otherwise would have discountenanced. It is very observable, too, that many of the most violent denouncers of the Tracts have contented themselves with strong denunciations and laboured declamations, without even attempting to prove their statements by arguments. To this injudicious opposition we attribute much of the success which has attended the Tracts during the last few years.

But a new scene is now opened. For some years, the Tracts and their authors were assailed, not by argument, but by declamation and assertions, which evinced only the ignorance and passion of the writers. At length it became necessary for others to come forward, to remedy the mischief of those injudicious opponents to whom we have alluded. Several of our prelates and

others competent to the task, have ventured to oppose the errors of the Tracts; nor is the Bishop of Oxford the least efficient in the goodly band. A new state of things has, therefore, commenced, and it is very remarkable, that those individuals who, a short time since, were unwilling to utter a word against the doctrines of the Tracts are now sounding the note of alarm. Whether such a course can be considered honest, is a point which the parties themselves must settle. We merely allude to the fact as a singular symptom of reaction. Some even of the men who had gone far in praise of the Tracts are now ingeniously labouring to back out. An instance of this kind is furnished by a comparison of two articles in different and distant numbers of the *Quarterly Review*. Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman have reason to complain of these articles, or, at all events, of the difference of the latter from the former. In the former article, the reader was overwhelmed with an array of Anglican authorities, which were alleged for no other purpose than to lead to the conclusion, that the views of the Tracts were those of the Anglican Fathers in the brighter periods of the Church. No one who reads the article, can avoid the conclusion that such was the intention of the writer. Not a single word is uttered against the errors of the Tracts; nor can the reader infer, from the article itself, that those publications contain any errors. On the contrary, any person who had never heard of them, except from the article in question, must imagine that the writers had been calumniated and misrepresented—that they were set up for the defence of the truth in England—and that their opponents were Dissenters, or, at least, very loose Churchmen. We defy the writer to prove that such is not the tendency of his article. It was, however, written before the appearance of Tract 90. The eyes of the public began to open when this objectionable number appeared. Several bishops deemed it to be their duty to step forward to warn their clergy against the views therein advocated. The Bishop of Oxford interposed, and requested that the Tracts should be discontinued; and a feeling of indignation existed from one end of the country to the other. Under these circumstances, it was necessary that the *Quarterly Review* should alter its tone; for that the tone of the two articles is different, must be admitted by candid persons. The tendency of the former article was calculated to promote the circulation of the Tracts; but a second article appeared, in which it was most clearly intimated that the writers had gone too far. Several supporters of the Tracts drew back on the publication of the Ninetieth, though some, and Dr. Hook and Mr. Perceval among the number, were rash enough to cast in their lot with the wri-

ters. Among the dissentients on this occasion was the Quarterly Reviewer. The second article made its appearance, written on the same principles as the former, and evidently proceeding from the same pen. When we speak of the same principles, we mean, that the writer, without any definite statements of his own particular views, adopted, in both articles, the plan of giving numerous quotations from Anglican writers to establish a certain point. But the authorities were quoted for two widely different purposes, and to establish two different views. In the one there was an array of names for the purpose of proving that the views of the Tracts were those of the great writers of the Anglican Church; in the latter, the same process was adopted, but to establish a contrary position, namely, that the Anglican writers did not hold the peculiar views of the Tracts. Whence this inconsistency? It is evident, notwithstanding the publication of Number 90, that the writers of the Tracts had not changed their views. Why, then, should the Quarterly Reviewer bring forward a string of names at one time to show that the views of the Tracts were those of the Church, and then, after a certain space, pursue exactly the same course with a view of showing, that the great writers of the Church of England had always been opposed to the peculiar statements of these publications?

We may observe, that we fully coincide with the latter article in the "Quarterly," as containing an able exposition of the views of the Church of England. Our remarks are intended to show the inconsistency of the writer in the two articles; and we are convinced that such tacking about with the wind will very materially diminish the effects which otherwise would have been produced. We love consistency wherever we meet with it. This praise is certainly due to the writers of the Tracts. They are in error, but they do not contradict themselves. The Quarterly Reviewer is less honest, and utters at one time what is quite opposed to the statements made at another. For the most special pleading would not be able to establish an identity of principle between the two articles.

Some of the daily papers are also in the same predicament with the Quarterly Reviewer. They allow that the writers of the Tracts have proceeded too far. The admission is a reluctant one, but we are thankful that it has been made, even though the consistency of some persons has been sacrificed. A writer in the *Times* of June the 3rd, in a letter dated from Oxford, says that the article of which we have spoken was "supposed to be partly a withdrawal of himself (the writer) from the Tractarians, partly an exposition of the dangerous lengths to which they had advanced. For this, if *fama clamosa*

be true, Mr. Sewell was rewarded by thanks and approbation from more high places than one." We regret that the *Quarterly Review*, which we look upon as a most able defender of the Church of England, should have furnished the medium of Mr. Sewell's retraction. It had been better had that journal all along taken the course adopted in the latter article, which is a just exposition of the views of the Anglican writers. Had that article stood alone, the *Quarterly Review* would have done essential service to the Church; as it is, however, the good will be neutralized by the former article.

It is our earnest hope that the extravagant views of the writers of the Tracts will be relinquished, and that all members of our beloved Church will be united in one band against our common enemies.

DR. HAMPDEN AND THE REGIUS PROFESSORSHIP.

We cannot but regret that this question should have been revived at a period when the Church is exposed to so many divisions among her members, and so many attacks from open enemies. It would have been wiser to have permitted matters to remain as they were, unless, indeed, Dr. Hampden had acknowledged that the views, which led six years ago to his exclusion from certain privileges, were erroneous, in which case his restoration would have been an act of strict justice. Such, however, has not been the case. His views remain the same, according to his own statement. If, then, they were erroneous in 1836, they must be equally so in 1842, for truth is ever the same. In 1836 the University decided that certain statements advanced by the regius professor were erroneous; and a statute, by which he was excluded from the exercise of certain functions usually attached to the office, was the consequence. The heads of houses recently recommended that this excluding statute should be rescinded, and the matter was accordingly submitted to convocation. Before, however, we refer more particularly to the decision of that assembly, we must pause merely to take a common sense view of this recommendation from the hebdomadal board. That Dr. Hampden has done good service to the Church since his appointment to the regius professorship we most readily admit, and especially by his exposure of the errors of the *Tracts for the Times*; but the questions which naturally arise, and which will be asked from one end of the country to the other, are simply these—Has Dr. Hampden *acknowledged* that he was in error, or has the University discovered that it was mistaken on the occasion, and that the regius professor was a deeply injured and a persecuted man? Such a course as that which was recom-

mended by the heads of houses ought not to have been adopted, in the absence of both these alternatives. What, then, is the fact?—Simply that neither the one nor the other has taken place. Dr. Hampden has not said that he was in error; nor has the University alleged that it was mistaken. Yet still the heads of houses proposed that the restrictive statute should be rescinded. This is the point which we do not understand, and which we believe the country will not understand.

We have admitted the value of Dr. Hampden's services since he became professor of divinity, but we cannot forget the dignity of the University. To rescind a statute, while the views against which it was directed are no otherwise renounced by the individual whom it affects, than by the assertion that they were misunderstood in the first instance, appears to us a most extraordinary course. It is true, that we have no right to refuse evidence to Dr. Hampden, when he tells us that his opinions were not what they were assumed to be; but if he writes in a manner which induces the public to believe him a favourer of Neologian views, he is justly answerable for the consequences.

The reasons assigned by those who now support Dr. Hampden are these: *first*, that by his subsequent course he has virtually abandoned his erroneous notions; *secondly*, that he has opposed the *Tracts for the Times*; and, *thirdly*, that he has suffered sufficiently for the errors of which he was alleged to be guilty. To us these reasons appear to be altogether insufficient. If he has not *openly* abandoned his erroneous views (we are taking it for granted that the charge alleged against him by the University, in 1836, was correct) the University cannot consistently rescind the restrictive statute. Dr. Hampden publicly declares that he has abandoned nothing, that he remains just what he was, and that the University, not himself, was in error. We, therefore, take the *second* reason; and we ask, has the University arrived at the conclusion that they did mistake Dr. Hampden? If this be the case, they are bound, not only to restore him, but to acknowledge publicly that they have been guilty of great injustice in excluding the regius professor from the exercise of some of his privileges during a period of six years. This admission has not been made; so that no sufficient reason has been assigned for the course recommended by the heads of houses. The truth is, that we should not have heard of the subject if the *Tracts for the Times* had not existed. It is as a demonstration against them that the recent proceedings were adopted; and, opposed as we are to the Tracts, we cannot but express our conviction that Dr. Hampden's course in this matter furnishes no sufficient ground for rescinding the statute. He may

oppose one erroneous system, while he maintains another ; and to support him on such grounds appears to us to be highly inconsistent and dangerous. If he declares that he was misunderstood, he is bound to express his abhorrence of the opinions attributed to him, and his regret at having so ambiguously written as to favour such attribution, but this he has not done. Moreover, in Oxford, as far as we could collect from parties on the spot, few, if any, persons were inclined to say that the views of Dr. Hampden in 1836 *were* mistaken. Most of his present supporters are, indeed, ready to take it for granted that they are repudiated, and they appeal to his subsequent publications as a proof that their opinion is correct ; but they will not aver that the extracts published in 1836 did not contain dangerous errors. The *Standard*, however, in its zeal against the *Tracts for the Times*, has ventured to assert that the passages were only *equivocal*. “*Equivocal the passages were, and no more*”—such is the language of the *Standard*. We deeply regret that such a course should have been adopted by so influential and consistent a journal. Surely the following passages cannot be regarded as only *equivocal* : “Unitarians, in that they acknowledge the great fundamental facts of the Bible, do not really differ in religion from other Christians.”—“The apostolic epistles contain no doctrinal statements.”—“The idea that the corruption of nature exists in infants is the result of theory.” These and other passages contain highly objectionable statements ; and though Dr. Hampden has promulgated views since the year 1836, which are unobjectionable, yet he has never retracted his former opinions—never acknowledged that he was mistaken—never expressed any sorrow ; but, on the contrary, he has persisted in casting the blame on the University of mistaking him, alleging that he is the same man still, and that his principles are the same. Sincerely do we regret the present state of things in Oxford ; but, at the same time, we feel that the University could not have arrived at any other decision than that of the 7th of June. We cannot say, therefore, that we regret that decision ; but we deeply regret that the matter was agitated, and that the members of convocation were called upon to decide.

We are fully aware of the use which will be made by some persons of this proceeding to induce the belief, that Oxford is become altogether *Tractarian*. The Whig and Dissenting press, for instance, will labour unceasingly to infuse such a notion into the minds of their readers. Unacquainted as the writers are with Oxford matters, and writing as they do for persons as ignorant of such matters as themselves, they will still assume an

air of importance, if they were intimately acquainted with the proceedings of the University, and pronounce their judgment with as much confidence as the Pope himself, with all his alleged infallibility. Popes, indeed, these individuals are; for they speak as if no appeal could be allowed from their oracular decisions. We speak of the managers of the Whig and Dissenting press. Churchmen must, therefore, be prepared to hear that Oxford is fast verging towards Popery—that the whole University has become tainted; and the recent decision will be cited as a proof of their assertions. Nor need we feel surprised at such a course. The parties care not whether Oxford is Popish or Protestant; but they are always ready to take advantage of circumstances, and to distort them to serve their own purposes. Politics are at the bottom of the whole business. Dr. Hampden is a Whig—was appointed to the Professorship by a Whig Administration; and he has spoken favourably of Dissenters. Consequently, the whole tribe of the Whig and Dissenting factions come forward to the support of the regius professor, though they care little for the office or for the University—they would destroy both, were they possessed of the requisite power. That these parties, therefore, should endeavour to create a great hubbub on this occasion can surprise no one who is acquainted with their principles.

Then, again, there are others who will take advantage of the recent decision. We allude now to the more zealous supporters of the *Tracts for the Times*. They may choose to view the decision as a sort of triumph to their party. Their number, however, is small; for the great majority, even of the favourers of the Tracts, know well that the decision had nothing whatever to do with the principles of these publications. In support of this position, we need only allude to the fact, that among the opponents of Dr. Hampden, on this occasion, were such men as Mr. Golightly and Mr. Vaughan Thomas, men who cannot be charged with any leaning towards the Tracts. The truth is, that the majority was composed of men *who favoured* the Tracts, and of men *who opposed* them; and the decision was formed on account of Dr. Hampden's own unretracted statements, *not* on account of the views of other parties. All this is known in Oxford, and by the clergy generally; and though some few of the more indiscreet supporters of the Tracts may choose to call this decision a triumph for their friends, the great majority will view it in no such light.

We repeat, therefore, that a mistake has been committed; not, however, in the decision itself—since, in our opinion, no other could have been consistently arrived at—but in reviving

and agitating the question ; and this mistake must be attributed, not to the University, but to the heads of houses. Why could not Dr. Hampden have exercised the new duties imposed upon him as regius professor without a rescinding of the restrictive statute ? He must do so now ; surely it would have been better to have done so without the agitation of this question.

In one of the papers published in Oxford, and circulated among members of the convocation, the heads of houses, by whom the repeal of the statute of 1836 was recommended, are designated the “*Constituted Guardians in Oxford*” of the Church of England. This is strange language, and it cannot be applied to the parties. The hebdomadal board are the guardians of the University, we admit ; but they are not the constituted guardians of the Church, or of the principles of the Reformation. By whom were they so constituted ? Where is the Bishop of Oxford ? Why is his lordship passed by in the list of guardians ? Such assertions savour not of a love of truth, but rather of party feeling, if indeed they do not originate in a design to impose on the unthinking.

The *first* error in this matter was committed by the hebdomadal board, in recommending the repeal of the statute of 1836 ; and they were guilty of a *second* in persisting in their determination to submit the question to convocation, in the face of a remonstrance signed by men of various shades of opinion on certain religious topics. As it is, they have lost much of that dignity which was supposed to belong to their body. It has now gone forth to the world, that the heads of houses have no real power in the University. Surely it was not desirable that such an impression should have been produced : yet it has been brought about by their own act and deed, in agitating a question on which the minds of the majority of the University have undergone no change.

In another point of view we regret the agitation, because it has put the *convocation*, as well as the heads of houses, in a false position : the convocation made Dr. Hampden, a few weeks ago, *chairman* of the committee for carrying out the theological provisions of the late statute, and have since that decided that he was *not* fit to appoint the University preachers. This is absurd : and we fear that the agitation will not end here.

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

It is not our intention to enter into the questions by which the Church of Scotland is now so torn and distracted. To English readers Scotch affairs are comparatively uninteresting, while there are but few persons by whom they are fully under-

stood. One fact, however, is comprehended in England, namely, that the majority of the clergy of the Scottish Church have come to a decision which is at variance with the laws of the land: and the question now is, whether the law or the views of the dominant faction are to be maintained. In our opinion, this agitation will prove fatal to the best interests of the Scottish Establishment. We have conversed with individuals from Scotland—men who, though they conform to the Anglican Church when in England, take a most dispassionate view of this subject, and are anxious for the preservation of the Scottish Church, and they deprecate the course which is now pursued by the majority in that country, believing that the most disastrous consequences will ensue. Beset as the Church of Scotland is by bodies of Dissenters, we cannot but feel surprised that the clergy should agitate questions which can lead to no practical good. We would also remind them, should any of their body read this journal, that there is another Church in Scotland—a Church not called so merely by courtesy—one which is daily increasing in numbers and influence—we mean the Episcopal Church. It is certain that if the members of the Establishment persist in their present course of agitation, the Scottish nobility and gentry, who visit this country during the session of Parliament, and who in many cases attend the services of the Anglican Church during their sojourn amongst us, will assuredly quit the national communion for that of the Episcopal Church, in which they can worship in peace, without being exposed to those contentions about things after all not essential, by which Scotland has now for some years been distracted.

THE IRISH COLLEGE FOR THE STUDY OF THE NATIVE LANGUAGE.

Our readers are probably aware of the existence of this institution. Its designation explains its objects, which are very simple, though very important, namely, the promotion of the study of the native language. Many thousands of the Irish speak no other. Is it not important, therefore, that persons should be instructed, in order that they may carry the Gospel to the poor in the only language in which it can be understood? Such is the simple object of this institution. It has been formed under the patronage of the Primate of Ireland, so that its character cannot be considered as questionable. Still objections have been raised against this infant institution; and it is chiefly on this account that we wish to direct the attention of our readers to the subject. We have heard it stated, that the managers are tainted with the principles of the *Tracts for the Times*. We deny the fact: but even were it true, would such a circumstance

afford any reason for refusing to support the institution? Some persons see the Tracts in every thing, and use them as a bug-bear on all occasions. They imagine it quite a sufficient reason for refusing to support an institution to allege that some of its managers are Tractarians. In short, nothing will suit the notions of such persons which is not strictly in accordance with their own fancies. Our hope is, that the English public will be actuated by a better spirit—that they will not be swayed by such unworthy motives; but that they will support an institution so calculated to benefit the poor Irish. If the Gospel is to be carried to the Irish poor, clergymen must be trained to speak the native language; and this great object can only be attained by the establishment of such an institution as that which has recently been founded. Its claims for support, therefore, notwithstanding the cavillings and quibblings of some persons, are of the most powerful kind; and our hope is that they will not be disregarded.

THE QUEEN'S LETTER.

Alive to the wants of her poor subjects, her Majesty was graciously pleased to command that a collection, in aid of the working classes in England and Scotland, should be made in all the parishes of the kingdom, during the months of May and June. Statements, containing particulars of the distress in many parts of the country, were widely distributed. A large sum has been collected, from which substantial relief will be afforded to numbers of the suffering poor. This measure, however, like all others of a benevolent and religious character, was cavilled at by the Whig and Dissenting press. Still the people of this country are not to be deceived by such misrepresentations. They are fully aware of the character of the parties by whom they are made; and they are not disposed to place confidence in persons, who, when the poor ask bread, may give them a stone. It affords us the liveliest gratification, that her most gracious Majesty was influenced to adopt such a measure. The Whigs and Dissenters may cavil and talk of their plans for cheap bread; but the poor will not fail to see who are their real friends.

THE NATIONAL SOCIETY.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of the various societies connected with Dissent in this country, the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Anglican Church continues to flourish. The children of the poor flock to its schools, wherever they are established; so that a National school-room without scholars is unknown. Were more schools erected,

more scholars would be found to occupy them. This circumstance, therefore, may be used as an argument for increased exertions on the part of the more wealthy members of the Anglican Church. If Dissent flourishes among adults, it is only in overgrown populations, where a lack of church accommodation is experienced; so, if Dissenting schools flourish, the same reason may be assigned, namely, that the provision made by the Church is inadequate to the wants of the people. These facts are calculated to awaken still more the energies of Churchmen. The Church of England is the Church of the nation; and if some of her sons are driven into Dissent, the cause is to be sought in the want of churches and school-rooms. Let churches be erected—let school-rooms be built—and many Dissenting chapels and Dissenting school-rooms will be exposed to sale or handed over to the clergy. The last report of the National Society contains a most cheering account of the progress of education throughout the country, though, at the same time, the want of schools is quite distressing. It is clear from this report, to which we beg to direct the most serious attention, that schools *must* be erected. We trust, therefore, that the Government will speedily interpose, and that their exertions will not be relaxed, till all the children of the poor have the means of education placed within their reach.

THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

The monthly papers of this society furnish a cheering prospect of its labours. They must be read by Churchmen with the liveliest emotions of gratitude to Almighty God, for those signal marks of his favour with which this ancient society has been blessed. It is pleasing to find, that, notwithstanding the claims of the numerous societies which have originated long since the establishment of this society, it continues to flourish with unabated vigour. We refer the reader to the monthly papers during the last quarter for particulars; for, in consequence of the proceedings in Oxford, and some other matters, on which it was necessary to dwell at considerable length, our limits will not permit us to enter on certain points connected with this society, to which it had been our intention to refer.

THE SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL.

We are happy to state that this society also is progressing in its labours, and that great things are accomplished by its instrumentality. For the same reason, however, as that assigned in the previous paragraph, we cannot, in the present number, dwell upon its proceedings. We commend it to our readers in the

hope that it will not be superseded in their affections by any of the numerous societies, whose claims are constantly presented to their notice. We had noted other subjects for consideration; but, from the want of space, they must stand over until the next number. There are, for instance, the questions of Church Extension, the Braintree Church-rate case, the Bishopric at Jerusalem, the Parker Society, and several others of considerable importance, together with some Parliamentary proceedings. The last, however, will be better discussed in our next number, after the termination of the session.

We cannot, however, leave unnoticed the recent changes in the system of education at Cambridge—changes which have placed the course of studies pursued there on a right foundation, and which we pray may be accompanied by the divine blessing. We have only space left us to say, that the course we recommended, is that which has received the approbation of the senate.

General Literature.

The Churchman's Year ; or, Liturgical Remarks on the Sundays and Saints' days, and the Lives of the Apostles ; with an Explanation of every Epistle, Gospel, and First Lesson. By G. Fyler Townsend, M.A., of Trinity-college, Cambridge. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Rivington. 1842.

It is one of the good signs of modern times, that young men devote their minds to very serious and very useful studies; and this observation particularly applies to our younger clergy. They aim at being useful, are more than ever impressed with a solemn sense of their responsibility, and look at all Church questions with discerning and spiritual eyes. “The Churchman's Year” is one of these efforts to do good—to cause both clergy and laity to examine with increased attention that Prayer-book which they should take as a rule of their life—and to induce in them a feeling of devotedness and love to that Church of which they are members. Mr. Townsend professes that the Church is “very dear to him.” We believe it. The volumes before us give abundant proof that such is the case. The remarks are true Church orthodox, evangelical in the best sense of that phrase, free from both cant and Calvinism, but full of that unction, that true spirit of faith and devotion which we delight to know and feel is taking a fast hold of our younger brethren. Such a work, then, as

“The Churchman’s Year,” we must recommend, for it deserves our praise. But that our readers may decide for themselves, we subjoin the following specimen of Mr. Townsend’s Liturgical remarks. We have taken at random the specimen we give. It is on St. Stephen’s day. After giving the Collect, and a list of the Epistle, Gospel, and first and second morning and evening lessons for the day, Mr. Townsend remarks :—

“The great festival of Christmas-day is attended by three lesser ceremonies, in commemoration of St. Stephen, St. John, and the Holy Innocents. These feasts respectively record the steadfast courage of the first martyr—the earnest affection of the beloved disciple—and the innocence of the first victims of the world’s hatred of Christ. They are properly adjoined to the great festival of the Nativity, as by each of these Christ was first magnified and honoured. Of St. Stephen very little is recorded in Holy Scripture. He is supposed by some to have been enrolled among the seventy disciples, and to have been an attendant of our Lord during the days of his public ministry. St. Stephen was ordained by the apostles to be one of the seven deacons appointed to superintend the distribution of the alms of the faithful in the first beginning of the Christian Church, as well as to assist the apostles in instructing and teaching the new converts, and admitting them into the Church by baptism. Well versed in the Jewish Scriptures—remarkable for his zeal, eloquence, and courage—of unblemished integrity and reputation, he was, by these qualities, the most fitted instrument for introducing the new dispensation to the notice of his countrymen. He preaches in the synagogues at Jerusalem—boldly enters into controversy with his opponents—openly professes his faith in Jesus—and mightily convinces the assembled people, that He, whom their rulers had crucified, was the Messiah expected by their fathers, and promised to their nation. The priests and people, who had obtained the death of his divine Master, could not endure the preaching and exhortation of the disciple. The same rulers and populace, who had furiously clamoured for the crucifixion of Jesus, gather themselves together against St. Stephen. Dragging him with tumultuous violence to the judgment seat, they condemn the zealous preacher to die the death of the blasphemer. Full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, the dying martyr is favoured with a manifestation of the presence of his divine Lord. Undaunted by the clamour, and heedless of the rage of his oppressors, he is enabled, by the comfort of this sight, to resign his spirit with serenity and joy into the hands of his faithful Creator and most merciful Saviour. Thus lived and died the proto-martyr St. Stephen—the leader of that glorious army of martyrs, which, from age to age, have witnessed to the world the truth of the religion of Jesus. He sealed with his life’s blood, in the capital of the country, the certainty of that truth, which his fellow labourers, at a later period, testified, both in their lives and martyrdom, before the Gentile nations of the earth. Every age of the Church has had its martyrs and confessors. This very century has seen recorded the actual martyrdom of a Christian bishop, in the discharge of his sacred duty.*

* The martyrdom of Gregory, patriarch of Constantinople, put to death by the Turks on Easter Sunday, 1821.

The spirit of a martyr is ever required to appease the schemes of the infidel, the purposes of the worldly, the rage of the ungodly. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." The more violent is the opposition of Satan, the more abundant will be the outpouring of the spirit of God upon the Church."

We cannot conclude this notice of Mr. Townsend's admirable book without expressing a hope that we may soon see a cheap edition for general use.

The Education of Mothers of Families : or, the Civilization of the Human Race by Women. By M. Aimé Martin; translated from the original, by Edwin Lee, Esq. London: Whittaker. 1842.

FEW subjects are more important than that which is approached in the above-mentioned volume; and with much that M. Martin puts forward, we cordially agree. At the same time the education proposed is not, properly speaking, a religious education; and, therefore, the great requisite in our view is wanting. This is a defect in M. Aimé Martin. But we should have been much better pleased, had the translator kept close to his author. As it is, Mr. Lee has added to the defects of the original still greater defects of his own, and leaving out what he conceives peculiar to French women, and to make amends for this liberty, he has taught "Liberalism" to English women. We do not think that the work will have a large circulation, and we, therefore, hope, that the mischief will not be very extensive.

Hints for the Revival of Scriptural Principles in the Anglican Church. By the Rev. George Bird, Rector of Cumberworth. London: Whittaker. 1842.

OF the vast majority of those publications with which the press teems at present about the Church and her offices, it is not too much to say, that they are written by persons ill qualified to judge. Some, by partizans, whose minds are warped by prejudice; some, by youthful theologians, who should be studying rather than dogmatizing; and not a few by Charlotte Elizabeth, and other old and young ladies. Hence we look on every new volume bearing such a title as that which Mr. Bird has chosen with some degree of distrust, and we are not anxious to read them. The Rector of Cumberworth has, however, written a book more than usually ridiculous. It is intemperate and injudicious; and, did our space permit, we could easily justify our censure by extracts which would give evidence of the want of skill with which Mr. Bird has addressed himself to his task. . .

The Works of the Most Rev. William Magee, D.D., Lord Archbishop of Dublin; now first collected and printed from the Author's corrected copies: comprising Discourses and Dissertations on the Scriptural Doctrines of Atonement and Sacrifice; his published Sermons and Visitation Charges. With a Memoir of his Life, by the Rev. A. H. KENNEY, D.D. London: Cadell. 1842. 2 vols., 8vo.

UPWARDS of forty years have elapsed since Dr. Magee first published his masterly "Discourses and Dissertations on the Atonement," which are as necessary to the Christian student and divine as ever they were; for the same unscriptural and anti-scriptural assertions (we cannot term them criticisms), which were formerly made by Mr. Belsham and other Humanitarian writers, being repeated by the modern Socinians of our day, as though they had never been refuted. The multiplied editions of the archbishop's great work are its best recommendation; and we have much pleasure in announcing this cheap and beautifully-printed complete edition of all his writings. The Rev. Dr. Kenney's memoir contains numerous interesting particulars respecting his much-valued friend, whose character as a son, a scholar, a devout Christian, and prelate, is delineated in a manner which reflects equal honour on the head and heart of the biographer. When we add, that the *entire* works of Archbishop Magee are now published at the same price as the "Discourses and Dissertations on the Atonement" originally were published in three octavo volumes, we are sure that we have said enough to recommend this edition to all our clerical readers. No theological library can dispense with it.

Meditations and Reflections for a Month. Durham: Andrews. THIS is a second edition of a useful and practical work, and we are glad to see, by the very fact of its having reached a second edition, that such reading is general.

The Exclusive Claims of the Puseyite Episcopalians to the Christian Ministry indefensible, with an Enquiry into the Divine Right of Episcopacy and the Apostolical Succession, in a Series of Letters to the Rev. Dr. Pusey. By John Brown, D.D., Minister of Langton, Berwickshire. Edinburgh: Bell and Bradfute. 1842.

THERE will be no need for us to offer any other criticism on this volume, than that it contains all the usual arguments in favour of Presbyterianism, and not always put in a very kind and Christian spirit.

The Life and Defence of the Conduct and Principles of the Venerable and calumniated Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth, in which is considered the best mode of again changing the Religion of this Country. By a Tractarian British Critic. London: Seeleys. 1842.

WE have seen this work attributed to the Rev. Prebendary Townsend, and though by no means a favourable specimen of his style, we think that there is internal evidence that such attribution is not incorrect. We cannot give the book our approbation; considered as a satire, it is too bulky by far; and what is of more consequence, the author has made out, most unintentionally, that bad as Bonner was, he has really been grossly calumniated. No one can soberly read the volume before us, and fail to rise from its perusal with a more favourable idea of Edmund Bonner. We are not prepared to say whether this result be desirable, or not; it is certainly not the result contemplated by the author of the "Defence."

The Bride of Messina: a Tragedy, with Choruses. Translated from the German of Schiller. By A. Lodge, Esq., M.A. London: Bohn. 1842.

IF the works of Schiller were well translated they would, without doubt, be very popular in this country, on account of their great similarity to those of the same description in English. "The Bride of Messina" is an attempt, not to restore exactly the old Greek drama, but something as much like it as modern peculiarities will admit. It is not altogether unsuccessful; and Mr. Lodge has executed well the duty of a translator. The blank verse we prefer to the choruses; but the latter are by no means indifferent, and it must be remembered that they are very difficult.

A Journal of a Residence in the Esmaila of Abd-el-Kader, and of Travels in Morocco and Algiers. By Col. Scott, K.S.F., K.C. London: Whittaker. 1842.

COL. SCOTT was, it appears, a member of the British Legion in Spain, and has, since that period, entered into the service of an African chief, whom he dignifies with the title of *royal highness*, and wishes to describe as a kind of tawny Alexander. We are not inclined to rate very highly the opinions of Colonel Scott, K.S.F., K.C., but willingly allow him the merit of amusing detail; and thus a book to which we cannot attach any high value, will be read with more interest than many far more important volumes.

An Address to Young Persons, who are candidates for Confirmation ; pointing out the Nature and Design of that Ordinance, the Preparation to be made for it, the benefits to be derived from it, and the Duties of those who have been partakers of it. By Christopher STANNARD, B.D., Rector of Great Snoring, Norfolk. Second edition, corrected and enlarged. London: Longman and Co. 1842. 12mo.

2. *Questions on an Address to Young Persons who are candidates for Confirmation.* By Christopher STANNARD, B.D. London: Longman and Co. 1842. 12mo.

IF any evidence were wanting to prove how highly our Church stands in the estimation of her members, it would be abundantly supplied by the fact, that the number of candidates for confirmation is increasing every year throughout the country. Mr. Stannard's first tract contains a concise account of the apostolical origin of that ordinance, and the requisite preparation for it, written in an affectionate and perspicuous style, well adapted to fix the attention of ingenuous truth. The second tract comprises a series of examination questions, which are also well adapted to test how far they enter into the catechetical instructions contained in the "Address to Young Persons." These two tracts have had an extensive circulation in the diocese in which the author resides, and we shall rejoice if we can make them more widely known among the clergy, who will find them a valuable auxiliary to their pastoral labours.

Waltham on Sea ; or Conversations in our Parish. London: Burns. 1842.

WHEN Mr. Paget's "Tales of the Village" made their appearance, we have reason to believe that many persons were won over by their influence to sound Church principles who would never have read disquisitions of a less amusing kind. "Waltham on Sea" is a work of the same kind, and of equal merit; we have read it, and can recommend it with great pleasure.

Lives of Eminent Laymen—Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland, Isaak Walton, Robert Nelson. By the Rev. W. Henry Teale, M.A. Leeds. (Englishman's Library, Vol. XXII.) London: Burns. 1842.

THIS volume forms the twenty-second of the Englishman's Library, and it is giving it no small praise to say, that it is well worthy of the series. The lives of such men as Walton, and Nelson, and Falkland, cannot but be useful, and they are here presented in a very attractive form.

The National Psalmist: consisting of Original Psalm and Hymn Tunes, &c. &c. By Charles Danvers Hackett. Parts I., II., III., IV., V. London: Simpkin and Marshall.

THERE is certainly no want of musical publications in the present day, and, so far as quantity is concerned, we are, perhaps, the greatest musical nation under the sun. But quality is a somewhat different thing; and we must admit, that we are deluged with that which is only by courtesy called music. Selections, too, crowd thick upon us, and every church, nay, every meeting-house, is aspiring to have, not merely a hymn-book, but also a tune-book, of its own.

The magnificent work before us is of a far higher order; for it is not only in great part original, but that original portion is by the best "*maestri*" of our day. When we see such names as those of Crotch, Walmisley, Wesley, Sale, Mendelssohn, Novello, and Camidge, as contributors to the "*National Psalmist*," and when we find so scientific a composer as Mr. Hackett acting as editor, we are not surprised at the results, viz., that upwards of three thousand of the nobility, clergy, and gentry have enrolled themselves among the subscribers. The Archbishop of Canterbury and Prince Albert patronize it; and we *can* give it no higher praise than that it deserves their support.

Antiphonal Chants for the Psalter, &c. &c. By Frederic Lingard, of the Durham Cathedral Quire. London: Novello.

HERE we have another kind of music, but excellent of its kind. These are antiphonal chants for the psalter as ordered at morning and evening prayer, and for the proper psalms, hymns, and anthems, appointed to be used in the daily and occasional offices of the Liturgy. We are not versed in musical lore, but it strikes us that this is a new idea, or if not a new idea, that such a series is not easily attainable. There is too great a sameness in our chants; a variety is not merely pleasing, but striking; and we think that Mr. Lingard has laid the religious as well as the musical world under an obligation to him for these well composed and well-arranged antiphons.

Grammar Lessons. By a Lady. Designed as a Supplement to "*Mary's Grammar*." London: Rodwell. 1842.

WE have never seen "*Mary's Grammar*;" but these lessons are excellently adapted for their purpose, and likely to be very useful.

1. *The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland.* Parts X., XI., XII., XIII. London: Virtue. 1842.
2. *Foxe's Book of Martyrs.* Parts XII., XIII., XIV. London: Virtue. 1842.
3. *Canadian Scenery.* Parts XXIII., XXIV., XXV. London: Virtue. 1842.
4. *Winkle's Cathedrals.* Vol. III. Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8. London: Tilt and Bogue. 1842.

WE have much pleasure in perceiving the progress, and even the improvement of these beautiful works. Some of the late illustrations to the Irish scenery are truly exquisite, particularly the view of the Abbey at Cashel. Alas! that in a Christian country there should be a city with the Abbey Church in ruins and the archbishopric extinct. "Foxe's Book of Martyrs" is making progress; and though we have no very lofty idea of Mr. Cumming's editorial powers, we had still rather see it circulate under his management than not at all. The "Cathedrals" are a much more congenial subject, and we heartily recommend the publication, and sincerely wish it success.

The Clergyman's Manual, &c. By the Rev. R. Simpson, M.A. London: Groombridge. 1842.

WE have long been desirous of having condensed into one volume the very useful kind of information which Mr. Simpson here offers us. Societies of all descriptions—Church, benefit, literary—are made familiar; charities are described; ecclesiastical law unfolded; the experience of a practical man given in matters of practical detail; and the machinery of parishes, both large and small, comprehensively exhibited. Does a clergyman wish to make a provision for his children, or for his own declining years, the "Clergyman's Manual" offers to his notice the means of so doing. Does he desire to establish some new charity in his parish, here he has the proper mode of setting about it made known to him, and a great deal of good valuable information, and clear sensible advice, on many scores of matters in which all the clergy are more or less interested.

Letters to various Friends. By the late Mrs. Stevens. Edited by her Sister. London: Seeleys. 1842.

WE are always averse to such deplorable specimens of book-making as that which is now before us. Mrs. Stevens was a very voluminous, but not always a very sound writer; and we see no good object to be gained by publishing a huge volume of pious, but common-place, letters.

The Theocratic Philosophy of English History. By the Rev. J. D. Schomberg, B.A., of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. London: Whitaker. 1842. 2 vols.

WHEN, sometime since, we saw a History of England announced "on Christian principles," we saw at once that very much might be made of such a subject, but were, at the same time, greatly disappointed at the manner in which it was treated. In the present instance, the Christianity is presented to us in a distinct shape, separately, and the hand of Providence traced through the various changes and chances of this vast empire. When we began to read it, we were struck by the great ability displayed by the author, and actually read the two volumes through, not at one sitting certainly, but without interposing any other book. This is sufficient to show the interest with which Mr. Schomberg has invested his subject. With regard to the justice of his views, we can, for the most part, speak in terms as high as we have already applied to his capacity. But there are two or three points in which we do not agree with him: one is the very little notice he takes of Ridley, who exercised more influence over the Anglican Reformation than any other man; another is the question of the Revolution of 1688, which Mr. Schomberg, rather too hastily (we think), considers as entirely blameless. We particularly would direct attention to the remarks on Henry VII., Henry VIII., and his children; remarks which occupy the latter half of the first volume, and which are distinguished by candour, sense, and genuine Church spirit. We would earnestly press upon Mr. Schomberg, that in another edition he should himself correct the press; the mistakes in dates and numerals of princes are most extraordinary, quite enough so seriously to damage the book.

1. *P. Virgilii Maronis. Æneis. in usum Studiosæ Juventutis Accurate Recensuit.* J. Edwards, A.M., Coll. S. S. Trin. Cantab. Collegii Regalis Londin. Hypodidasclus. London: Cradock. 1842.

2. *Quæstiones Virgilianæ; or, Notes and Questions on the First Six and the Ninth Books of the Æneid, &c. &c.* By the Same. 1842.

MR. EDWARDS has been more fortunate in his "Quæstiones Virgilianæ" than in some of his other productions, of which we have spoken in our article on School Books. The notes are, for the most part, judicious, and the questions such as should be put by any hypodidasclus.

1. *Wanderings and Excursions in North Wales.* By Thomas Roscoe, Esq. London; Tilt and Bogue. 1842.
2. *Wanderings and Excursions in South Wales.* By Thomas Roscoe, Esq. London: Tilt and Bogue. 1842.

WHO is there who does not, at some time or another, plan an expedition into the principality? Who has not gazed on the delineations of Welch scenery with delight, and listened with interest to the legends of its far descended inhabitants? These "*Wanderings and Excursions*" are the very book for all who wish to be among the visitors of Wales; and the only wonder is, that volumes so splendid in illustration, and so admirable in literary character, can be offered at so low a price as are these. The art of engraving, at all events, is becoming widely appreciated, and we anticipate much benefit to the public from its universal diffusion. The reader who is induced to add to his library Mr. Roscoe's exquisite volumes will never repent the purchase.

Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Henry Vaughan, B.A., late of Worcester College, Oxford, Vicar of Crickhowel, and Minister of Park Chapel, Chelsea. London: Seeleys.

THERE are a large class of men, and women too, who seem to imagine that every gentleman or lady who happens to suit their ideas of preaching, or district visiting, or tract distributing, or religious meeting manufacturing, is, when removed from the scene of his or her labours, to be forthwith embalmed in hot-pressed 8vo. Letters, journals—no matter how confidential—are intruded on the public; and we are instructed how Wilberforce thanked the Lord for his cold mutton, and how poor Mr. Froude hated the Reformers. With similar stuff we are perpetually crammed, *usque ad nauseam*; nor can we altogether exempt the "*Memoir and Remains*" before us from the class. There is, however, another judge besides ourselves; and if what is called the religious public approve—and *buy*—of course we have no more to say.

On the Apostasy Predicted by St. Paul. Part III. By the Rev. Mortimer O'Sullivan, D.D. Dublin: Curry. 1842.

WE have here a further portion of Dr. O'Sullivan's work, but we see no reason to change our before expressed opinion, *viz.*, that it is the work of a partisan. Dr. O'Sullivan almost always proves too much, and thus neutralizes the effect of his *right* statements.

English Surnames; Essays on Family Nomenclature, Historical, Etymological, and Humorous: with Chapters of Rebuses and Canting Arms, the Roll of Battel Abbey, a List of Latinized Surnames, &c., &c. By Mark Antony Lower. London: Smith. 1842.

WE are by no means among the number of those who slight antiquarian lore; every addition made to popular antiquities we consider a boon to the public; and the essay of Mr. Lower, therefore, though very slight, is acceptable to us. Let it be understood, too, that when we pronounce the work very slight, we do not intend to underrate the labour required for its production. The non-antiquarian reader will meet in its pages with much that is new, and will probably rise from its perusal determined to investigate philological questions with more attention than he has hitherto supposed them to merit, while the antiquarian student will unquestionably be disappointed at being told little or nothing that he did not know before.

The Accordance of Religion with Nature. By the Rev. J. H. L. Gabell, M.A., formerly of Christchurch, Oxford. London: Pickering. 1842.

THE object of Mr. Gabell, in the very able work before us, is to expand some ideas, and to fill up some omissions, in the admirable "Analogy" of Bishop Butler. It is with great modesty that the author announces his intention; and if we are not able to place him on a level with his renowned predecessor, he at least deserves the praise of having thoroughly understood his subject, and written clearly and satisfactorily upon it. We would recommend all who have studied Butler to read Mr. Gabell's volume, which they will find a not unworthy sequel to it. We are always glad to see Mr. Pickering's symbol on the title-page of a book; and seldom do we find the dolphin and anchor of the *Aldi discipulus anglus* heralding a volume which is not at once pleasant and profitable to read.

Family Prayers; being a Complete Course for Eight Weeks. By the Rev. E. Bickersteth. First thousand. London: Seeleys. 1842.

IT is really with feelings of considerable embarrassment that we take up such a volume as this. There are probably two or three hundred books of prayers extant, and we do not really see the necessity for more. Here, however, is another—certainly a good one, and the name of its respected author will be sure to recommend it.

Food, and its Influence on Health and Disease. By Matthew TRUMAN, M.D. London: J. Murray, Albemarle-street.

MEDICAL works are hardly within our province to notice, but the above is of too popular a character to render it unsuited for general criticism. Dr. Matthew Truman, who has long been known at several of our scientific institutions as an eloquent lecturer upon physiological subjects, has, in this work, brought to bear an extraordinary fund of information and research, respecting that most important of agents in the preservation or destruction of our health, viz., our daily sustenance. There is no pretence about this book. Clear and unaffected in style, to the simplest mind it is intelligible; whilst the more scientific cannot but admire with what perspicuity one so highly gifted and informed can render himself agreeable and entertaining to his less fortunate brethren, upon matter which is too often enveloped in technical obscurity. It appears, from Dr. Truman's work, that in the "Land of Promise" first appeared the more important articles of food; thus rendering his production corroborative of scriptural authenticity. In fact, every one ought to peruse it; especially those suffering from derangement of the digestive organs. In our next we may perhaps give a more lengthy review of this admirable work, which has at present only reached us in the proof sheets.

Female Writers—Thoughts on their Proper Sphere and on their Powers of Usefulness. By M. A. Stodart. London: Seeleys.

MISS STODART seems to fear that she has rated woman too high; we can assure her that the fault is on the other side, and some of the very qualities she considers faults are the reverse. But while our want of space will prevent our entering at large into the subject, we have not the remotest hesitation in expressing our general pleasure at her useful and elegant publication, to which we shall return. We only wish she would avoid talking about what she calls "Puseyism."

Natural History of Enthusiasm. Eighth edition, revised. London: Bohn. 1842.

THE book which has passed through eight editions may fairly be placed above criticism; yet we do not in all points admire even the "Natural History of Enthusiasm." We look on Isaac Taylor to be one of the most learned and highly gifted men of the day; yet we wish he had written nothing but his "Physical Theory of Another Life." Above all, we wish he had not meddled with ancient Christianity.

General Literature.

- Biblical Cabinet.** Vols. 86, 87, 88, 89. Edinburgh: Clark.
 1. *Gess on the Revelation of God.* By W. Brown, A.M.
 2. *Tholuck on the Hebrews.* 2 vols. By James Hamilton, M.A.
 3. *Theological Tracts.* Vol. III.

THE contributions of distinguished German biblical scholars to religious literature, have been very much overlooked, and that for very evident reasons. The imperfect character of the German Churches has naturally tended to laxity of doctrine; and the consequence has been, that a wide spreading heresy has devoured the truth in a manner most awful for the religious mind to reflect on. Unitarianism, Neology, have become the belief, we fear, of a majority among those who should have been, and had they possessed an apostolically constituted Church, would have been Christians. Under these circumstances, German theology was little known save by those whose object was to spread heterodoxy; and the whole class of German divines was, with more zeal than judgment, pronounced unsound. On the other hand, far too large a portion of those who did maintain the doctrines of vital religion, were decidedly Calvinistic; and thus disgust was excited in the minds of those who would not be called after Calvin, but after Christ. The editors of the "Biblical Cabinet" have done much to rectify this idea, and they have given the English public the best works of the best divines among our German neighbours. The numbers which we have just received are, we think, more valuable than ordinary; and "Commentary on the Hebrews," by Tholuck—a book which ought to be in every clergyman's library. The translation does great credit to Mr. Hamilton, and is evidence of his fitness for the honourable post he holds, of Professor of Modern Language in Durham University. The *Theological Tracts*, too, are well selected; and the work of Gess, to which we have often had recourse in the original, is now for the first time presented to the public in an English dress.

The Life and Labours of Adam Clarke, LL.D. 8s
 Edition. London: Longmans. 1842.

THIS sketch of the life and labours of a distinguished very fair one, and contains just as much as is really interesting without raking up and publishing unimportant letters and entries in journals and diaries. Dr. Clarke was a man devoted to the cause of religion are not even yet dulciated, and every year will probably give him a higher place among scholars and divines.

First Doctrines and Early Practice, or Sermons for Young Children. By the Rev. Alexander Watson, M.A., C.C.C. Cambridge. London: Burns. 1842.

Lucy and Arthur. A Book for Children. London: Burns.

Holiday Tales. By the Rev. W. Gresley, M.A. London: Burns. 1842.

Springtide. London: Burns. 1842.

THERE are improvements in all things: so say the march-of-intellect people. But there really *has* been an improvement in children's books of late. The age of "improving books" for young children has passed, and the best of our modern writers do not disdain to cultivate the affections, as well as the minds of infants. We have now before us three good books (we shall soon enlarge on children's books in an article devoted to the purpose), and shall therefore only say now, that the "Sermons" are as fit for children as sermons can be made; that "Lucy and Arthur" is both childlike and wise; and that the "Holiday Tales" of Mr. Gresley are, we verily believe, the best that were ever printed.

The Works of William Jay, collected and revised by himself. Vol. III. Morning and Evening Exercises, July to September. London: Bartlett. 1842.

WHAT we have said of the two former volumes of Mr. Jay's works, we repeat with great pleasure concerning the present. They are far better adapted for family devotion than the commentary of Mr. Girdlestone, and they have the advantage of being much more manageable.

Model Lessons for Infant Schools. Part II. London: Seeleys.

WE are friends to education; but not to that species of education which would introduce mathematics into infant schools. The writer of these "Model Lessons" seems not to be aware how ridiculous an infant seems when lisping about the properties of rhomboidal dodecahedrons.

Sermons on 'Sacramental Occasions. By the Rev. Charles Bradley, M.A. London: Seeleys. 1842.

MR. BRADLEY is one of the most popular sermon writers of our day; and these sermons are very good, but we must say that the style is so remarkably different from his former ones, that did they not bear his name we should never have suspected that they were *his* work.

Ancient History : containing the History of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Chaldæans, Medes, Lydians, Persians, Macedonians, the Selucidæ in Syria, Parthians, and Carthaginians. From Rollin and other authentic sources. London : Religious Tract Society. 1842.

WE are no admirers of the Religious Tract Society ; but it is but fair to observe, that not only the tone of their publications, but also their quality, is considerably changed. The large and handsome volume before us, is a credit to the society ; nor is it less creditable to the patient industry and sound judgment of Mr. Farr, the compiler. He, while he has made Rollin the basis of his history, has had recourse largely to sources which, to Rollin, were sealed fountains ; and we are particularly pleased with the use he has made of modern Egyptian discovery in elucidating the history of that extraordinary people.

What to Teach and How to Teach it. Part I. London : Smith.

WE should have passed over without notice this pamphlet, though not without merit, had it not been that its price may probably cause it to have a large circulation. The theory which the author adopts is a very unsound one, viz., that natural philosophy tends to sensual delight, and mental philosophy to intellectual delight.

Thoughts on Salvation. By Thomas Ragg. London : Longmans.

MR. RAGG, as a poet, deserves all praise ; and it is probable that were he to turn his attention to prose, he would (probably does) excel ; but we would recommend him to abstain from Harvey, except the sauce so called.

Collects of the Liturgy of the Church of England catechetically Explained. By the Rev. Charles Miller, A.B. London : Seeleys. 1842.

FOR Sunday-schools this is an excellent manual, and as it is perfectly sound and scriptural, we recommend it to clergymen and Sunday-school teachers.

A Catechism, &c. By the Rev. Edward B. Ramsey, M.A. London : Burns. 1842.

THIS catechism was intended for the especial use of the congregation of St. John's Church, at Edinburgh, of which Mr. Ramsey is the minister ; but it is well worthy of a wider circulation.

The Hungarian Castle. By Miss Pardoe, Author of "*The City of the Magyar*," &c. 3 vols. London: Boone. 1842.

WE had prepared an elaborate review of this very interesting work; but as the pressure of political and ecclesiastical matter compels us to postpone its appearance till our October number, we shall just in the present case direct briefly the notice of our readers to the publication, promising them in three months' time a more extended notice of its contents. It would be communicating to the world no new fact, were we to say that any book by Miss Pardoe must be well worth reading; for there are few writers, and more especially writers of travels, who have a more rapid and just perception of what is necessary to be said, or a more clear and agreeable way of saying it. Of these advantages Miss Pardoe has availed herself in the volumes before us. The plan of the work is as follows: a party of Hungarian Magnates, "snowed in" in *the* Hungarian castle, wile away the time by relating legends of their ancestry. There is therefore nothing new in the plan; but in all other "strings of such pearls," we have noticed that the legends are by the same author as the connecting tale—that, in fact, the bricks and the mortar are from the same manufactory, and invention is called upon to supply both. This is not the case with Miss Pardoe's work. She has acquired a more extensive knowledge of Magyar literature than perhaps any other person in England, and from the stories of Hungarian legend, she has selected with remarkable taste and judgment such portions of it as are most likely to be acceptable to the English reader.

We should have been pleased to have had somewhat more of the supernatural, such as the exquisite tale of the "*Wetterling*;" because this description of legend throws as much light on the *origin* of a nation, as the chivalric stories in which Miss Pardoe delights, do upon its history. The first tale, "*The Miner's Daughter*," is beautiful; but the "*Devilrie*," is rather too misty. The hoofs and horns do not "loom out;" the tail is curled up rather too tight; we should like to have it gracefully unfolded.

The history of the Rakotzky family supplies some narrations of the most stirring interest, and we have one glorious tale of the clan Ederffky.

And now a few words as to the execution of this design. We have every reason to be satisfied with it; not only are the legends selected with skill—skill such as no one not thoroughly versed in Hungarian history, literature, and romance, could command—but they are admirably told. They are, of course, not translations; and Miss Pardoe has, therefore, found herself at liberty to write according to the promptings of her own genius. And

this leads us to observe, that her style is undergoing a gradual but advantageous change. Her first productions were occasionally somewhat verbose and inflated. No wonderful characteristics, when we recollect that she had written more than one book of considerable merit before she was out of her childhood. She began, we should have said, too early, had not her later productions so amply fulfilled the promise of their predecessors. As she advanced, she lowered her stilts. In "The City of the Magyar" she only put them on now and then, to step over a puddle; and now she has broken them up, and put them in the fire, and taken to walk on her own feet. To drop the metaphor, the style of the present volumes is graceful and captivating—sometimes very gorgeous, but never pompous. It is a book of great research and great historical value, and it will, we think, do much to create in this country a spirit of enquiry after Hungarian literature. It is elegantly dedicated, we perceive, to Mrs. Edwin Leaf, of Acton Priory. One word at parting. We exhort Miss Pardoe in her next work to correct the proofs *herself*. Had she been a boarding-school miss, writing a novel about Alphonso and Gloriana Celestiella, and had left such an expression as "Cyclopædean Architecture," no one would have blamed the printer, but thought the young lady had meant a *voluminous house*. Thus we remember seeing a book of Southey's, in which mention is made of a "family of Danish extinction."

Narrative of the Persecutions and Sufferings of the two Martyrs, Robert Glover and Mrs. Lewis, of Mancetter, Warwickshire. By the Rev. B. Richings, M.A., Vicar of Mancetter. Third edition. London: Seeleys. 1842.

WE are very much pleased with this little volume, and cordially rejoice that it has attained a third edition; the most valuable part of the book relates, however, to a person of more consequence than either Glover or Mrs. Lewis, viz., Augustine Bernher, the servant of Ridley, who afterwards became a benefited clergyman of the Anglican Church. There is a very interesting sketch of his life.

Elements of Astronomy; adapted for Private Instruction and Use in Schools. By Hugo Reid. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.

THIS is by far the best manual of astronomy with which we are acquainted. Mr. Reid is evidently a man of real science, and has done what no other compiler of similar books has done—he has begun at the beginning. The mathematical part of the book is clear and comprehensive, and the "results" are detailed in an able and lucid manner.

Biographia Britannica Literaria ; or Biography of Literary Characters of Great Britain and Ireland, arranged in Chronological Order. Anglo-Saxon Period. By Thomas Wright, M.A. London : Parker. 1842.

THE name of Mr. Wright is a guarantee that any information on Anglo-Saxon matters here offered, will be both accurate and extensive, and the expectation will not be disappointed. The first volume of the “*Biographia*”—a work which we have long wanted—is admirably done. It forms a literary history of the Anglo-Saxon period : and if the design meets, as we have no doubt it will, with sufficient encouragement, the merits of Mr. Wright’s volume will secure attention on the part of other writers, and the continuance of the requisite care and diligence. We shall thus have a desideratum filled up, which has been looked for with hopes for a long period, and which, as it is *not* in alphabetical order, will be complete in itself, and complete in each volume.

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1. *Romanism and Dissent : a Treatise on the words of our Saviour to the Apostle Peter.* By the Rev. James Tidemore, LL.B., Trinity Hall, Cambridge. London : Parker. 1842.
 2. *Five Sermons for the Times, against Puseyism on the one hand, and Dissent on the other.* London : Baisler. 1842.

ROMANISM and Dissent—Puseyism ! and Ultra-Protestantism ! Are we to hear of nothing else ? The tocsin is still being sounded in our ears. “*Tendimus in Latium !*” cries the Canon of Durham. “We are going to Geneva !” exclaims the Canon of Christchurch. While not a few caution us against both. Mr. Tidemore’s volume contains nothing new, and, indeed, nothing that has not been better expressed before. The “*Sermons for the Times*” are of a very superior description ; and were it not for the offensive word Puseyism, and now and then a little heat of statement more than is absolutely requisite, we should agree with every syllable of them.

The History and Antiquities of Foulsham in Norfolk. By the Rev. Thos. Quarles, M.A., R.N. London : Cundall. 1842.

THE sources from which such writers as Ormerod, Manning, Bray, Surtees, Durant, and other county historians, are, in no small degree, the less ostentatious productions of such authors as Mr. Quarles. In a modest little volume, he has given us all the information which we could require about the town of his nativity, and we can safely recommend it as a model for any chroniclers of small towns. The inhabitants of Foulsham owe Mr. Quarles a debt of gratitude. He has very advantageously introduced them to the world.

History of Christian Missions, from the Reformation to the Present Time. By James A. Huie, Esq. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1842.

MR. HUIE is favourably known to the public by his "History of the Jews," and were he a Churchman we should have no fault to find with him. With regard to Christian missions, we may safely depend upon his integrity, and, for the most part, on his facts; but, with great "liberality," he puts all missionaries—Church, Baptist, Independent, Presbyterian, all save Romanist—on the same level.

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1. *Village Pencillings, in Prose and Verse.* By Elizabeth Pierce. London: Pickering. 1842.
 2. *A Defence of Poesy, and other Poems.* By the Rev. James Lawson, M.A. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1842.
 3. *The Progress of Religion: a Poem.* By Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Bart. London: Burns. 1842.

POETRY, it appears, requires a defence, and Mr. Lawson, who is doubtless a highly respectable man, has donned his armour, and laid lance in rest, for the purpose; but, alas! vain would be the cry, "Lawson, to the rescue!" Our reverend friend is far too distant from the Piërean sisters to make his voice heard among them. Sir Archibald Edmonstone's poem is pleasing, but deficient in vigour. And we cannot award higher praise to the verses of Mrs. Pierce; her prose we much prefer, and there is a tale called the "Light of the Parsonage," which is very elegantly written, and conveys a lesson not to be forgotten.

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1. *Sermons.* By Henry Edward Manning, M.A., Archdeacon of Chichester. London: Burns. 1842.
 2. *Four Sermons.* Preached before her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, in 1841 and 1842. By the Ven. Samuel Wilberforce, M.A., Archdeacon of Surrey. Burns. 1842.

It is impossible to read these Sermons without being struck with the quiet tone of solemn devotion which pervades them; there is no false glaze—no exaggerated imagery—but all is calm, majestic, and *religious*. But while we thus speak with approbation of the style, we must admit, and we do so with regret, that we perceive here and there very unequivocal tokens of Tractarianism; these are not outrageous in character—nay, in the Sermons of Archdeacon Wilberforce they are almost *latent*—still they exist, and they indicate, without exactly declaring, principles contrary to those on which the Reformation was founded.

THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND
Quarterly Review.

OCTOBER, MDCCCXLII.

ART. I.—*Provincial Letters from the County Palatine of Durham; exhibiting the Nature and Tendencies of the Principles put forth by the Writers of the Tracts for the Times, and their various allies and associates.* By GEORGE STANLEY FABER, B.D., Master of Sherburn Hospital and Prebendary of Salisbury. 2 vols. London: Painter. 1842.

THERE has been so much written and so much said about the *Tracts for the Times*, that we feel naturally somewhat averse to renew the discussion of the topic. They have been lauded and vituperated, and that in the most unmeasured terms, by persons who have never read them—they have been made the ecclesiastical Shibboleth of our day, and their writers have been alternately ranked with the Pope, the Devil, and the Pretender, and exalted to something like an equality with the Apostles. Meantime, they have had one great and solid advantage. For six years, and more, they went on gathering strength and making new converts, and met with no scholarlike, no gentlemanlike, no Christian opposition—they were, indeed, reviled, and that abundantly; hard names were bestowed upon them with a liberality which proved how vast must be the stock of abuse which could supply so lavish an expenditure, and yet remain inexhausted.

Exeter Hall re-echoed with Protestant thunder, and young ladies left off making pincushions for bazaars in order to write books against the terrible Oxford Tracts. But except a few sermons, now and then published, there was no opposition to those remarkable publications worth notice till the volume of

Bishop McIlvaine made its appearance. This was followed, after a long interval, by the very able work of Mr. Goode; and this by the "Provincial Letters" of Mr. Faber. These three efforts have undoubtedly had a strong effect; not merely in repressing the erroneous tendencies of the Tracts themselves, but in greatly modifying the opinions held by the followers of the Oxford School.

It is probably generally known that the sentiments held by the chiefs of the party have by no means remained stationary during the publication of the series called *Tracts for the Times*, nor have they been uniform—some have gone onward, others have retracted. Mr. Froude, had his life been prolonged, would, we doubt not, have passed into Popery. Mr. Sewell has contrived to back out, not however without compromising his own character for straightforwardness and manly sincerity. Mr. Gresley, who was never mixed up with the Tractarians as a party, has gone with the writers further than Mr. Sewell, in the present phase of his opinions, seems inclined to do; and Dr. Hook advances further than Mr. Gresley.

These are not singular cases. Were we inclined to multiply terms and divisions, we might have *Hookites* and *Gresleyites*, as well as *Puseyites*; and might further subdivide these latter into *Newmanites* and *Puseyites proper*. In confining ourselves, therefore, to the inoffensive "*denomination*"—TRACTARIANS—we beg that it may distinctly be understood that we mean such as agree with *all* the Tracts, or at least with all save No. 90. It is certainly one way to enlarge their borders, to reckon as their adherents all who believe in apostolical succession—baptismal regeneration—the power and authority of the Church—and the efficacy of sacerdotal absolution; but, though a plan, very effectual in converting tens into hundreds and hundreds into thousands, it has the slight disadvantage of not being true.

The Tractarians, properly so called, are a small body, *not* an increasing body, and divided amongst themselves. Yet, while we rejoice at this, let us admit, which we do most freely, that the earlier Tracts are most excellent documents, and that, by the blessing of God, they have been the means of conferring very great, and, we trust, lasting benefits on the Church. That their writers have been since that period led into error—that the error has increased and has found followers and supporters, who uphold the series on account of the error, and not of the truth which it contains, is lamentable. But this does not release us from the debt of gratitude which we owe to the Oxford divines for their admirable exposition of Church principles—principles which had indeed been as well, nay better, explained before, but

the circulation of which was peculiarly called for by the circumstances of the day.

And what is the position of the school at present? We ourselves have in a former number made a remark which has, we find, been misapprehended, and we shall here repeat it in order to redeem ourselves from the imputation of having made an uncharitable and illiberal statement. We asserted that the heads of the school were undoubtedly men of great general learning, but that in theology they were not sufficiently versed; and we added, that they "*were well read in the indices and tables of contents*" of the Patristic volumes, but that they were not *profoundly* skilled in the Fathers; that they were largely acquainted with Roman Catholic theology, but still in an inferior degree to such men as Wiseman—and, let us here add, Faber and Whittaker—and that of the Reformers they knew scarcely anything. Now, all this we deliberately re-assert, and, as we have before indicated the sources from which proofs may be derived, we shall here confine ourselves to vindicating our statement from the charge of illiberality. The passage in italics has been objected to; but let it be remembered that we make no disgraceful charge in it, "*non omnia possumus omnes.*" The times, we believe, or at least we fear, are past when our theologians read the Greek and Latin Fathers for the sake of mental profit only, and continued to read, day after day, and year after year, till the very spirit of the ancient Church appeared to revive in them—who read a book through on account of *its* subject, and not of *their own*. We did not mean that the reading of the Tractarian leaders had been *confined* to indices and tables of contents, but that they had read *by means of these*, selecting such portions only as bore on the subjects in hand. We know well how many excuses may be made for this kind of study—want of time, the pressure of manifold engagements, bodily weakness, and, perhaps, a lurking suspicion that a more extended research may dissipate a beloved illusion. We allow the legitimacy of the first three and the power of the fourth—but *what is the result?* Why, simply that by this system of one-sided study, the fathers may be made to support anything. The Papists were not wanting in citations from patristic lore, but when they fell into the hands of a man like Ridley, who had read upon a different plan, they were shown that the Fathers whom they quoted might be quoted with tenfold power against them. And so is it with the Tractarians; to cite Chrysostom, and Augustine, and Tertullian, looks very formidable, and with many minds it acts an "*argumentum ad verecundiam.*" They are silent, but they agree, in secret, thus—these Tractarians are wrong, but then the Fathers are wrong too;

while all the time, if the ancient bishop were permitted to plead his own cause, he would convict his citator of a total ignorance of his episcopal decisions. Many are led away by a parade of names, and give up the question without further examination, and all are led to look with doubt either on the ancient Church or on our own. Furthermore, let us have an addition to this statement in the words of Mr. Faber:—

“For what is the nature of our present position relatively to the series of the Tracts and to certain other publications of a similar purpose and quality? It may, I suppose, be described in manner following.

“1. Ninety Tracts, containing, no doubt, a mixture of good, but eminently tending to promote an affection for those apostatic unscripturalities of the fourth century which constitute the essence of modern Popery, and thence also tending to produce a contemptuous dislike of the Reformation and a restless discontent with the order of the Church of England, are scattered far and wide through the length and breadth of the land, and have produced a host of eager proselytes probably far beyond the fondest hopes of the associated Tractarians themselves.

“Of these numerous Tracts, which are collectively described in their very title as *specially needful for the times*, the ninetieth, whose plain drift is to shew, that *with a little (I fear we must say) jesuitical management, a person may hold well nigh all the errors of the Romish Church, and yet conscientiously subscribe the Articles of the Church of England*, at length produces, most justly and most properly, the united censure of the diocesan and of a distinguished body of gentlemen to whose superintendence the country intrusts the more mature education of her youth.

“Not one, I believe, either of the immediate writers or of the associates and advocates of the Tract-School, with the very gentle exception of Mr. Sewell, has expressed, at least as yet, the *slightest sorrow* or the *least misgiving*: and Mr. Newman has openly recorded in print that HIS OPINION REMAINS UNCHANGED.

“Such being the case, even if *no more* Tracts be added, still we have a formidable collection of no fewer than ninety in full operation under the *unrevoked sanction* of their authors: while, simultaneously, other organs, such as the *British Critic* and the *British Magazine*, are, with all the vast advantage of a periodical recurrence, assiduously advocating the same principles; and while yet again, not to mention others, two individuals in particular, Mr. Maitland and Dr. Todd, in England and in Ireland, are *diligently*, the former of them *incessantly*, labouring to carry out the argument of Bossuet, and thus to drive us upon the celebrated dilemma of that subtle controversialist, that we must *either admit the Church of Rome to be the promised Pure Church of Christ or confess Christ's promise of a Pure Ecclesiastical Perpetuity under the direct guidance of his Spirit to have failed of its accomplishment*.

“2. This, I submit, notwithstanding Mr. Newman's Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, is our *present position*: for, what is done, cannot be

undone even if the parties *wished* it ; and, assuredly, Mr. Newman, at least, by declaring *his opinion to be unchanged*, indicates the very reverse of any *wish* to that effect." (*Provincial Letters*, pp. 91-2-3).

This is mischief enough, but unhappily it does not end here. There has arisen a class of young men "*addicti jurare in verba magistri*," who, by their theological coxcombry, their insufferable conceit, and second-hand learning, have made, and are still making, the Anglican Church, in many many parishes, unpopular. Oxford men, old Oxford men, are the persons who complain of their bad manners—men who are old enough to be their grandfathers, and wiser than time will ever make *them*. Yet forsooth they affect to condescend to the really accomplished men of the day, and with no other armour than a few common places gathered from the works of Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman—a perpetual use of the *αὐτός ἐφη*, and an immeasurable idea of their own superiority to all other imaginable beings. Nor is this at all incomprehensible. Inured to the notion that the peculiarities of their own School are the very essence of Christianity ; accustomed to look upon those who ever so slightly differ from them as "*baptized infidels*," and taught by the clique in which they move that there can be no learning out of Oxford, nor, indeed, *in* Oxford, save within the pale of their own persuasion, it is hardly to be expected that they should escape the temptation of trusting to themselves ; that they are "*apostolical*," and despising others. To such, if they will read the book, Mr. Faber's *Provincial Letters* are calculated to be extensively useful : they will expose the sophistry, and the partiality, which pervade the later Tracts, and which are so abundantly developed in the kindred productions of the same school. No one can read Mr. Bowden's highly interesting "*Life and Times of Gregory VII.*" without being much gratified ; and those who go no further will comfortably set down under the impression that the Pope, in his momentous strife with the emperor, was always in the right—the emperor was constantly in the wrong ; that the one was all light, and the other nearly all darkness ; and finally, that Gregory—whom no one disputes to have been a man of splendid talents and indomitable energy—was also rather a meek person than not. Oh ! that we had the time to write a book upon such principles as these, we would entitle it the "*Fallacies of Biography*," and we would prove that Julius II. was a meek, calm, peaceable, heavenly-minded Christian bishop—that Julius III. was a grave, sedate, and apostolic prelate—that Alexander VI. was a model of temperance, soberness, and chastity—and that Saint Dominic was the most merciful man that ever lived, with, perhaps, the exception of Tiberius Cæsar. But, alas ! we have

no time for the task, and our only consolation is, that there are men at Oxford who can do it better than we. It is really a matter of rejoicing that there are those who see the evil and can effectually expose it, nor have we often, even from the masterly pen of Faber, seen a more important production than the *Provincial Letters*. He does not confine himself to the ninety Tracts, but all the chief works, tending to the same end, and emanating from the same source, does he take in hand with a clearness of intellect, and a pertinacity of mental grasp, perfectly astounding. We shall commence our observations on this truly valuable series of Letters by giving, in Mr. Faber's own words, an account of their origin:—

“Toward the close of the year 1840, the plan of a new and enlarged series of the *Churchman* was transmitted to me: accompanied by a request, that I would become a contributor.

“Deeming the PRINCIPLES and PUBLICATIONS of the Tract-School, by which I mean the School from which have issued the *Tracts for the Times* and other kindred Performances, at once essentially false and eminently mischievous; and also perceiving, that, with a good deal of the wisdom of the serpent, the Leaders of that School had occupied as their organs the *British Critic* and the *British Magazine* and sundry other Periodicals of diversified recurrence, thus securing to themselves the benefit both of perpetual iteration and of a much wider circulation of their opinions than any single private Production could command: under such impressions, I thought that a series of *Letters*, in a highly respectable monthly Periodical, might, agreeably to their own Tactics, have a better prospect of counteracting, in a measure at least, the systematic operations of what the now acknowledged Co-founder of the School, Mr. Froude, denominated, not unaptly, a CONSPIRACY, than any Pamphlet or even any larger Work of which there could be no recurrence of publication.

“After thinking the matter duly over; feeling, the while, that my present situation, to which I was appointed by one whose memory will ever be hallowed within the precincts of our Reformed Anglican Church, might justly, by reason of its exemption from the arduousness of large and engrossing Parochial Occupation, be reckoned a sort of honourable retaining-fee: I judged it my duty, perhaps a little upon Bishop Cumberland's principle that *It is better to wear out than to rust out*, to address the following answer to the Secretary of the Committee of Management of the *Churchman*.

“SIR,—The plan of the new and enlarged series of the *Churchman*, which you have been so good as to transmit to me, is, I think, capable of being rendered eminently useful. Such a Work, conducted on the *real* Principles of our Reformed Anglo-Catholic Church, was certainly, in the present day, not a little wanted: and, so long as it faithfully adheres to those Principles, I wish it all success.

“Should it suit your plan, I beg to offer, as my contribution, a series of Letters, addressed to yourself under the title of **PROVINCIAL LETTERS**.

"The subject of them will be the Principles of that School, which, from the corporate publication of the *Tracts for the Times*, may perhaps be most conveniently called *The Tractarian School*: for, I think, you will agree with me in disliking the nick-name, which, from the name of a *personally* most estimable individual, it has been attempted to impose upon our modern Tractarians.

"In my evidential establishment of the Systematic Bearing of those Principles, I shall certainly not confine myself to the *Tracts for the Times*. My business is, not only with the avowed Publications of the Tractarians, but likewise with those of their Associates and Abettors and Adherents. For, where I find Tractarian Principles inculcated and maintained, or where I find speculations advocated and defended which directly work to promote and aid the cause of Tractarianism: *there*, I conceive, I have a fair right to deem such Maintainers and such Advocates at least *virtual* Tractarians. Writers, therefore, of this description, will come within my plan: and, from the combined evidence which I have collected, I fear it would but too plainly appear; that, although I would not presume to impute MOTIVES to any person, yet the palpable PURPOSE and SYSTEM of modern Tractarianism is, TO WHITE-WASH THE CHURCH OF ROME AND TO BLACKEN AND VILIFY THE REFORMATION."

A note is appended to this passage which we regard to be of great value; because in many very highly respectable quarters the objection which it obviates has been made:—

"Some, I believe have said: that, in ascribing a PURPOSE, I ascribe a MOTIVE.

"This is not correct. We gather a man's PURPOSE from the evidence of facts: but such evidence throws no positive light upon his MOTIVE. If a person attacks me with a dagger, I reasonably judge that his PURPOSE is to kill me: but I do not thence learn, what MOTIVE he could have for desiring my death. This is so familiar, that we habitually express our wonder, what MOTIVE a man could have for such or such a deed."

Mr. Faber continues his account as follows, referring to the charge which he had already made against the Tractarians:—

"This is a serious charge: nor should I have ventured to make it, had I not *already* the evidence collected in my hand.

"My LETTERS will probably run to some fourteen or fifteen. They might easily be extended to an almost indefinite length: but, when the Key to these modern mysteries is furnished, it would be an insult to the English Public to deem them incapable of using it, without myself standing perpetually at their elbow in the quality of a prompter. Nothing is requisite, save the construction of a Key: and, if it be not found to answer very variation of Lock, let it be thrown aside as an useless implement.

"I purpose to transmit one of the PROVINCIAL LETTERS every month, should life and health be spared to a person who is rapidly approaching to the age of man.

"The offer being made, its acceptance or rejection rests with yourself and your Committee of Management.

"G. S. FABER.

"Sherburn-House, Dec. 5, 1840.

"My offer was accepted: and, with its acceptance, I was informed (a matter, in point of coincidence, both curious and encouraging); that, had I given only a *simple* assent, the Committee entertained thoughts of desiring me to undertake the very matter, which I, quite unconsciously, had myself proposed."

The first eight Letters out of the ten, which form the first volume, refer to the Donnellan Lectures of Dr. Todd, to their reviewer in the *British Critic*, and to the writings of Mr. Maitland and others on the subject of the Waldenses and Albigenses: and as Mr. Faber rightly felt, unless the preliminary difficulties, with which Tractarianism had entangled these questions, were cleared away, an opportunity would be left for his opponents to encumber him in the course of his future argument. We shall not, on the present occasion, speak on the Albigenses and Waldenses: first, because here it is rather preliminary matter; and secondly, because we have in contemplation in our next number to enter into that question at considerable length. We begin, therefore, with the tenth chapter: for the ninth is occupied by a very able proof that Mr. Palmer had been misled by the views of Dr. Todd and Mr. Maitland, with regard to the Piedmontese Churches in his compendious "*Ecclesiastical History*."

The tenth chapter, which concludes the first volume, speaks of the origin of the Tract School, and traces its principles as laid down by its founders, giving the following startling passage as a sort of condensed summary of them:—

"The **ONLY** way of salvation, they teach us, is the Partaking of the Body and Blood of our sacrificed Redeemer: but then, inasmuch as the **SOLE** expressly authorised mean for that purpose is the Holy Sacrament of his Supper, this participation of Christ's Body and Blood, is conveyed to individual believers **ONLY** by the hands of the Successor of the Apostles and their Delegates.

"Hence, unless I wholly mistake the gentlemen, the amount of their compound article will be this:

"The **ONLY** way of salvation is the partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ: the only expressly authorised mean of such Participation the Holy Sacrament of his Supper: and the **ONLY** channel of conveyance is an Episcopally Ordained Clergy.

"Thus, if the article be well founded, not only is an actual Participation of Christ's Body and Blood, through the mean of the Eucharist, the **SOLE** appointed way of salvation, insomuch that all, who die *out* Participation of the Eucharist, perish everlastingly: but, for no Participation of what is *thought* to be the Eucharist, is of th

avail to our salvation, unless the rite of consecration be performed either by a Bishop or by an Episcopally Ordained Presbyter.

“Whether, in the abstract, this compound article be correct or incorrect, is a distinct question : but *this* I certainly must say ; that it ought not to have been *dogmatically* propounded *at all* ; and, therefore, that *still less* ought it to have been made the declared *basis* of the entire Tractarian System without a full and distinct *establishment* of its correctness.”

This view, strangely dogmatic as it may seem, has been avowed by its authors to be really that which they entertain :—

“(3). Mr. Keble, however, promptly settles the point of correctness by declaring : that *The particulars enunciated in the article, are EXPRESSLY AUTHORISED by Christ.*

“Doubtless, if such *be* the case, nothing more can be said. *Christus locutus est : causa finita est.* But, until better instructed, we may blamelessly ask : WHERE does Christ expressly authorise the doctrine, that the Eucharistic Participation of his Body and Blood is the *ONLY* way of salvation, and that such Participation is conveyed to individual Christians *ONLY* by the hands of the Successors of the Apostles.

“Mr. Keble gives *no reference*, as to where : and I certainly cannot help him to one.”

Nor can they conscientiously claim any exemption from being made answerable for all the ravings of Froude : really this is such a *quæstio vexatissima* that one hardly likes to refer to it again. We would not speak ill of a man who seems to have been most sincere, as well as most zealous, in his views, and who doubtless thought that in all his extravagances he was doing God service ; but we are prevented from looking at Mr. Froude in the only light in which a Christian-spirited man would wish to regard him, by the deliberate adoption, on the part of his editors, of all and every one of his absurdities. Well does Mr. Faber say, after making some extracts of a very extraordinary nature :—

“2. The key-note, which vibrates throughout the whole octave of these extraordinary modulations, is Bitter Hatred of the Reformation and Intense Love of the Church of Rome : that Church, which, AS A CHURCH, he blames for NOTHING except excommunicating us ; inso-much that he is disposed to think favourably even of Bonner and Gardiner. Hence we can neither blame nor wonder at the remark in the Romish *Dublin Review* : that a symptom (of his having been prevented by his premature death from reaching the goal of Catholic Unity), which begins at first more faintly, and then deepens in intensity toward the end of his life, is A DISGUST FOR PROTESTANTISM AND THE SO-CALLED REFORMATION.

“I would charitably set down these fanatical effusions as the lamentable morbid ebullitions of distemperature : for, in truth, both in manner and in tone, the expressions of his rabid hatred of the Reformation bear a strange and wild and fearful resemblance to the phrase-

ology of Voltaire and his associates, when they called upon each other to aid in the dark conspiracy for crushing the wretch. But, painful to say, the Tractarian Editors will not permit me.

“(1.) In the Preface to the first livraison of the Remains, these gentlemen write, as follows.

“ ‘Many, recoiling from his sentences, so direct, fearless, and pungent, concerning all sorts of men and things, will be fain to account them speeches uttered at random, more for present point and effect, than to declare the speaker's real opinions; and, so judging, will of course disapprove of the collecting and publishing such sayings, especially on high and solemn subjects, as at best incautious, and perhaps irreverent. But they, who judge thus, must be met by a denial of the fact. The expressions in question were not uttered at random. He was not in the habit of speaking at random on such matters.’

“(2.) So likewise the Preface, to the second livraison of this remarkable performance, contains, as I am taught to understand (for I have not seen, nor do I *wish* to see, it), a determined vindication of the author: who, as they had already informed us, was not in the habit of speaking at random.”

It is, in fact, the one pervading fault of the whole school—Pusey and Newman, as well as Froude—that they see in the fourth century a perfect Christianity: entirely forgetting that our holy religion is not like a mere human science, susceptible of indefinite improvement—each man must go through the same operations—no one can begin where his neighbour left off—and it cannot be deemed far short of blasphemy to imagine that a religion, of which God himself was the Author, came from his hands imperfect. Hence arises a fallacy which Mr. Faber exposes in the terms which follow:—

“There is a sophism, which very generally pervades the writings of the Tractarians. In favour of their views, they profess to appeal to the Primitive Church: and thence argue, that, if Aboriginal Antiquity be their voucher, they can scarcely be in error. But, in reality, they do NOT appeal to the Primitive Church. What *they* appeal to, is the Corrupt Apostatic Church of the fourth and fifth centuries: and they further appeal to it, not simply for an evidential ascertainment of the true sense of litigated Doctrinal Scripture, but for their own mischievous attempt to introduce various matters which (to say the *least* of them) are altogether extrascriptural. The *really* Primitive Church affords no warrant for any of those superstitious vanities, which, on the strength or rather the weakness of a spurious and merely relative Antiquity, they would fain persuade us to admire and adopt. We have here, in the extract now before us, an incidental acknowledgment, that the Corrupt Fourth Century, not the Genuine Primitive Church of a much earlier period, is the true object of their appeal. Hence their pretended testimony wants the vital *SEMPER* of the sagacious Vincent of Lerins. I hope to discuss this matter more at large in a subsequent Letter.”

The eleventh letter is on the subject of "*reserve*," and, though much has been said about it, we certainly never saw the matter so ably discussed before. According to his usual mode, our author first defines, and makes others define, what is to be the subject of controversy:—

"Mr. Williams, we see, on behalf of the Tract-School, professes to censure a PREVAILING NOTION.

"But a PREVAILING NOTION, I suppose, must indisputably be a FAMILIAR NOTION, or a Notion so common that it is well nigh universally maintained: for a Notion cannot be generally prevalent, without also being perfectly familiar.

"Hence, if we would ascertain the object of this gentleman's reprobation, we have only to enquire *what* is the PREVAILING NOTION, or, in other words, *what* is the universally FAMILIAR NOTION, respecting the adduction of the ATONEMENT, explicitly and prominently, on all occasions?

"What, then, is, in point of fact, the PREVAILING NOTION as to the matter before us?

"The PREVAILING or FAMILIAR NOTION, referred to by Mr. Williams, must needs, I apprehend, be this: NOT that The Clergy should everlastingly, like a cuckoo-note, bring forward the ATONEMENT, before persons of all descriptions and characters, without the slightest regard to the reasonable probability of benefit, whether in the Transaction of Secular Business, or in the Gossip of Mixed Society, or from the Press whatever might be the subject of a man's publication; BUT ONLY that The Clergy, unless they wished to forfeit their true professional badge of faithfully preaching the Gospel, should never fail, explicitly and prominently, though not always with the same length of direct discussion, to introduce into their Sermons the cardinal Doctrine in question, adopting, the while, the same fixed plan in their private Parochial Instruction.

"I am not aware of the existence of any PREVAILING NOTION in regard to the bringing forward the ATONEMENT, *except* that which I have here stated. Unless, then, I altogether mistake the import of the gentleman's language, he and his associates of the Tract-School must be understood to condemn the Systematic Introduction of the ATONEMENT, explicitly and prominently, in all the Sermons addressed by the Anglican Clergy to their expecting Congregations, and in all the Parochial Instructions which they may have occasion to give privately."

What follows is indeed placing the matter in a strong light; and though the Tractarians may perhaps rate Horsley rather lower than we do, they cannot but feel that the deliberate judgment of so great a man is a very serious blow to their theory:—

"The Preaching of mere Morality irrespective of the Peculiarities of the Gospel, or (in the phrase of Bishop Horsley) the *Making ourselves the Apes of Epictetus*, has repeatedly been condemned by our best and ablest Prelates: and the consequence is (the *happy* consequence, I humbly venture to think) not only that the Doctrine of the ATONEMENT

MENT is *now*, I believe, prominently introduced into well nigh *every* form of private Parochial Instruction and into well nigh *every* Sermon preached within this realm of England ; but likewise that such prominent introduction, according to the *now* PREVAILING NOTION, is thought to be the bounden duty of *every* faithful Cleric.

“ Now this PREVAILING NOTION Mr. Williams condemns: and the declared ground of his condemnation is its Contrariety to the Teaching of Scripture, as that Teaching is understood by the gentlemen of the Tract-School.

“ *The* PREVAILING NOTION, says he, is *evidently quite opposed to what WE*, that is to say, WE TRACTARIANS, *consider the Teaching of Scripture.*

“ 1. This is no far-fetched gloss of my own, excogitated purely to serve the purposes of controversy. Mr. Williams has been so understood, and, on the strength of such understanding, has been censured, by more than one of the Anglican Prelates in the public discharge of an important official duty.”

Mr. Faber then makes some extracts from the charges of the Bishops of Chester, Exeter, and Gloucester and Bristol—passages which place beyond the possibility of a doubt both the way in which those excellent prelates understood Mr. Williams, and the views which they entertained themselves. But the *argumentum ad antiquitatem* is not to be answered by a counter-appeal to the *argumentum ad verecundiam*, and our author proceeds, first, to place in the clearest and fairest light the ratiocination of Mr. Williams and his supporters, and then to overthrow it. This he does by proving that the *reserve*, adopted by the ancient Church, was a very different thing from the reserve recommended by the Tractarians ; and, further, that *were it the same*, we are not entitled to use it in our day and under our circumstances.

“ His grand EVIDENTIAL ARGUMENT may be stated as follows.

“ In the Primitive Church, the Discipline of the Secret, which confined the knowledge of the ATONEMENT and other peculiar doctrines of Christianity to a select few, is recorded to have been constantly used. Therefore, in dutiful imitation of apostolically instructed Antiquity, the Clergy of the present day, in their Sermons publicly addressed to their Congregations, and in their instructions privately addressed to Individuals, ought to be very reserved and backward in adducing, on all occasions, explicitly and prominently, the doctrine of the ATONEMENT : for, as of old, so far as respects OPEN and UNRESERVED communion, it ought to be imparted, not indiscriminately, but only to a few select and devout and advanced believers.

“ Thus, when briefly and syllogistically expressed, runs the main EVIDENTIAL ARGUMENT of the eightieth Tract.

“ What we are at present concerned with is the PREMISS of the argument.

“ In the Primitive Church, through the Discipline of the Secret, the knowledge of the ATONEMENT and other peculiar doctrines of Christianity was confined to a select few, and was not imparted promiscuously to ALL who had been received into the communion of the faithful.

“ This, I submit, is the PREMISS of the main Evidential Argument employed by Mr. Williams.”

Now, to this, Mr. Faber very rightly replies, that even if the premiss were correct, still standing as it does in exact opposition to the commands both of our Lord and of his apostles, it is not only *not* binding upon us to follow the example thus held out, but it is our express duty to avoid it. But the real gist of the argument lies in the question, whether this premiss be, as a matter of fact, true or not—whether, in short, the Tractarians have represented or misrepresented the practice of the early Church? This is a question therefore, not of theory, but of historical research; and the mistake made by Mr. Williams, and adopted by the School to which he belongs, is one out of many proofs that they are but partially read in the Fathers. But that we may not do a man, whom, with all his errors, we highly respect, injustice, we will cite the *Provincial Letters* to show how far Mr. Williams is right.

“ Let us proceed to inquire into this logically vital particular: for, if the statement be *incorrect*, it is somewhat hard that innocent Antiquity should be made to bear the blame of a very unscriptural and very wicked Practice.

“ A condition of severe persecution, and an unwillingness to expose themselves needlessly and uselessly to profane ridicule, by casting their pearls before swine, drove the Primitive Christians into a species of Free Masonry: the machinery of which, as well as the name, was evidently borrowed from the ancient Mysteries of Paganism.

“ The grand secret was THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY; a secret, horribly burlesqued by the vile buffoon in the *Philopatris*, the author of that Performance having obtained some partial knowledge of it: and the subordinate secrets were the various Doctrines dependent upon it; such as the *Incarnation*, the *Atonement*, the *Resurrection*, the *Prevailing Intercession*, the *Benefit of the Eucharist*, the *Return to Judgment*, and the like.

“ Now, though the fear of persecution, or the instinctive shrinking from the profaneness of Pagan ridicule, did not absolutely lead to an *entire* concealment of the Christian System; for, more or less explicitly, we find it detailed in the ancient Apologies and other Writings of a kindred description: yet the *plan* of the Mysteries or the Discipline of the Secret was avowedly, to a great extent, a species of RESERVE and BACKWARDNESS in communicating the Religious Knowledge acquired from Divine Revelation.”

But this is not the whole of the question, nor indeed is it the same question with that discussed in the eightieth Tract. If the

reader will but refer to Faber's *Apostolicity of Trinitarianism*, book I., chap. vii., he will find similar statements, but tending to a very different conclusion from that drawn by Mr. Williams. Let us now see the mode in which the matter is treated by our Provincial Letter writer.

“The Ancient Discipline of the Secret inculcated no such RESERVE, as, making it the ground of his argument, *he* would recommend to the Clergy in their official ministrations.

“In the technical phraseology of the Mysteries, the RESERVE of the Arcane Discipline respected THOSE WITHOUT, not THOSE WITHIN. It was not *internal*; a circumstance, plainly necessary to the Argument of Mr. Williams: but it was *external*. Hence it was *not* such a RESERVE as that recommended by the author of the eightieth Tract. That is to say, it was *not* a RESERVE, in bringing forward the ATONEMENT, on all occasions, explicitly and prominently, to those, who, through Baptism, had been admitted into complete Ecclesiastical Membership. But, on the contrary, the RESERVE, which Mr. Williams, on the *plea* indeed of Antiquity, though really in absolute *defiance* of Antiquity, would have us use in preaching the ATONEMENT to Baptised Christians, extended only, in the Early Church, to the Pagans and to the not yet thoroughly instituted Catechumens.

“As for the Pagans, there were small wisdom in communicating indiscriminately to profane scoffers, at the hazard of life and limb, upon all occasions and without the least discretion, the peculiar Doctrines of Christianity.

“And, as for the Catechumens, on the ordinary principle of gradual instruction, even to say nothing of the danger, in those fearful times, of harbouring hypocritical traitors, those Doctrines were communicated, not instantly, but in the course of their final preparation for Baptism.”

During seasons of severe persecutions we can clearly perceive, not merely the expediency of a *disciplina arcani* such as this; and as it arose out of such persecution, so the discipline itself ceased with the season of trial to which it owed its origin. This, at all events, was not an invention of Popery, for the Roman Ecclesiastical power reached its height without any recurrence to the *disciplina arcani*. It was a temporary provision against a temporary evil, and as such was ever and rightly considered; but Cyril of Jerusalem, in one of his catacheses, gives so full and circumstantial an account, not only of the fact, but also of the rationale of the practice, that we shall take his words as translated by Mr. Faber.

“To hear the Gospel, indeed, is permitted in all: but the GLORY OF THE GOSPEL is set apart for Christ's genuine disciples only. The Lord spake in parables to those, who were able indeed to hear; but, to the disciples, he privately explained the parables. The SPLENDOR OF THE GLORY belongs to the Illuminated: the blinding belongs to

unbelievers. These MYSTERIES the Church communicates to him who is quitting the class of the Catechumens. For it is not customary to reveal them to the Heathens: nor do we propound to a Heathen the MYSTERIES concerning THE FATHER AND THE SON AND THE HOLY GHOST. Neither yet do we openly speak concerning them to the Catechumens. But we often speak many things covertly: in order that the faithful, who know them, may understand us; and in order that the Catechumens, who are ignorant of them, may not be injured."

Here, as our author clearly shows, is a proof that the practice recommended by the Tractarians, and that adopted by Cyril, are not only different, but diametrically opposite one to another. Let us put them in parallel columns.

CYRIL.

"The splendour of the glory *belongs* to the illuminated, *i.e.*, the baptized.

"For we have delivered to you, *i.e.*, the baptized, the mystery and the hope of the future contest."

MR. WILLIAMS.

"A very remarkable holding back of sacred and important truths" recommended.—*Tract* 80, p. 3.

"The PREVAILING NOTION of bringing forward the ATONEMENT, explicitly and prominently, on all occasions, is evidently quite opposed to what WE consider the Teaching of Scripture: nor do we find any sanction for it in the Gospels. If the Epistles of St. Paul appear to favour it, it is only at first sight."—*Tract* 80, p. 74.

And, moreover, the reserve which is inculcated by Cyril, is continually restricted to "such AS ARE WITHOUT," *i.e.*, the unbaptized; thus we have Antiquity and Tractarianism fairly brought into collision, and the result is simply this, that because Cyril of Jerusalem advises his disciples not to reveal at improper times the mysteries of our most holy faith to the unbaptized, who would scoff at the revelation, and burn the revealers; that therefore we are not to reveal the same mysteries, save with great reserve, to the baptized members of our Church, and when no danger can possibly result from our doing so. The very sign of brotherhood among the Christians of old is thus pressed into the service by Mr. Faber, against the dangerous doctrine of the eighty-third Tract.

"Nay more. As for the *fully instructed* and the *baptismally initiated*, so far was there, in the Early Church, from being any RESERVE in bringing forward to *them* the Atonement, explicitly and prominently, on all occasions: that that doctrine, under its concrete aspect of SALVATION, was actually, when united with the name of JESUS CHRIST THE SON OF GOD, the *very lessera* or *watch-word*, by which, as the

special badge of their profession, Christians, in seasons of danger from heathen persecution, made themselves known to each other.

“The sign was ΙΧΘΥΣ: the counter-sign was ΙΧΘΥΔΙΟΝ.

“Now, when a Christian contrived to say, to another person who *might* probably be a Christian, but of whose Christianity he was not *certain*, the single word FISH in the Greek language: no suspicion could, by any possibility, arise, either among the by-standers, or in the mind of the person addressed if he happened to be *not* a Christian; and as little suspicion could spring up among the by-standers, if, in the same language, the apparently careless reply were A LITTLE FISH.

“Yet, by this interchange of seemingly indifferent words, Christians, at once, made themselves mutually known, and professed the great doctrine of THE ATONEMENT THROUGH CHRIST THE SAVIOUR. For the simple sounding word ΙΧΘΥΣ instantaneously communicated, to the Christian Mysta, the vital dogma of JESUS CHRIST, THE SON OF GOD, THE SAVIOUR: and the no less simply sounding answer ΙΧΘΥΔΙΟΝ conveyed, in return, a devout acknowledgment of that perfectly familiar dogma (familiar, I mean, to *all who had been baptised*), united with a profession of humble and diminutive Discipleship,

“In ΙΧΘΥΣ were read the initials of the sentence Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σῶτηρ: and in the diminutive ΙΧΘΥΔΙΟΝ, with a reference to the initiatory waters of Baptism, in which alike both the Ἰχθὺς and the Ἰχθυόειον had been plunged, was conveyed a confession that the speaker was a small and undeserving follower of Christ the Saviour who had made atonement for him.

“This practice is alluded to by Tertullian: so that the plan must have been contrived anterior to the third century.”

Lastly, what Clement of Alexandria lauds as the *Gnostic Tradition*, which might, like the *disciplina arcani*, become in less skilful hands a dangerous device, is shown by Mr. Faber to be nothing more than a spiritualizing of Scripture, or, as he appropriately denominates it, a species of ancient *Hutchinsonianism*. It must be remembered that this *Gnostic Tradition* is a very different thing from the Gnostic Heresy, and was entertained as a system of truth by those who were the most determined opponents of *Manichæans*. This is a brief outline of the mode in which Mr. Faber deals with the principle of reserve, and we feel bound to make the admission, that had it thus been dealt with from the first, we should have been spared many unseemly exhibitions of ignorance *on both sides*.

We shall now recur to the mysticizing tendency of all the productions of the Tract-school, and we shall cite Mr. Faber on this topic with peculiar propriety, because whatever difference of opinion there may be with regard to the sentiments which he has propounded, there can be none as to his meaning; his intention is always clear, his language always perspicuous. He says, referring to Mr. Newman's too celebrated letter to Dr. Jelf,

“Mr. Newman’s explanation in his Letter to Dr. Jelf, as cited above, is strongly marked by that singular love of mystification and dislike of argumentative precision, which, in the way of what is called *Mannerism*, so curiously distinguishes the whole series of the *Tracts for the Times*. Yet, when he pleases, no person can write more definitely and more intelligibly than Mr. Newman: for *this* he has creditably shewn in various Sermons, of rare excellence, with which he has obliged the Religious Public.”

This (we are afraid often intentional) ambiguity is the legitimate consequence of hankering after something which the conscience (the conscience, that is, of one who has subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles) cannot help from time to time feeling is forbidden: but there are instances among the school of a deliberate justification of Tractarian sophistry, a tacit avowal that we may do evil that good may come of it; and one remarkable instance does our modern Pascal bring forward in the following pungent passage:—

Letter to Jelf. p. 25. “I may here remark, that Mr. Ward of Balliol College, has recently published a pamphlet under the title of *A Few More Words in support of No. 90*. In this Performance, he labours to shew: that Mr. Newman’s Exposition of the Articles ought of all men to be acknowledged as just and legitimate; and that the Church of England, while she blames only the popular practical abuse of the doctrines of Rome, disapproves neither of Prayers *for* the Dead nor even of Prayers to the Dead, provided the latter be decently wrapped up under the name of *Invocation of the Saints*.

“Truly, it is most painful and most awful to observe: how a long course of *Systematic Jesuitism and Management and Mystification and Partial Concealment and Quibbling and Putting out Feelers and Hinting False Doctrine without a direct verbal committing of the Writer*, as exemplified in the *Tracts for the Times*, and as actually (unless I quite misunderstand him) vindicated by Mr. Ward, so blunts the entire moral feelings, that those, who have thus tampered and toyed with dishonesty, are finally led to pronounce, perhaps even really to *esteem*, evil to be good, and darkness to be light.

“Mr. Ward’s Pamphlet adds yet another confirmation of that inevitable TENDENCY of Tractarianism, which it has been the object of these *Provincial Letters* evidentially to demonstrate.

“He tells us, that some professed children of our Reformed Church of England *consider that doctrine heretical and antichristian*, to which, if words have any meaning, she has given her formal sanction as the true primitive and scriptural doctrine of Justification: he speaks of *the difficulties, which even now no small number of her children find in recognizing our Lord’s mark upon her as really a living Branch of his Church*: and he teaches us, what in the depth of our Anglican ignorance we previously knew not, that the *Reformation* is a GRIEVOUS SIN, which, *as carried out in England, calls on us for bitter sorrow and*

repentance ; the thirtieth day of January in each year being a specially fit time for giving vent in union to that feeling in acts of sorrow and deprecation. Few More Words. p. 72-74.

“If it be *indeed* so, repentance is a mere mockery, without an abandonment of the sin professedly repented of ; and, since the *English Reformation* is the sin thus to be repented of, the repenters, so far as I can see, Mr. Ward himself included, ought forthwith to quit the wicked Church of England and to reunite themselves to the immaculate Church of Rome. This, accordingly, has been done by Mr. Spenser and Mr. Sibthorpe and Mr. Wackerbarth.”

But the ninetieth Tract *was* necessary, it was necessary for those who had been carried away by the eighty-ninth ; and who now felt that unless the leaders whom hitherto they had blindly followed could give them some help, over the precipice and into the sea of Popery they must go—it was necessary for those who had been waiting to see whether this thing were of God or not—whether, in short, the system was right, and the errors chargeable only on individuals, or whether the whole plan was based on a wrong foundation. It was necessary for the world, in order that the thousand and one obscure hints scattered throughout the five volumes might have a clue for their correct interpretation.

Let us go back, for a few moments, in order to explain a passage which may seem inconsistent with what we have before said. It is possible for two persons actuated by different principles to pursue, for a certain extent, the same line of conduct, ultimately the difference of their principles makes their paths to diverge. Thus has it been with the *Tracts for the Times* ; considered as the exponents of their writers' minds, they began with a theory vitiated by certain incorrect principles. In the preliminary steps which they thought it necessary to take, these principles did not come into action, or came into action so latently that they were not perceived. The first volume, and more than half the second, may be accepted with little or no danger ; here and there is an expression, here and there a phrase, that seemed a little fanciful ; but till subsequent Tracts made its meaning plain, it would have been hypercriticism to cavil at it. And thus persons whose own ecclesiastical views were unsettled, were led on and on till No. 90 comes to their aid, and they are either saved from outward Popery by a species of sophistry not a whit better, or their eyes are opened and they break through the toils. Some indeed have done neither the one nor the other, they have unhesitatingly pushed the principles of their teachers to their legitimate consequences, rejected the broken reed which Mr. Newman offers them to

lean upon, and have sought what they deemed Catholic communion in the bosom of the Roman Church.

“The sum, in short, of the whole matter, is the following.

“Agreeably to their plain and necessary tendency, the *Tracts for the Times* and other Performances of a similar stamp have perverted a considerable number of unstable and half-informed young men, and have made them doubt whether they can safely remain in a Church of the hated and reviled Reformation; Rome, notwithstanding some not quite satisfactory blemishes, being altogether, as the undoubted HOLY Catholic Church there sojourning (for thus the *British Critic* teaches them), so infinitely preferable.

“To meet this case, which, without the gift of prophecy, might easily have been foreseen, Mr. Newman steps forward, and assures them that he can settle the DIFFICULTY, as he not improperly calls it, to their entire satisfaction.

“You are staggered by the Articles, says their *ductor dubitantium*: but let not that occasion you any uneasiness. If they will not serve your turn *in totidem verbis*, try them *in totidem syllabis*: and if they vexatiously break down *in totidem syllabis*, try them *in totidem literis*. At all events, if this last hermeneutic experiment fails, since *Catholic Principles* must have the preference, and since these same *Catholic Principles* (as the judicious Writer in the *British Magazine* will inform you) must be sought in the Abundance of the fourth century, when the Church had attained her mature and perfect form under the fully instructed Teachers of her Doctrine: you may safely receive these said Articles, provided you plead a *Cum grano salis*. For, though we must confess them to be the Offspring of an Uncatholic Age, the Age of the Reformation to wit: yet, through God's Providence, they are, to say the least, not uncatholic; and, therefore, may be subscribed by those, who aim at being Catholic in heart and doctrine.”

Who is there who does not recollect the way in which Brother Peter, in Swift's inimitable “Tale of a Tub,” proves to his less acute co-heirs that, by taking their father's will, according to “IMPROVED PRINCIPLES,” they can find in it directions for wearing not only lace and tags, and flame-coloured lining, but *totidem literis* shoulder-knots, and even a broomstick too, should such be the fashion.

But one of the most extraordinary effects of that daring Tract, which proved the last of the series, was that which it had upon Dr. Hook. No sooner was it condemned by the Hebdomadal Board, than Dr. Hook addressed a letter to his own diocesan, telling his lordship, among other things, that now he felt it to be his duty to be a party-man, to rank himself avowedly a follower of Mr. Newman, and to give the whole weight of his respected name, and deservedly extensive influence, to the party at Oxford.

That a man of Dr. Hook's character and position should so far commit himself, is somewhat extraordinary; but it becomes far more so, when we find the same letter stating, not only that he did not agree with Tract No. 90, but that he thought its errors so important, that he intended to point them out in a pamphlet! We are not relieved from our astonishment at finding Dr. Hook acquiescing in Mr. Newman's vindictory letter to Dr. Jelf; for that he would be but too happy to do, in order to escape from his own anomalous position. We are not at all relieved from our astonishment by this, because he had before this vindication, and even while he believed the Tract erroneous, determined "to take his stand by the author." We should not now revert to a matter which took place so long ago, had not Dr. Hook's example been followed by so many others, and had not that eminent man sanctioned, both by his conduct and his writings, the mischievous idea that in this case every one must be a partizan. He would have us to believe that all who will not "take their stand" with the Tractarians are "Low Churchmen!"

"Do we wish to know the *ground*, on which Dr. Hook *instantaneously* determined to take his stand with Mr. Newman, though immediately before he had actually purposed to point out in a pamphlet what he considered to be the *errors* of the Tract? Very properly, he does not leave us to speculate upon his reasons.

" 'The moment (says he) I heard that the Writer was to be silenced, not by ARGUMENT, but by AN USURPED AUTHORITY: that moment I determined to renounce my intention; that moment I determined to take my stand with him.'

"Certainly, at the first blush, this looks like a piece of splendid magnanimity, not altogether common in our degenerate days: and, doubtless, it *would* have been such, had the Hebdomadal Board been the Holy Office of the Inquisition with its full garniture of Familiars.

"But, in truth, this formidable Board is a *practically* quite harmless body of English gentlemen: who have power, neither of arrest, nor of imprisonment; and who merely, in the way of their bounden duty, censure an Exposition of the Articles, which they deem statutably erroneous in principle, and which they think very likely to disseminate most mischievously false notions among the young men solemnly entrusted to their care and superintendence."

With all this we entirely coincide; and certainly, so far as Dr. Hook's view of the authority exercised by the Hebdomadal Board goes, we have neither the right nor the inclination to say more than that we believe Mr. Faber's view to be the true one, and that of the able and eloquent vicar of Leeds an erroneous one; but the question of partizanship is quite another matter, and we must here record our protest against being led into an

approbation of any man's opinions, merely on the ground that he has been personally ill-treated, granting even that he has been so. This is a case in which, under colour of defending the right of free discussion, an attempt is made to put an effectual stop to it. Those who will not accept a whole series of publications, according to Dr. Hook's example, are to be branded with an appellation which they abhor, and to be charged with principles which they detest. Yet this is implied by Dr. Hook's statement—a statement not made in the heat of debate—not propounded at a public meeting—not addressed to a fierce partizan, whose fury required something unreasonable to be demanded on the part of his antagonist—not uttered by an Exeter Hall zealot, explaining how the number of the beast coincides with the mystic and Babylonian characters P-U-S-E-Y, but made in the retirement of study—made after much and mature deliberation—made to a dignified Churchman, able, learned, and pious—and made by a man whose worth and abilities have gained him the respect of all parties—in a word, this statement has been made by Dr. Hook to the Bishop of Ripon. *Credite Posteris!* Let us, however, examine it ourselves. He tells us that there are two parties in the Church, and that it is absolutely necessary for us to range ourselves either on the one side or on the other; and what he meant by ranging himself with what he is pleased to denominate the High Church Party, is evident, from his declaring that he felt it his own duty to take his stand by the author of Tract No. 90. We do not for an instant imagine that Dr. Hook would condemn as “Low Churchmen” every one who does not, *ex animo*, subscribe to all the dicta of Dr. Pusey, and Messrs. Newman, Keble, and Williams; but what he does is this—he requires that all who feel an interest in the welfare of the Church should strengthen the hands of the Tractarians, advocate their cause, “merge minor differences” (as Dissenters say, speaking of baptismal regeneration and apostolical succession), and consolidate the whole High Church body of men, cleric and laic, into one phalanx—a very pleasing call to union doubtless, and one, the fulfilment of which, *were it practicable*, would be the means of more good to our Anglican Church than all that hath befallen her from her planting till now: but, alas! it is not practicable.

“Dr. Hook probably speaks the truth, when he says that there are two Parties *in* the Church: but he does not venture to assert, that the *whole* Church either *is* or *must* be divided *between* those two Parties. In my own judgment, the very circumstance of a man's becoming a partizan is quite inconsistent with the character of a genuine Anglo-

Catholic: inasmuch as it largely partakes of that form of Schism *within* the Church which is so graphically described by St. Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians.

"Our excellent Reformed Church abhors alike: the Ultraism of those, who, by a mutilated appeal to the mere *comparatively modern* antiquity of the fourth and fifth centuries, would fain establish a bundle of *Unscripturalities* as THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE of the *primitive* Church; and the directly opposite Ultraism of those, who professedly despise the aid of real consentient *aboriginal* antiquity for settling the sense of undoubted *Scripturalities*, and who would walk gloriously in the unreflected light of each separate individual's arbitrary private judgment.

"These, I believe, are the two Parties to which Dr. Hook refers under the appellations of *High Church* and *Low Church*.

"Now, as I claim only to be an Anglo-Catholic, and as I abhor the schismatical intra-ecclesiastical humour of saying, *mutatis mutandis*, *I am of Paul and I am of Apollos and I am of Cephas*, I should assuredly, notwithstanding the dread potency attributed to the act of the Hebdomadal Board, beg to decline ranging myself either on the *one* side or on the *other*. In very truth, I think *both* Parties in the wrong: and the simple circumstance of their being avowedly *Parties* would with me be a presumption, that *each*, though in opposite directions, had *alike* erred.

"From this temper of mind and from the conduct which flows from it, I have, by one individual of the High-Church Party, been roundly called a *Presbyterian*: while, by some of the Low-Church Party, I have been declared to be a manifest favourer of the *Tractarians*.

"Such inconsistent charges will generally, I suspect, attend upon the walk of the sober Churchman, who perceives not the *absolute necessity* of joining *either* Party: and thus the cheap penalty of his UNSCHISMATICAL INDEPENDENCE will be the censure of *both*."

There must be given up on both sides what both sides deem to be essentials before such a phalanx could be formed as that which Dr. Hook would embody, and the result would necessarily be that the nerve and vigour would be gone. It is one of the conditions of our fallen humanity that we cannot act perfectly in concert, the points of difference, sometimes prominently thrust forward, at other times studiously kept back, will be found nevertheless to exist, and will be felt as a bar to complete co-operation; the larger the body, the more sensible will the retarding force become, till at last the resistance overcomes the momentum, and the machine stands still! Mr. Faber, speaking of the gentle restraint imposed by the Anglican Church, wisely says:--

"Beyond this, I am little disposed to go for the purpose of winning golden opinions from either High-Church or Low-Church. But, if, from the supposed *absolute necessity* contended for by Dr. Hook, I

become a partizan, I forthwith become a slave: and thenceforward, chained to the chariot-wheels of a Faction, I must no longer presume to assert and exercise that liberty, which, in the wise *via media* of our Church, I now enjoy.

“Nay, what is still worse and sorely indecorous to boot, if I become a partizan and thence a slave, I may very possibly commit myself to the unseemly task of attempting to make slaves even of my betters: for, to say nothing of *Low-Church Dictation*, a process which may *occasionally* be noticed, I am not clear, whether, in the annals of *High-Church Partizanship*, cases have not *sometimes* occurred, in which, with all due humility, it was flatteringly propounded to the Bishop of the Diocese, *You shall be King, and I will be Vice-Roy over you.*

“At all events, as I abhor the evil spirit of Partizanship, I certainly cannot discover that ABSOLUTE NECESSITY, which, as he assures us, circumstantially compels Dr. Hook to act as a party-man. Even were his allegation correct, that High-Churchmen have always been meekly averse from attacking Low-Churchmen, that They have hitherto repudiated all idea of Party, and that The attack commenced in the opposition of Low-Churchmen; still, I see not, how the misconduct of *one* Party can excuse, and therefore yet less authorise, the parallel misconduct of *another* Party: and Dr. Hook, I think, ought to have recollected, both that the speculations of Tractarianism were in truth the *primum mobile* of the present dispute, and that those speculations are opposed neither exclusively by Low-Churchmen nor exclusively on the *principles* of Low-Churchmen.”

And why should such an uniformity be sought for, as that to which we have alluded? It is in theory beautiful and charitable, but it arises practically too often from indifference. Now had any such union as that recommended by Dr. Hook entered the head of any man similarly situated in former days—and had that call to union, upon the true principles of the Reformation, with regard to the nature and effect of saving faith, been effectually answered, what would have been the result? *The discipline of the Church must have been altogether sacrificed, AND, AS IS INVARIABLY THE CASE, the doctrine would soon have followed.* But no such proposition was thought of. Many pious clergymen thought well of Wesley, and wished success, and prayed for success to the *truths* which he preached, who did not, therefore, on his division from the Church, “take their stand” with the preacher.

Let us apply the same reasoning to the present case. It is of vast moment, says Dr. Hook, and he says well, that you should be imbued with true Church principles. If you differ with the authors of the Tracts on other points, you agree with them on this—cast aside then your differences, regard only the

point (or points, as the case may be) of union, and work in one compact body. But by so doing, say we, you will sacrifice the apostolical doctrine; and you can keep up the apostolical order without any such step. How exactly are the cases which we have adduced parallel: Wesley remained within the pale of the Church, but he set her discipline at defiance, and founded a schismatical body. Newman remains within the same pale, but he explains away the Church's doctrine, and has founded a set of men who are at least midway between Anglicanism and Romanism. Therefore we say, unite not; aid in every good work; applaud every exhibition of high and noble feeling; encourage every right principle; cherish an ardent attachment both for the Church and those who love her; imitate as well as commend every act of self-denial that you hear concerning the Tractarians, but protest against their errors. Such would be our advice—join them not as party, strengthen not their hands in any way which may conduce to spread their peculiar principles. Zeal, learning, virtue, self-denial, all these are lovely and to be imitated, but the very fact of their being the lot of those who nevertheless are in grievous error, should make us the more loud, the more earnest, the more uncompromising in our protest, lest the good qualities should cause the evil ones to be acceptable. But, after all, much as we respect them, the Tractarians are not the *most* accomplished, not the *most* virtuous, not the *most* amiable of Churchmen. Let them answer the writings of Bishops Blomfield, and Sumner, and Charles Sumner, and Monk, and Philpotts, and Bagot, and Copplestone, and Longley, and Mc'Ilvaine—let them overthrow the treatises of Faber, and Goode, and Dr. Whittaker. Let them inculcate on their youthful followers a meek, quiet, and submissive spirit. Let them discard sophistry and one-sided quotations, and then—but then they will be no longer Tractarians. We have set them a task which would eliminate the Tractarianism out of their heads and hearts, and they would rise from its performance

EVANGELICAL HIGH CHURCHMEN.

A few words on enthusiasm, and we will close a paper which has already extended further than our ordinary limits allow.

It is to enthusiasm that we must trace the success of every opinion that ever did succeed—it is owing to the want of it that truth often languishes. It was the enthusiasm of Wesley and his followers that poured into our Church so valuable an accession of energy. It was the enthusiasm of Newman and his followers that so powerfully excited the Church in our own day to the study of antiquity. These were good results, but they

had their attendant evils; and as enthusiasm is not a perennial plant, it wears out by time, and its past effects are forgotten. The Evangelical High Churchmen, as a body, are sorely deficient in energy. Slow, cautious, and procrastinating, they are ever afraid of committing themselves, and the ground which they should occupy is seized upon by the Evangelical Low Churchman, whose enthusiasm, though cooled, is not obliterated, and by the Tractarian, whose zeal is yet in its first fervour.

Would that the works of the great and good man, whose last production is now before us, might have their due effect—that he might win, before he is gathered to his forefathers, a host of spiritual sons—and that he might see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied.

ART. II.—*The Slave States of America.* By J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq., Author of “*America, Historical, Statistic, and Descriptive.*” 2 vols. 8vo. London: Fisher. 1842.

“**TRAIN** up a child in the way that he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.” States and nations resemble individuals, in many respects. Like them, they have their likes and dislikes, their friendships and their enmities—like them, they have their youth, their prime, and their decay—like them, they have their peculiar habits, their constitutional maladies, and their besetting sins—their hour of danger and their day of trial. But what is of far greater moment than all these points of resemblance is this—that states and nations, like individuals, have their moral responsibilities, and are capable of incurring divine vengeance, or obtaining divine protection.

We need not prove this by a reference to the Old Testament. We need not cite the example of the devoted races of Canaan, or Amalek, “the first of the nations,” when Israel was commanded to “put out from under heaven,” for the iniquity of their forefathers—Thebes, Rome, Spain, all bear witness to the same great principle. And to nations, as well as individuals, we may apply these words of the apostle, “God is not mocked; whatsoever a man soweth that shall he reap.”

A due consideration of these truths will enable us to see with greater clearness our duties towards America, and will at the same time render us more eager to perform them.

America has many and very great faults. She has faults in

constitution, faults in religion, faults in morality, faults in feeling, and faults in manners. She has great sins also to account for—sins against man and sins against God—and if any one doubt this statement, we would advise him to read Mr. Buckingham's work; the work of a friend to America, a friend to her democratic institutions, a friend to her voluntary system, and we feel no doubt as to the result.

America, we say, has many faults and many sins. She must bear the shame of the one, and the penalty of the other; but she must bear neither *alone*. "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." And how did England perform this duty to America? Did she bring up her child in the fear of the Lord? Did she encourage her in all that was right, and warn her from all that was wrong? Did she teach her the way of eternal life, not by precept only, but by example also? Did she treat her with well-judged tenderness, mingling caution with kindness and mercy with judgment?

Alas! alas! to every one of these questions we are compelled to answer no. And such being the case, whatever be the faults or the sins of America, we participate in her shame, and are liable to partake of her punishment. It may be true, that we did not anticipate the result of our conduct. It may be true that America, instead of choosing the good and eschewing the evil, has in many cases chosen the evil and eschewed the good; that she neglected many opportunities of improvement, and made use of many occasions to deteriorate. It may be that we have repented, that we have endeavoured to make up for the past, to reform ourselves, and reclaim her. Yet so long as she continues in error and in sin—if that error or that sin can be traced to us as its first cause—so long are we GUILTY.

In bestowing, therefore, upon America, the censure, which her conduct calls forth, we feel neither gratification nor pride, but deep humiliation. We feel that we are performing a painful duty, yet one which we are most solemnly bound to fulfill; we feel that every censure passed on her is a reproach to ourselves; that in convicting America, we condemn England.

Mr. Buckingham's work is written in an easy, flowing, and simple style, yet with great spirit. It is agreeably diversified by descriptions of manners and scenery, and interesting and amusing incidents. It combines, however, with many excellencies, several great faults both as to manner and matter. There is too much repetition, too much diffuseness, a want of completeness and accuracy in many parts of his work. For in-

stance, a short digest of the laws regarding slavery would be far more interesting and instructive than the repetition of the Carolinian history, or the report of his temperance proceedings and various lectures.

Differing as we do from Mr. Buckingham, both religiously and politically, we, of course, consider that he exhibits many faults as to matter; yet we must do him the justice to say that he freely furnishes us with facts in direct opposition to his own theories.

His eulogy on the cheapness of American government is certainly not substantiated by facts; cheaper it may be in one sense, but a good housewife will always gladly give a larger price for "*a decidedly superior article*," and will add the sagacious remark that **IT COMES CHEAPER IN THE END**. Mr. Buckingham's exertions in the cause of the Temperance Society furnish a melancholy example of the errors of misguided zeal and the follies of mistaken benevolence. For our own part, we consider that the "True Temperance Society was founded eighteen hundred years ago." We wish that Mr. Buckingham were a zealous member of this society, in other words—that he were a good churchman.

Oh! how many brilliant talents have been wasted—how many glorious undertakings have failed—how many noble aspirations have been chilled—how much fervent energy has been expended in vain, from the want of this one thing needful. If all those who love their fellow creatures, and feel jealous for their Creator's honour, were to seek, to find, and to preserve, not only the apostles' doctrine, but also their fellowship; and that, not only outwardly but inwardly striving (to use our Lord's own mysterious words) to be one, as He and the Father are one—who could withstand our strength—who could defy our power? The shackles of the slave would fall off, the tears of the mourner be dried, sin would soon learn to shun general abhorrence, and the gates of hell itself be no longer proof to our attack.

It is curious and interesting to trace the history of error—it is instructive to perceive how one fault, either theoretical or practical, is sure to bring others in its train—and often and fearfully has this truth been exemplified in the ramifications of heresy and the progress of schism.

To pride, impious pride—the pride of the carnal heart—must we attribute the commencement, the growth, and the wide prevalence of those systems which obstruct truth and oppose happiness—pride which would be wise and even *virtuous* above what is written, which, while endeavouring to surpass, falls below the

demands of God, and neglects positive duties to aim at unreal merits.

It would open too wide a discussion for our present purpose, or we might easily, and not unprofitably, show the analogy between the *Πρωικη Αρετη* of ancient Greece, the evangelical counsels of modern Rome, and the less apparent evils of the *Temperance Dispensation*; we might institute a parallel between the monastic and the total abstinence systems, and show how many and how multiform are the changes by which Satan is transformed into an angel of light!

The extravagancies into which Mr. Buckingham's ardour tempts him are in some cases quite ludicrous.

"The only cure, therefore, for this evil (says he, in the very commencement of his work), is to banish these spirits from traffic, sale, or use, as we would burn unwholesome meat, hunt down the destroying tiger, extinguish a fire, or shut out a pestilence from our cities. All these we do without scruple; but intoxicating drinks, which destroy more than all the wolves, tigers, fires, and plagues in the world combined, we suffer to flow on unopposed and unrestrained, as though they poured blessings, rather than curses, on the land.

"And yet, (he had said before) whenever a proposition is made in either country to sweep this abomination from off the earth, by prohibiting all traffic in, or sale of, ardent spirits, it is resisted as an infringement of the liberties of the subject."

This is certainly *rather* strong language, and these are *rather* strong measures from "a liberal and enlightened statesman;" "*rayther*," as Mr. Samuel Weller would have said—and our readers must excuse our allusion to the worthy in question, since we find it impossible to prevent our thoughts from wandering towards the "Brick-lane Branch of the United Grand Junction Ebenezer Temperance Association."

What would Mr. Buckingham say to a law for banishing radical principles and radical professions from "traffic, sale, or use," for furnishing a free passage and constant employment, in a healthy though distant climate, to demagogues? We fear that his zeal for the welfare and happiness of his fellow subjects would not carry him to the length of such uncompromising measures. And yet, in the opinion of persons quite as sagacious as Mr. Buckingham, these gentlemen need not be afraid to look all the aforesaid wild animals in the face, nay, they would back them against the fires and plagues, and (shocking thought!) stake their all upon them against intoxicating liquors and ardent spirits.

Mr. Buckingham's exertions, however, in endeavouring to found Sailors' Homes in every sea port which he has visited, do

him infinite credit; there is something truly noble in the feeling which can induce a traveller in a foreign country to erect such monuments as these on every shore which he touches—to leave behind him, wherever he has trod, the memorial of his stops in foot-prints of light. And we trust that the publicity which is given to these proceedings will increase the number of these benevolent institutions.

His accounts of Texas and of the Indian tribes removed beyond the Mississippi, are highly interesting; and much as we censure the conduct of the American Government towards these tribes, we are gratified to see both the advances which they have made towards civilization, and the provision, however small, which the legislature has made for their comfort and instruction. There is also a most brilliant description of a sun-feast, and much interesting information respecting Indian antiquities.* Mr. Buckingham gives us also a curious and detailed account of the culture and preparation of cotton and silk—an account so full and clear, that we would advise any one desiring to be informed upon these points to study it forthwith—our limits, however, prevent us from noticing these subjects except in a cursory manner, and we proceed therefore to consider “**THE MORAL AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE SLAVE STATES OF AMERICA.**” And, notwithstanding the beauty of the women, the hospitality of many southern cities, and the external polish of many southern societies, the picture drawn by Mr. Buckingham of the moral and social condition of these States is certainly such as to deter any unprejudiced person from proposing them as objects of imitation, such indeed as to show that the causes which produce such a result must, in themselves, be radically evil. Before treating, however, these distressing subjects, let us extract a few from the many passages where our author bestows high praise upon southern beauty and southern polish:—

“Like the society of Charleston, this of Savannah is characterized by great elegance in all their deportment; the men are perfect gentlemen in their manners, and the women are accomplished ladies. A high sense of honour, and a freedom from all the little meannesses and tricks of trade, seem to prevail universally among the gentlemen, who are liberal, frank, and hospitable, without ostentation or much pretence; while the ladies are not only well educated, but elegant in their manners, and mingle with the pleasures of the social circle much of grace and dignity, blended with the greatest kindness and suavity.

“The principal causes of this difference from the coldness, formality,

* Mr. Buckingham seems inclined to believe in the expedition of Mador, the Welsh Prince.

and reserve of the north, is, no doubt, partly to be attributed to climate, partly to the different style of living, and a great deal to the circumstance, that as all persons of moderate fortunes live here upon a footing of equality with the wealthiest, there is not that straining after distinction, and the practice of various arts to obtain it, which prevail in cities where the aristocracy is composed of three or four grades, or castes, each anxious to outrival and overtop the other, which begets uneasiness, jealousy, suspicion, and an extraordinary degree of fastidiousness as to the acquaintances formed, the parties visited, and the guests entertained. The graceful ease and quiet elegance of the southern families make their visitors feel that they are in the society of well-bred and recognised gentlemen and ladies; while in the north, the doubt and ambiguity as to relative rank and position, and the overstrained efforts to be thought genteel, make the stranger feel that he is in the presence of persons new to the sphere of polished society, and labouring under an excessive anxiety about the opinions of others, which makes them a burthen to themselves.

“On the second day after our arrival at Savannah, there was a large party given by the gentlemen residing at the Pulaski House to those families of the city from whom they had received civilities; and to this party, as strangers recently arrived, we were invited. The entire suite of rooms was devoted to its reception, and there must have been from 300 to 400 persons present. The party was an extremely elegant one in every respect; and we did not remark a single awkward or ill-bred person present. Among the ladies were a great number of very lovely faces, with the peculiarly animated expression of the southern women, in their dark eyes and hair, and soft Italian complexions. They appeared also more healthy, as well as more animated, than their northern countrywomen, and were in general dressed in better taste, less showily and less expensively, but with more simple elegance in form and more chasteness in colour. A number of naval officers, in uniform, mingled in the party, and many gentlemen came into town from the plantations to attend it. The dancing was good, the band was wholly formed of negroes, and the supper was in the most unexceptionable style. Altogether, it was one of the most brilliant parties I had seen in the country, and had as much of ease and elegance in it as could be seen in any party of similar numbers in London or Paris.”

* * * *

“The ladies of Savannah, though enjoying freely all the pleasures of elegant society, are not behind their countrywomen in the north in the zeal with which they promote benevolent objects. An orphan asylum, for the maintenance, education, and putting out to useful occupations, of orphans of both sexes, is chiefly maintained by ladies here; they have also sewing societies, the members of which meet once a week at each other's houses, and occupy four or five hours in needle-work, the produce of which is devoted to the support of benevolent objects at home and missionary exertions abroad; they appeared to me religious without being fanatical, and pious without being puritanical; thus blending elegant and innocent recreation with charitable and philanthropic undertakings.” Vol. II. pp. 122, 126.

Mr. Buckingham, after this, when speaking of a very brilliant party, given by Dr. Church, the President of the University at Athens in Georgia, remarks :—

“I do not remember ever to have seen a greater number of beautiful countenances than among the young ladies of this party ; their ages ranging between fifteen and twenty. The style of beauty was like that of Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans : small delicate figures, fair complexions, but not so deadly pallid as at the north ; great symmetry of features, brilliant black eyes, finely arched eye-brows, and full dark hair.....I doubt whether any town in England or France, containing a population of little more than a thousand persons—for that is the extent of the white inhabitants here—could furnish a party of two hundred, among whom should be seen so much feminine beauty, so much general intelligence, or so much ease, frankness, and even elegance of manners.”

We insert the following passages in this place, not knowing where to introduce them more properly, and conceiving that they contain suggestions which deserve to be considered and adopted:—

.....“With this great advantage on the side of married life in America, namely, that almost all who marry are in easy circumstances as to fortune, or if not, they are sure to become so, if they exercise only ordinary prudence ; because every kind of business is prosperous here, and labour of every description is handsomely rewarded ; while in England, there are hundreds of newly-married persons who struggle on from month to month, and year to year, with difficulties, arising from competition in the same branch of business, or the same professional career, which no amount of industry or prudence will overcome, and from which nothing but extraordinary ability, powerful patronage, or that favourable combination of circumstances, called “good luck,” will extricate them. The same persons, if they could be transplanted to almost any part of the United States, would not only live at ease for the present, but, by a very slight attention to economy, would be sure of laying up provisions for the future ; and, above all, would be able to ensure to their children, however numerous, a good education, useful and well-paid employment, admission into good society, and every prospect of an elegant, if not an opulent retirement in old age:—prospects that are but dim and distant to the great majority of the struggling middle classes in England.

“I have so often been struck with this since our residence in America, that I have thought it might be worth while to devise some plan by which the Governments of the two countries might co-operate to promote the transfer, from various parts of Britain to the United States, not of the utterly destitute, as in the case of emigrants, but of people of small means, but good information, and high moral character, among the middle classes. Both countries would benefit greatly by such an operation. England, by lessening the severity of that

competition which makes all classes feel they are overstocked with labourers, and can only live by outbidding each other in the smallness of the remuneration they will consent to receive ; and America, by the infusion into her growing population, of a much better stock and race than the present emigrants generally are." Vol. I. 127-128.

The second extract is from a later portion of the book.

"On arriving at Blountsville, we were most kindly received by Mr. Deery, who had ordered his servant to take us to his house and not to the hotel, and he had provided an excellent dinner for our refreshment. He wished us, indeed, to stay some time with him, and expressed his extreme delight to meet with any one from 'the old country,' and do them all the honour in his power. His wife, son, and daughter, were as warm and cordial as himself ; and their house was among the neatest and most comfortable we had seen for many a day, while every thing about the table service and the beds were remarkable for that cleanliness and neatness in all their minutiae, which American housekeepers in the country seemed to us never to attain, either because they did not perceive the advantage, or enjoy the pleasure, of such arrangements ; or because they would not give themselves that trouble, without which, neither these, nor any other comforts, can be provided and preserved.

"Mr. Deery unfolded himself to us with a degree of frankness, which was at once natural and delightful ; and his history was as honourable to himself as it is encouraging to those of his countrymen who come to this country, as he did, to obtain a competency. He left the neighbourhood of Londonderry, where he was born, at the age nineteen, and having some little money, he laid in a stock of such goods as the back-settlers needed, and came as far as Tennessee at once, it being then, in 1804, a frontier country, with Indian tribes living close to the white settlements. He was successful in his first adventure, and repeated it on a little larger scale ; until, after two or three trips of this kind, he fixed himself in a store at Blountsville, where he had now been stationary for forty-two years. As his means increased, he sent home for his father, mother, brothers, and sisters. His parents lived with him to a good old age, and both were buried in adjoining graves. The brothers and sisters all prospered ; and Mr. Deery has now a large store, filled with every thing required by the farmers for miles round. His surplus capital he had invested in land, when it was cheap, and having improved it by farming, he is now one of the wealthiest men in the town or neighbourhood ; and, as we could see by the universal respect paid to him by all we met in the streets and houses, honoured and beloved by his fellow-citizens.

"His wife was a fine specimen of a hearty and hospitable matron, anxious to do every thing that could afford pleasure to her guests. The eldest son was a fine grown and gentlemanly young man, of twenty ; the daughter about seventeen, well educated by two Scotch ladies, Miss Melville and Miss Gibson, who kept a female academy in Jonesborough ; another son was at college, aged fifteen ; and an interesting little daughter, of seven, was at school in the village. Add

to all this, the family were temperate and religious—the father having never tasted spirits or wine for forty years; the son, never; and family worship being their habitual practice. It was impossible to conceive a more pleasing picture of honest prosperity and innocent happiness than the history of this family afforded; and yet, it may be said, that such success is within the reach of nearly all those who emigrate to this country from Great Britain, if they would only pursue it by the same steps. Industry, prudence, economy, perseverance, honesty, sobriety, filial affection, and piety;—these are within the reach of the humblest; and their rewards are sure. But, blind and infatuated, the great mass of those who leave their homes in Europe, for a competency in America, are carried by the torrent of intemperance, vice, and impiety, to an early and dishonoured grave.” (Vol. ii., p. 257, 260).

We do not sympathize with those who delight in searching for every imperfection, and taunting our transatlantic brethren with the absence of comforts, and elegances, and acquirements, and accomplishments, many of which are but of recent introduction among ourselves. We think this silly, ungenerous, and far below the dignity of England. It would have been very unfair to compare Sophronia Sphinx, a year or so after her escape, with either Kate Nickleby or Madeline Bray; and yet we are credibly informed by her biographer, that in a short time she became as well informed and well bred as any young lady need be.

There are, however, many faults of America, for which no such excuse can be adduced; and we agree with Mr. Buckingham, that the only chance of their being corrected is, that every foreigner should protest against them, not in a spirit of sarcasm or triumph, but in a tone of quiet and kind expostulation.

The faults in question appear to us reducible to, or derivable from, the agency, direct or indirect, of the following causes—an undue love of gain; the absence of traditionary teaching; defects in religion as to doctrine and discipline; faulty institutions, civil and political; and last, and worst, so far worst as to throw every other evil into the shade—slavery.

The subject of American slavery is so extensive and so important, that we intend devoting a separate article to its consideration; confining ourselves at present to the other evils which we have enumerated, and adhering, as far as the complex nature of moral actions will allow, to the division which we have laid down.

I. The love of gain is the source of many of the faults of the American character, both directly and indirectly: directly, inasmuch as it leads to fraud, rapacity, and the neglect of those moral restraints which interfere with the acquisition of wealth—indirectly, inasmuch as avarice and fear are the most debasing

as well as absorbing affections (*παθή*) of the human heart, and not only prevent the free development of higher and purer feelings, but necessarily blunt and destroy that fine sense of right and wrong, that vivid perception of the *elegance* of virtue, which forms the distinguishing characteristic of the "gentleman," and which, when properly cherished and cultivated, produces that union of worth and grace which the Greeks denominated *ΚΑΛΟΚΑΓΑΘΙΑ*.

Of the direct influence of avarice in America, Mr. Buckingham gives an astounding account, as the ensuing pages will show. We are aware, indeed, that the great majority of those in any way connected with conveying persons or things from one place to another is in most countries addicted to imposition; yet, even in imposition itself *sunt certi denique fines*, and in Europe, the sympathy of the other classes is sure to be with the person imposed upon. Not so in America; extortion is in many cases unlimited in extent, and *public opinion too sanctions it*. The following occurrence took place in Virginia—the state which claims, and apparently possesses, the greatest quantity of gentlemanlike feeling to be met with throughout the union.

"Previously to retiring to rest, we had contracted with the stage coach proprietor to furnish us an extra coach with four horses, for our journey to Newbern, twenty-eight miles distant, where the line of stages for the Virginia Springs commences its progress, and it was agreed that we should give him twelve dollars to carry us the twenty-eight miles, and twelve dollars for the coach to return; as it was contended, that with the same pair of horses it would require a day to go and a day to come back. To this we assented, and having the whole day before us for our short journey, and not having gone to bed till three in the morning, we slept till eight, and were not ready for breakfast till nine. Here we witnessed the characteristic operation of a large house-dog being sent in chase of a chicken, which he caught in his mouth and brought to the cook, who forthwith killed, plucked, dissected, and fried the same for our use; the whole operation, from the catching to the serving up, occupying less than half an hour of time. This delayed our breakfast till half-past nine, the usual hour of this meal in the country being six o'clock. The delay was now made a reason, on the part of the coach-contractor, for declining to carry us more than twenty miles; because, as he said, we were setting out in the middle of the day, and his horses could never reach Newbern by sunset, and it would knock them up to travel after. We appealed to his contract, and argued, that whether horses set out at six and halted at six, or began their journey at ten and ended it at ten, it was but twelve hours in either case, and twelve hours was abundantly sufficient to go twenty-eight miles. But we were in his power; there was no other person who had a coach but himself, and the public stage had gone by. He said, therefore, he could only do this: take us twenty miles with this team of four horses, then engage a new team to take

us the other eight miles, and so charge us another half-day, or six dollars, for the extra team. We had no alternative; though when we stated this to be an extortion, wholly unwarranted, and practised on us because we had no remedy, he frankly replied; 'I go for making money, and nothing else, and every time I find a good opportunity of doing so, I shan't let it slip.' At which all the by-standers laughed approbation, and some few said, 'that's right,' and 'so would I;' but no one uttered a word of disapprobation."

"The crowning piece of duplicity in this transaction was reserved for disclosure at the end of our journey. We agreed to pay twenty-four dollars to be driven twenty miles, and an extra six dollars was demanded, because at the end of these twenty miles it would be necessary, according to the statement of the stage-contractor, to get a new team, from the impossibility of the first team going further. It was for this alone that the extra six dollars were demanded and paid. Yet, when we reached the end of our twenty miles, we found there was no new team there; that the stage-contractor himself knew this; and that he had, secretly and unknown to us, told the driver, when he arrived at the end of the twenty miles, to give his team a feed of corn and an hour's rest, and drive them the remaining eight miles of the way, as it must be no difference to the passengers, whether they were taken on by the old team or a new one! Wherever this was known along the road, or told by us afterwards, it was regarded only as a clever stroke of business; and Mr. Robertson, the perpetrator of this fraud and extortion, for so every just mind would consider it, was called a 'smart man,' who 'knew what he was about,' and was 'very well fitted for his business.' Such is the low state of morality, and the low standard of honour and fair dealing, when money is to be made." (Vol. ii., 293, 396).

The manner of setting up fraudulent banks exhibits a progress in the art of swindling, which shows that however behind-hand the New World may be in some points, she *at least* equals the Old World in these particulars. The infamous system of repudiation which has been adopted by several of the States, is an outrage unparalleled in the history of commerce; not only is the crime itself utterly indefensible, but devoid even of the excuse or palliation of excessive temptation. There is no single case in which the State, that has been guilty of this unprincipled transaction, could not have easily paid off all its debts by raising a trifling and temporary tax, which would not have injured either the community at large or any individuals of which it is composed.

"The truth is (observes Mr. Buckingham), this passion for the acquisition of money is much stronger and more universal in this country than in any other under the sun, at least that I have visited; and in proportion to the strength of the passion, so is the weakness of conscientiousness, or the sense of justice, among all ranks. If money can be made honestly, it is well; but if it cannot be made without

breaking down some of the barriers which conscience opposes to its acquisition in the minds of honourable men, these must be demolished, and the money acquired; till, at length, the perpetual indulgence of the passion, at all hazards, causes it to increase, like the propensity of gambling, of dram-drinking, or any other vice, till it becomes ungovernable, and sweeps all before it!" (Vol. ii. p. 295).

It is the tendency of every absorbing passion to monopolize the energies of the heart, thus preventing the due exercise of the affections and sympathies; and this, perhaps, is more the case with avarice than with any other passion. To this, in a great measure, is to be attributed the almost total absence of love amongst the young men of America.

"The young men of America (says Mr. Buckingham) are all so busily engaged from morning till night, in affairs of commerce, or professional occupations, and so engrossed with the one great aim of getting on in business, and acquiring wealth, that they have neither time nor inclination for those romantic dreams of love which absorb so large a portion of the time and thoughts of English youths between fifteen and twenty." (Vol. ii. p. 15).

Here, then, is the absence of one of the great causes of refinement both in mind and manners. And taking into consideration the action, direct and indirect, of avarice, and the absence of love, we may account for those characteristics so opposed to good breeding, which meet us at every turn, when perusing travels in America written by Europeans. Amongst the most notorious of these is the chewing of tobacco: and here let Mr. Buckingham speak again:—

"One most disgusting feature of all the oratory that I have yet heard in the Southern States is the constant interruption to the flow of their discourses, by the almost equally copious flow of their saliva, from their excessive use of tobacco. In the churches, at public lectures, in private parties, or in public assemblies, you hear every minute the sound of the labial ejection, and its fall upon the floor; while the chewers roll about the offensive and blackened mass in their mouths, as though it was all that was worth living for. Each young man carries in his waistcoat pocket, not in a box, but open, a flattened square mass of black compressed tobacco, like a piece of Indian-rubber. From this he cuts off, from time to time, whether in the company of ladies or not, a large piece, and, taking the expended quid from his mouth, he flings it out of the window, or in any near corner, and replaces it by the new one, which he forthwith begins to roll about like any ruminating animal. Their practice is literally that of 'chewing the cud,' though they want the 'dividing the hcof,' to take them out of the class of 'unclean beasts.'.....How it is that the ladies of America, married and unmarried, do not, with one voice and one accord, refuse the approach of lips so filthily defiled, and turn with disgust from the offensive spitting in their presence, and at their very

feet, does, I confess, surprise me as much as anything I have ever seen in this country," &c. (Vol. ii. p. 121, 122).

We are not so much surprised at this as Mr. Buckingham; we consider tobacco-chewing to be the grandchild of avarice. Avarice, in the first place, precludes love, and the absence of love removes one of the principal humanizing influences. If the Americans loved their dollars less, they would love their ladies more; and we have no doubt, but that the very first act of the fair, when possessed of their legitimate privileges, would be to make tobacco-chewing misprision of treason. We do not say this merely because they are women, though this would furnish sufficient grounds for our supposition; but Mr. Buckingham's description of the beauty and elegance of the southern ladies is such as to prejudice us strongly in their favour, and make us the more lament that they are so imperfectly appreciated by their own countrymen.

II. The absence of traditionary teaching, of the influence of that hereditary wisdom, derived from the learning, the virtue, and the experience of ages, which having acted in the first place through the minds of the few, upon those of the many, combines itself with the dictates of conscience and the laws of religion, so as to form in the case of each individual a kind of complex moral judgment,—which, though differing in many persons and classes, still possesses sufficient unity to produce a lasting and congruous effect, making each generation the moral instructor of the next, and controlling, by the assent of the many, the dissent of the few,—this great Conservative principle is utterly wanting in America. Not only is it wanting, but there is in some parts a certain spurious body of prejudices which takes its place. Instead of the reverence for what is old, we have the admiration of what is new; instead of the love of liberty, that of licence; instead of Catholic, we have Puritan tradition.

Nor do the Americans endeavour to avail themselves of those sources from which such a traditionary teaching might be formed, without prejudice to their nationality or patriotism. The first church ever founded in America is allowed to crumble to ruins—the relics of the great Washington are utterly neglected—and thus do they deprive themselves of those sacred memorials which tell of the past, and teach to the present; which connect the present generation with those which have passed away, and by recording what has been already achieved, incite men to similar attempts.

The result of these influences on the character of a nation,

as developed in its moral conduct and social habits, need scarcely be described. It is too well known to be necessary, and the picture is too wounding to national feelings, for us to dwell upon it unnecessarily; one passage, however, must be quoted:—

“ We heard from them (*i. e.*, some Virginian and Carolinian fellow-passengers) such pictures of the prevailing immorality and dishonesty of the mercantile classes, as, if told of them by any foreigner, would have roused their indignation; and such confession of the recklessness and blood-thirstiness of the white inhabitants of the south and west, as we were hardly prepared to hear thus openly avowed. Many individuals were named by them as living in a style of great luxury and expense, who had failed three or four times over, maintaining themselves by defrauding others, and who yet, because they were believed to be wealthy, not only retained their station in society without reproach, but were even courted and sought after by those living in their neighbourhood. Other individuals were also named, as known by them to have killed more than one friend in a duel or an affray, and who had not on that account lost the slightest consideration in general society, but, in their opinion, were thought rather better of for these manifestations of manly spirit.” (Vol. ii., 3, 4).

III. We now come to a very serious subject of consideration—*Defects in Religion as to Doctrine and Discipline*; and thankful as we ought to feel for our own superior advantages in these respects, our feelings with reference to America should be those not of triumphant rivals, but of humble penitents. Had we done our duty by her in this respect, her present position would be very different to what it is. What we *ought* to have done was, to have sent a bishop with each governor—priests and deacons with each body of emigrants. We *ought* to have built churches, endowed schools, founded colleges, established in our own universities scholarships confined to Americans—all this, and a great deal more, we *ought* to have done. How different our actual conduct was from this we need not now stop to describe; suffice it to say, that it was in nearly every point, and in nearly every instance, the direct opposite of that which it ought to have been, and that to enumerate our misdeeds we have little more to do than to enumerate our duties, and then prefix a negative sign to each of them. As long, therefore, as a large portion of the American population remains unfurnished with religious instruction, and devoid of religious belief; as long as the cities, villages, and hamlets of America teem with conflicting sects, as numerous and as noxious as the weeds of her marshes or the reptiles of her forests; as long as the Anglo-American Church herself is deficient in organization and faulty in practice, so long is England GUILTY, and so long is it incum-

bent upon us, by every means in our power, to endeavour to atone for the evil that we have done, and the good that we have left undone, by repairing the injury we have inflicted, and conferring the benefit we have neglected. Nor should we stop here, but imitate the example of the penitent Zaccheus, who, when he had defrauded, restored fourfold. Thus, then, should the learning, the wisdom, the energy, the wealth of England, be poured in a full stream upon the channels of the American Church, till, like the mighty Nile, its waves overflow, covering and fertilizing the whole region through which they sweep; and in one land, at least, be fulfilled the promise of the prophet—that the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.

With respect to the absence of religious instruction, and the prevalence of infidelity,* in some portion at least of the Slave States of America, the following statements are made by Mr-Buckingham:—

“At this meeting (at Athens), some statements were made by the agent of the American Bible Society, to which this association of Athens was an auxiliary, that were as startling as those made by the Presbyterian clergyman in the morning, as to the number of sceptics and infidels joining in the ordinances of religion. The agent, Mr. Goulding, a native of Georgia, mentioned, that there had been no meeting of the Bible Society in this section of the State for the two years preceding this; and that the whole sum raised in the entire State for the purpose of assisting the American Bible Society in their operations, the chief aim of which was to place a copy of the Scriptures in every family not already provided with it, was only eleven dollars

* We insert here an anecdote relative to one of the sect denominated Universalists:—“A Universalist preacher assembled a number of the citizens, to preach to them a probationary sermon, in which he endeavoured to persuade them that the idea of eternal damnation was wholly unwarranted by Scripture; and that even temporary punishment after death was not to be expected, as the wicked had their sufferings before they descended to the grave, and all beyond that would be universal happiness. After this discourse, he told the congregation that he was about to make a journey farther west, but that in a short time he would return among them again, to ascertain whether they would build him a church and engage him as their preacher? He returned after a short absence as promised, and repeated, to the same audience, all his former opinions, desiring, at the close of his discourse, that the assembly would indicate to him, by some means, the resolution they had taken as to his future stay among them. Upon this an elderly man arose and said, that having listened with deep attention to all that had been uttered by the preacher in his two sermons, he had come to this conclusion—that if all he stated was *true*, and there was to be no punishment for the wicked after death, he really did not see the use of churches or preachers at all, for the police and the laws were sufficient to deal with criminals while in this world; but if, on the other hand, what he had been saying was *not true*, then, certainly, he would be a very improper person for their pastor: so that, whether his views were true or false, they should not be disposed to require his further services.” (Vol. i., 198, 199).

and twenty-seven cents ! Such was the utter indifference of the people in the south to the spread of the Gospel ! He read some documents, by which it was shown that, in many of the ninety-three counties of this State, more than one-half the families were without a copy of the Bible ; and that, not from an inability to purchase it, but from indifference to its acquisition. I had always been so accustomed to regard America as so pre-eminently distinguished for its profession of religion and veneration for the Scriptures, that I had not expected there would be found a single family in it, except the most destitute, without a copy of the bible." (Vol. ii., 64, 65).

"On the morning of the first Sunday after our arrival at Athens, we attended the public funeral of the venerable Judge Clayton, one of the most distinguished members of the community here. The service was solemn and impressive. The judge, though a man of great integrity and unexceptionable morality, was, throughout life, an avowed unbeliever in Christianity. He was one of the first graduates of the University of Athens, and its most zealous friend and patron ; he was learned, intelligent, virtuous, and universally honoured and esteemed, both for his public and private character ; yet he made no scruple to avow himself openly a deist ; and this, too, it would seem, without in any degree lessening his standing in society. About twelve months since, he was struck with paralysis—being then fifty-five years of age. Feeling that death could not but be near at hand, his mind and heart became subdued. He expressed a desire to see the minister of the Methodist Church ; and the result of the interview was, that the judge, as soon as he had sufficiently recovered from the first shock of his paralysis, publicly joined this Church, by going up to the altar, in the face of the whole congregation, on a Sabbath morning, when the church was full, and there giving in his public adhesion as a communicant and member. From this time onward he continued in close fellowship with the Methodist body, and died in the fullest and most unreserved communication of his steadfastness in the faith, accompanied with deep regrets that he had lived a life of unbelief, by which he had lost 'oceans of happiness'—this was his expression to himself, and set a dangerous example to others."

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"Mr. Smith was followed in his address by Mr. Hoyt, the Presbyterian clergyman, who had also had opportunities of personal communication with the deceased, between the period of his first paralysis and his death, and who, therefore, thought it his duty to corroborate much that had been said by the previous speaker, as to the openly avowed scepticism of the late judge up to that period, and his sincere conversion to a belief in the truth of Christianity, in which faith he died. In the course of his address, however, he stated, that though he had been a minister of the Gospel for upwards of twenty years in this country, this was the only well-authenticated instance that he had met with, during all that time, of a man, who, like the judge, had been thirty years an unbeliever, and had afterwards avowed his conversion to the truth. He had generally found that men died as they lived, and that

real conversion from long-established and openly-avowed infidelity was very rare. He, moreover, asserted his conscientious conviction, that the great majority of the men whom he saw before him, were in the same condition of unbelief as that in which the deceased had passed nearly the whole of his life; and though many of them, perhaps, attended religious ordinances for the sake of standing well with their neighbours, yet he feared very few of them had any active belief in the truth of Christianity, but were infidels and sceptics, living without God and without hope in the world; all which seemed to be silently received as matter of course, and, as far as I could judge, excited neither surprise nor any symptom of dissent from any portion of the congregation." (Vol. ii., 60, 61—63, 64).

So much for the absence of religious instruction and religious belief. Now then for the *errors in doctrine and practice* exhibited by the sects which corrupt both. If any one wishes to see the undisturbed development of heresy and schism, without any of the counteracting influences derived from the existence of that body of traditionary teaching which we have before described, or the proximity of a true Church maintaining the doctrine and preserving the fellowship of the apostles, let him read the work of this liberal and enlightened author. In our own land the various schismatical bodies which surround the true Church, derive a borrowed lustre from her presence, as the very clouds, which obscure the face of day and shut out heaven from our view, become sources of light, if not of heat, when illumined by the rays of the sun. But in America the Church, in her full development, is but of late existence. Read and learn. Let us begin with a sample concerning camp-meetings:—

"Near the middle of the hill we were ascending, but close by the main road, was a large collection of log-sheds, pens, and small buildings, without a creature near them, though they covered several acres of ground, and enclosed an open parallelogram. These, we learnt, were the buildings belonging to one of the Methodist conferences, at which a camp meeting was held every year, generally in August or September, when all the harvest business is over. Our informant said he had seen 5,000 or 6,000 persons assembled here, from all parts of the surrounding country; and sometimes scenes of such extravagance were enacted, and such violent groans and screams were uttered, accompanied with faintings and hysterics, that it would give a stranger an idea of an Indian attack, with scalpings and tomahawkings, rather than a devout religious meeting."* (Vol. ii., 302, 303).

* The following anecdote may serve to amuse our readers:—"The class of preachers whom they send forth 'to cry in the wilderness,' are often as rough and rude as their churches, but not the less zealous or self-denying, because of their want of polish or refinement, though sometimes giving utterance to senti-

We will proceed next to the Revivals.

“On the subject of revivals, also, we heard some curious particulars. There are fixed periods of the year in which these are regularly got up in Georgia and the Carolinas, as in a prescribed circuit. The periods chosen are those in which there is the least business doing in the towns, or on the plantations. The ministers, among whom those of the Methodist and Baptist persuasions take the lead, then organize the proceedings in such a manner as to produce considerable effect; and thus add every year to the number of their communicants. It is said that this is sometimes done in schools and colleges, where youths of nine to fifteen are so wrought upon as to proclaim themselves converts, and make public profession of a new birth; but it is doubted by the less zealous and enthusiastic, whether the instances in which these conversions are permanent, are so numerous as those in which the parties fall off, and, by a re-action, oscillate to the opposite extreme of indifference or something worse.” (Vol. i. p. 547).

“However free from objection was all I saw or heard at the meetings here (*i.e.*, at Athens), I was assured by members of the Church, and persons of undoubted piety and veracity, that such meetings elsewhere were not always so. One gentleman mentioned to me, that in the State of New York a meeting had been held for forty days and nights in succession, in imitation of the fasting and temptation of the Saviour; and that he had attended several of its sittings. But though the quarantine was observed, as to the number of its days, there was nothing else in which the resemblance was complete. The ministers employed in this revival were very numerous, and many of them young and handsome men. When they saw a female under excitement, they would leave the desk beneath the pulpit, and go to her in the pew, take her by the hand, and squeeze it with ardour, look stedfastly in her eyes, stroke her on the neck, and head, and back, with the palm of the hand, give her spiritual consolation, and sometimes kneel down with her to pray on the same cushion. One of these was a married lady, of great personal beauty, who was attending with her two daugh-

ments and expressions which they would themselves find it perhaps difficult to explain. One of these pioneers of the forest was preaching in the Methodist church, at a period when the country not far from this was possessed by the Cherokee Indians; and, in the attempt to eject them from their lands, they had recourse to arms for resistance. The white settlers, accordingly, often felt the edge of the tomahawk and the scalping-knife, as they continue to do in Florida at the present moment. In addition to the usual means of defence adopted by the whites, prayers were put up in the different congregations for delivery from this scourge; and at the end of an appeal of great fervour to the Almighty for protection, the preacher in this church exclaimed—‘Spare us, good Lord, and deliver us from this evil; but if it be thy will to scourge us with thine afflictions, and chasten us with thy wrath—if, in short, it be thy pleasure to let us fall into the hands of savages, O! let it be into thine, O Lord!’ To which the congregation, of which our informant represented himself as being one, responded in the fervent manner which characterizes the devotion of the Methodists, “Amen, Lord, Amen”—their feelings being, no doubt, too completely absorbed in the consideration of the perils that surrounded them, to admit of any rigid criticism of their pastor’s language or meaning.

ters, but there was no husband or brother with them. The minister was so attracted by her beauty, and overwhelmed by her state of excitement, that, after the prayer, he placed his head beneath her bonnet, and attempted to "salute her with a holy kiss." She drew back, and refused his embrace. Her friend, my informant, saw this, and was in the act of rising to proclaim the offence, and to resent it on the spot; but the lady prudently prevented it, by a timely intimation with her hand, of her wish for him not to move or notice it; and assigned as her reason afterwards, that, if made public at the time, it might have broken up the meeting, and brought a scandal on revivals generally, whereas this was but the offence of one man.* The gentleman assured me, however, that this was not a solitary instance of such attempts, many of which were more successful, and that the moving of the ministers to and fro from pew to pew, their seizing the women by the hand, pressing and fondling various parts of their bodies, melting into tears with them, holding their hands together for a long period, and sometimes sustaining them in their arms from falling, were quite common." (Vol. ii. p. 136-138).

Our readers must bear with us for one moment longer. We are sorry to be the means of bringing before their eyes such disgusting details; but the hard-shelled Baptists must be mentioned. Their name is quite enough—and their nature does not belie it:—

"The Baptists are of the order called here 'Hard-shelled Baptists,' a phrase which was new to me; and which was given to them, as I understood, from their being so impenetrable to all influences of a benevolent kind, and so hostile to all the auxiliary aids of missions, tract societies, temperance societies, peace societies, sick-visiting societies, and other charitable and philanthropic associations; against all of which they are said to set their faces, and to denounce them as interfering with the free operation of the Gospel, and substituting human machinery for apostolic preaching. They are accordingly given to the pleasures of the table without restraint; and one of their veteran preachers here is said to have declared from the pulpit, that he would never submit to be deprived of his 'worldly comforts' by the fanatics of modern times; among those comforts he numbered his 'honey-dram before breakfast,' and his 'mint julap, or sling, when the weather required it.'" (Vol. i., 197).

* It appears, however, that lasciviousness is not the only fault chargeable upon these revivals. "Sometimes, in endeavouring to make a convert, the unwise preacher makes a madman. Mr. Cotton relates, that on one occasion in New York, a preacher having delivered a most exciting sermon, quitted the pulpit and came down amongst the congregation, accompanied by a secretary furnished with a book and pen. Among other persons the preacher approached an interesting girl of fourteen, and having taken her name, asked the question, 'Are you for God or the Devil?' Being overcome, her head depressed, and her eyes full of tears, she made no reply. 'Put her down in the devil's book,' said the preacher to his secretary. From that moment the poor girl was a maniac. Such revivals as these happily have never existed among Episcopalians, who are consequently stigmatized as dull, cold, and formal."—*Caswall's History of the American Church*, p. 325.

It will be seen from these extracts that there is a great difference between sectaries of the same denomination in England and America, which may be illustrated by the following passage from the book before us, particularly if the sheep be allowed not inaptly to represent the members of the Anglo-American Church:—

“There are but few sheep seen anywhere along the road, as their flesh is not valued as food, but hogs were everywhere abundant. These are among the ugliest of their species, with long thin heads, long legs, arched backs, large lapping ears, lank bodies, and long thin tails, and they are among the filthiest of the filthy—I had never before thought there could be such difference in pigs; but I may now say, that the hog of England is as much superior in beauty of form and cleanliness of habit to the hog of America, as the Bucephalus of Alexander was to the Rosinante of ‘Don Quixote;’ as superior, in short, as animals of the same race can be to each other.” (Vol. ii. p. 234).

Thus much for infidels and sectaries. Let us now consider the Church herself, and it will require but slight observation to discover that she is deficient in organization, and faulty in practice.

Her deficient organization is seen in the scantiness of her pecuniary resources, in the large size of her ecclesiastical districts, in the small number of her priests and deacons. Another deficiency of organization is, that she is afflicted by that grievous malady called the voluntary system. But upon this last point we must offer a few remarks.

The blessings ensured to us by the legal establishment, and secure, although insufficient, endowment of a pure branch of Christ’s Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church are so numerous and so great, that many persons are induced to overrate them—to confound that which is accidental with that which is essential—to neglect the distinction between the temporal and spiritual advantages of our church—to lean too exclusively on the arm of flesh, and forget that our surest defence consists in the arm of the Lord. This confusion of ideas is observable in many of those who discuss the voluntary system. The zealous advocates of the English Establishment perceive the advantages arising from that institution, and the evils connected with the voluntary principle, till they almost forget the matchless picture, whilst praising the gilded frame which guards it, and turn their eyes from the pearl of high price to rest them on the golden chasing which surrounds it. This erroneous habit of thought has a peculiarly injurious effect when the same questions are canvassed with reference to the character and position of our American sister. There are great evils in the voluntary system; but these evils have, in some respects, been misunderstood

and overrated. The evils resulting from scantiness of pecuniary resources have not been overrated; but the evils arising from the supposed dependence of the clergy on the laity have been and are overrated. In the first place, when we cite the example of Dissenters, and argue thence that the same result would occur in the case of the Church, we forget that we are comparing things and cases essentially different—that we are comparing human and divine institutions. And who can, without impiety, compare the noblest work of man with the most insignificant work of God—much less should we think of comparing *bodies terrestrial* with *THE body celestial*; for the glory of the terrestrial is one, but the glory of the celestial is another. To those may we apply the awful words of Scripture, “In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread until thou *return unto the ground*: for *dust thou art*, and *unto dust thou shalt return*:” whilst we must always remember that the Church is the body of Christ, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.*

There is, too, another point to be considered, which may make us less unhesitatingly hostile, under existing circumstances, to the voluntary system in America.† We mean the fact, that the Church being unconnected with, and unsupported by, is also independent of the State: and (with reverence let us say it) the annals of history prove that a certain external control is highly conducive to the well-being and purity of the Church herself, as well as to the preservation of that right of private judgment, which, however much it may have been abused, and whatever evils its abuse may have occasioned, is still essentially necessary not only to philosophic enlightenment, but also to religious truth—which forms the distinction between devotion and superstition, between teachableness and credulity—which establishes reasonable belief upon reasonable conviction, and gives a reason for the faith that is in us—which asserts the moral agency of man, and vindicates the moral attributes of God, and by rendering man responsible immediately to God, connects directly the creature with the Creator.

The faults of which the Anglo-American Church is guilty in practice relate principally to the questions connected with American Slavery, and we shall consequently defer the consideration of them to our promised article on that subject.

* In illustration of our meaning we would cite the example and history of the Primitive Church.

† The testimony of Scripture is equally strong both as to national endowment and civil superintendence—we mean that species of superintendence which exists in England, and which is most properly connected with monarchical institutions.

IV. We now arrive at a subject upon which we differ from Mr. Buckingham *totô cœlô*, namely, the civil and political institutions of America; and before examining the question in detail, we shall offer a few general comments on his eulogy of the system.

"If (says our author) history and experience can teach us any thing, surely these facts must be sufficient to show the superiority of free institutions and unfettered commerce over despotism in government and monopoly in trade, though of such proofs America is full. As a contrast, let us look at the fact, that about two hundred years ago, the English East India Company obtained their first settlement in India, which was then a rich, populous, and flourishing country; and after two centuries of misrule and monopoly, Hindostan is far less populous, and less wealthy, and its people more impoverished than they were then. About the same time the pilgrim fathers landed in America, and found it a wilderness peopled by savages, without literature, laws, or trade. Under free institutions and unfettered commerce, it has now become one of the first countries in the world, and, even in its infancy, may rank side by side with the oldest nations of the earth. Such are the lessons which history teaches."

Now, we do not mean to defend the Company's conduct, either in the conquest or government of India. We conceive that much injustice has been perpetrated, much oppression exercised, and we conceive that all injustice and oppression is not only wrong but impolitic. We conceive, for example, that the position of the half-castes in the east is a disgrace, and will prove a curse, to those who commenced, and to those who continue the distinction; but this does not prove Mr. Buckingham's case. Let us examine the paragraph. The classes who ought to be compared are not the Anglo-Americans and the natives of Hindostan, but the American and Asiatic *Indians*. For our own part, we are not aware that the aborigines have increased, in any great degree, since the "Pilgrim Fathers" landed in America; nor were we at all cognizant of the fact that their numbers have augmented more rapidly since "free institutions and unfettered commerce" have become the order of the day. To leave off joking, Mr. Buckingham has made a blunder. The fugitive Puritans carried with them to America the blood-thirsty spirit which actuated those of their brethren who murdered Charles and Land; and which inclines those sincerely carrying out such principles, to persecute with fire and sword every person whose opinions differ from their own school of theology, whether he be Pagan, Romanist, or Catholic. They killed the Indians themselves and encouraged them to kill each other, at the same time enacting severe penalties against all who differed from them in religious faith or discipline. These principles have been even of late

strongly developed in their conduct to the Indians and Mormons. Let us, however, proceed to the consideration of our subject.

The minds of men, unless enlarged by philosophy and chastened by religion, are so narrowed in their sphere of action—so influenced by partial and temporary causes, that they can scarcely take a wide and true view of anything as a whole, but are apt to give undue advantage to some part, or to view that which is subjected to their consideration through the medium of ignorance, prejudice, and passion. The placing an undue value upon some one part has been the cause of many errors in religion, politics, and every other art or science. In religion, it has given rise to the many excesses of those, who having taken up some doctrine true in itself, advocate it to the exclusion of all other truth. In politics, it has produced many extreme opinions in every direction: the persons or bodies advocating such views, religious and political, as long as they are not dominant in Church or State, act as witnesses to the truths; the undue appreciation of which has caused their errors. But when either of these become dominant a revolution must ensue.

Temporary causes influence, in a great degree, the minds of men, inclining them to adopt disproportionate views of principles, religious and political. The prohibition and the abuse of private judgment, for instance, respectively, have a tendency to produce a violent, and sometimes unsafe re-action, in the opposite direction. Tyranny makes men destructives—anarchy makes them gladly accept despotism. This tendency of the human mind is curiously exemplified in the science of medicine: at one time the bowels are neglected—a teacher starts up and proves their importance—for a time nobody thinks of anything else; at another time the blood has been little thought of—a scientific treatise on the subject occupies every one's mind with nothing but the blood, and so on. Now this we conceive to be the case also in politics, as we have already said. The monarchical, the aristocratic, and the democratic principles, are all three parts of the law of nature; they are three great doctrines, so to speak; and the holding of either, without the other two, is liable to produce great evils, practical as well as theoretical.

The democratic principle is founded in nature, and beneficent in practice, granted—so is the aristocratic—so is the monarchical; but the operation of the democratic principle, when unrestrained by the aristocratic and monarchical principles, is highly detrimental to the prosperity of the governed, just as the unfettered operation of either of the other principles is so likewise.

It has been said by many, that though democracy may not do well in an old state it will do better in a new one. This statement however, though plausible, is untrue, and especially so in

the case of America. Old states, for the most part, whatever changes they undergo, retain some colouring of the past, and democracy in them is generally to a certain degree restrained by that traditionary teaching of which we before spoke. The demagogue at times feels an awe as he treads among the tombs of the great and good of other days—the spirits of the departed seem to chide their degenerate offspring, and it is difficult for the most irreverent to entirely disregard the “ages which look down upon him from the summits” of their monuments. Nor is this all: nature herself is instinct with the living presence of the dead. It is not only the frowning castle, the massive abbey, the desert palace, or the ruined hall; but the craggy mountain, the fertile plain, the waving wood, and the rushing river, are all witnesses of the deeds and the feelings of other times. The voices of our ancestors are heard in the howling of the wind and the roaring of the ocean—the very sun and moon speak of the actions done by their light—the meanest flower of the field, and the mightiest powers of nature, unite in upbraiding the traitor to his country, his king, or his God. -

Montesquieu, in his work on the Spirit of Laws, gives a curious discussion upon what liberty has been supposed to consist in, what it really is, and where it is to be found. The first enquiry he closes with this philosophical statement, alluding to the error of those who thought a purely democratic government the most likely to ensure the liberty of its citizens, “*They have confounded the power of the people with the freedom of the people.**”

In earlier times, when patriots struggled for things rather than names, and considered that the legitimate object of contention was not whether A, B, or C, were predominant, but whether the government sought the good of the governed—not whether the mill were turned by wind or water, but whether the flour produced was wholesome, nutritious, and sufficient;—in such ages of darkness and ignorance it was considered desirable that security of person and property, as well as liberty of conscience and some freedom in the publication of opinion, should be ensured. Those who infringed upon either were denounced as the enemies of the people and the foes of freedom. We blush while we write what must consign us to the eternal contempt of the modern school. We really are so old fashioned as to think that these worthies of past times were not altogether mistaken in their opinions. How contrary such notions are to the principles and practice of the Slave States of America, the following extracts will sufficiently show.

* Book xi., chap. 3. We earnestly recommend to the study of all American citizens the whole of the first six chapters of this book.

“The Mormons have excited a good deal of interest in Cincinnati, where one of that sect has been giving a history of that people, and of the persecutions to which they have been recently exposed in Missouri. It is stated in the report, given in the *Cincinnati News*, that they were ruthlessly driven from their homes, their property destroyed, the women and children forced into the woods, without shelter from the inclemency of the weather, where they roamed about till their feet became so sore, that their enemies *tracked them by their foot-prints of blood*. The Mormons stated that there were instances where men were murdered in cold blood, and boys, who had taken shelter from the fury of the mob, were dragged from their hiding-places, and, after being cruelly maltreated, deliberately shot. In one case, an old man, *a soldier of the revolution*, was pursued by a mob, but finding he could not escape, turned and *supplanted their mercy*. The reply he received was a shot from a rifle, which wounded him mortally; he still besought them to spare him, when one of the party picked up a scythe, or sickle, and *literally hacked him to pieces* as he lay on the ground,” &c. Vol. ii. p. 448.

These Mormons are a set of harmless fanatics, the absurdity of whose errors ought of itself to secure them from molestation. We add Mr. Buckingham's observations as to the extent to which freedom of opinion is enjoyed.

“Here, however, as everywhere throughout the south, slavery is a topic upon which no man, and, above all, a foreigner, can open his lips without imminent personal danger, unless it is to defend and uphold the system. Then, indeed, he may speak as freely as he pleases; but if it is even to doubt whether slavery be on the whole either just or profitable, he is sure to be assailed with imputations of being an incendiary, of desiring to incite the slaves to rebellion, to bring about the massacre of the whites, and the annihilation of their property. The violence of the measures taken against the few who from time to time venture to express themselves in favour of abolition, is such as to strike terror into others; and thus all public discussion of the question is as effectually suppressed, *as if there were a censorship of the press, or a holy inquisition*. I feel assured that it would not be so dangerous for a man to preach the right of resistance to despotic authority in Petersburg or Vienna, to inveigh against Popery at Rome, or to denounce Mohammedanism at Constantinople, as it would be for him to proclaim himself, either by his pen or by his tongue, as an abolitionist in the slave-holding States south of the Potomac in America; and yet, to tell the Americans that they have neither freedom of the press nor freedom of speech to the extent to which both are enjoyed in England, would greatly offend as well as surprise them, though nothing could be more true.” Vol. i. p. 183.

This needs no comment.*

* We cannot help citing from Captain Marryat's "Diary in America," the two following quotations, which clearly prove that the tendency of American institutions has been to *abridge*, not to *enlarge* freedom of opinion:—

It has been remarked by the greatest political philosophers of ancient days, and the opinion is re-asserted by the greatest political philosopher of modern days, that governments may be destroyed, or may lose their proper character, not only by the defect, but even by the excess of their principle. And from this it will result that the excess of democracy destroys or lessens the democratic character of the government. We have not room here for a comparison of despotism and anarchy; we shall in the present case merely *state* our opinion that they are essentially the same, and that their great distinction from the forms of government, which they appear respectively to resemble is *this*—that in limited governments, penal laws are always both prospective and general—in unlimited governments, they are sometimes retrospective and particular; in limited governments, they are applicable only to future events and general cases—in unlimited governments, they sometimes are applicable to past events and particular cases. The following extracts show what is the practice of the Slave States of America :—

“My servant, indeed, overheard some half-drunken men around the door of one of the bar-rooms exulting in the idea of a probable “tarring and feathering,” and recounting with great glee a feat lately performed on some stranger suspected by them of being an abolitionist, whom they dragged from his bed-room, placed astride on a rail, carried him in mock triumph through the town in this plight, and ended the penance by ducking him in a neighbouring swamp. This story was afterwards confirmed to us by some of the most respectable inhabitants of the town, who assured us, that though they felt indignant at such conduct, and would willingly have prevented its occurrence, or secured the injured party redress, they could do neither without endangering their own lives and properties, so entirely could these reckless ruffians get and keep command of the town.” Vol. i. p. 532.

“LYNCHING IN A COURT-HOUSE.—At Copiah, in Mississippi, shortly after a prisoner, named Alvin Carpenter, charged with murdering the late Judge Keller, had been acquitted of the crime, and convicted of

AMERICA IN 1782.

“Je vais, disais-je, mettre à la voile aujourd’hui, je m’éloigne avec un regret infini d’un pays, où l’on est, sans obstacle, et sans inconvénient, ce qu’on devrait être partout, sincère et libre. On y pense, on y dit, on y fait ce qu’on veut. Rien ne vous oblige d’y être ni faux, ni bas, ni flatteur. Personne ne se choque de la singularité de vos manières ni de vos goûts.” —*Mémoires ou Souvenirs de M. de Segur*, vol. i. p. 409.

AMERICA IN 1835.

“L’Amérique est donc un pays de liberté où pour blesser personne, on ne doit parler librement, ni des gouvernans, ni des gouvernés, ni des entreprises publiques, ni des entreprises privées; de rien, enfin, de ce qu’on y rencontre, si non peut-être du climat et du sol; encore trouve-t-on des Américains prêts à défendre l’un et l’autre, comme s’ils avaient concouru à les former.” —*M. de Tocqueville sur la Démocratie aux États Unis de l’Amérique*, vol. ii. p. 118.

manslaughter only, a mob rushed into the room, put out the lights, stabbed Carpenter in several places, and cut off his head, leaving him dead on the floor." Vol. ii. p. 449.

"On the 28th of April, 1836, in the city of St. Louis, Missouri, a black man, named Mc'Intosh, who had stabbed an officer that had arrested him, was seized by the multitude, fastened to a tree, *in the midst of the city*, wood piled around him, and in the open day and in the presence of an immense throng of citizens, he was burned to death. The *Alton Telegraph* (III.), in its account of the scene, says—'All was silent as death while the executioners were piling wood around their victim. He said not a word until feeling that the flames had seized upon him. He then uttered an awful howl, attempting to sing and pray, then hung his head and suffered in silence, except in the following instance. After the flames had surrounded their prey, his eyes burnt out of his head, and his mouth seemingly parched to a cinder, some one in the crowd, more compassionate than the rest, proposed to put an end to his misery by shooting him, when it was replied, 'that it would be of no use, since he was already out of pain.' 'No, no (said the wretch), I am not, I am suffering as much as ever; shoot me—shoot me!' 'No, no (said one of the fiends who was standing about the sacrifice they were roasting), *he shall not be shot, I would sooner slacken the fire, if that would increase his misery:*' and the man who said this was, we understand, an officer of justice!.....

"It is important to add, that the Hon. Luke E. Lawless, judge of the circuit court of Missouri, at a session of that court, in the city of St. Louis, some months after the burning of this man, *decided officially, that since the burning of Mc'Intosh, was the act either directly, or by countenance of a majority of the citizens, it is a case which transcends the jurisdiction of the grand jury.*"—*Slavery and the Int. Sl. Tr. of the United States*, pp. 125, 126.

Such are some of the evils arising *directly* from the civil and political institutions of America. The evils arising indirectly from these institutions are likewise obvious and great. The existence of an enlightened aristocracy, well constituted and well regulated, has a most civilizing effect upon the whole community; it refines the manners, improves the taste, stimulates the invention, increases the comforts, augments the knowledge, and exalts the feelings of the nation where it is found. And to the absence of this we must attribute many of the faults as well as the blemishes of America.

Another evil, arising principally from the same source, is the absurd distinction of caste; carried to a greater length than was ever the case with the most exclusive aristocrats of the Old World. The Germans demand sixteen quarterings, but this is not at all sufficient for an American, who will not pardon the slightest drop of negro blood. Even supposing that the negro race were inferior to the white, this would not justify the treat-

ing, as inferior, those who possess a single drop of negro blood. Such a rule is contrary to the strictest laws of heraldry ever known, and the spurious offsprings of an unnatural state of society. It is owing, we know, in a great degree, to negro slavery; but we conceive it to be caused also in a great degree by the scarcity of gentry, and the total absence of aristocratic institutions. There are certain tendencies in the human mind which will develop themselves somehow, if not permitted or encouraged to develop themselves in a proper manner towards their legitimate object, they will do so in an improper manner towards a wrong object. Take, as an example, the tendency in human nature to lean upon authority in matters of faith—we all know that if men's minds are not encouraged or permitted to develop themselves in a legitimate manner towards the Church, they will naturally and necessarily seek after some other object—such as is furnished, for instance, by a favourite “minister,” or a celebrated teacher, living or dead. It is true that the first who cast off this authority may not feel this want, but their descendants will in a few generations. Excitement often carries men forward against, or away from some principle inherent in human nature; but a re-action must come as surely as that the flow follows the ebb, and then if the natural object be removed, or be unattainable, the re-action will direct itself towards some other object: and this the more vehemently and exaggeratedly in proportion as the *false object differs from the true*, because in such case the natural tendency is not gratified, and seeks gratification by excess instead of by REFORM.

We have already asserted that the democratic, the aristocratic, and the monarchical principles are all three part of the law of Nature. We conceive that there are in the human mind tendencies to each of these principles. It follows then, from what we have laid down, that the practical absence of the aristocratic principle deprives the mind of an object to which it has a peculiar tendency, and it hence ensues that the mind will find some irregular and improper method of developing this tendency. Such is the prejudice of caste in the United States of America, a prejudice carried to such an outrageous extent, as to supersede the revealed will of God, the laws of Nature, and the dictates of common sense.

We cannot conclude this article—more especially after writing the two last sections of it, without congratulating our fellow-countrymen on the absence of those evils which we have described, and the possession of those blessings which are wanting in the Slave States of America—without exhorting them to love, cherish, reverence, and defend, with unremitting earnest-

ness and unabating zeal, our matchless constitution and our holy Church. That constitution which lives without an equal on the surface of the earth, and stands without a rival in the history of nations, comprehending and combining, in its coronal of glory, a sturdy democracy, a powerful aristocracy, an unpolluted altar, and an uncontested throne. That Church which maintains together apostolic discipline and evangelical doctrine, which preserves Catholic truth while discarding Romish error, which encourages devotion while reprehending fanaticism, and protesting at the same time against all corruptions, whether rendered venerable by the use of ages, or deriving a false charm from the glare of novelty, undaunted by adversity, undimmed by prosperity, holds still her heavenward course, the wonder of all the nations, the converter of the heathen, the refuge of man, and the delight of God.

ART. III.—*The Old Red Sandstone; or, New Walks in an Old Field.* By HUGH MILLER. Edinburgh: 1842.

2. *Principles of Geology.* By CHARLES LYELL, Esq., F.R.S. Sixth Edition. London: Murray.

3. *A Memoir on the Flat Regions of Central and Southern Russia in Europe.* By MR. MURCHISON, M. DE VERNEUIL, and COUNT KEYSERLING. Read before the Geological Society, April 20, 1842.

THE book which we place first in our list is a remarkable production. It is by a working man, who, making a right use of opportunities within the reach of all, has raised himself above the condition in which he was born, and produced a book which is likely to be remembered on many accounts. We know nothing whatever of Mr. Miller beyond what may be gathered from his book, but from this it is evident that he has lost no opportunity of cultivating a naturally vigorous mind, and has brought it to bear in a practical, common-sense way, upon every thing which has fallen within range of his observation; and he states that the chief design of the publication is, that the working man may be encouraged by his modicum of success to improve every opportunity for observation, since "it cannot be too extensively known that nature is vast and knowledge limited, and that no individual, however humble in place or acquirement, need despair of adding to the general fund." The opening remarks, on the "working man's true policy," are well worth the

attention of all young men, for all desire, in one sense or another, to better their circumstances.

“ My advice to young working men, desirous to better their circumstances, and add to the amount of their enjoyments, is a very simple one. Do not seek happiness in what is misnamed pleasure ; seek it rather in what is termed study. Keep your conscience clear, your curiosity fresh, and embrace every opportunity of cultivating your minds. You will gain nothing by attending Chartist meetings: the fellows who speak nonsense with fluency at these assemblies, and deem their nonsense eloquence, are totally unable to help either you or themselves, or, if they do succeed in helping themselves, it will be all at your expense: leave them to harangue unheeded, and set yourselves to occupy your leisure hours in making yourselves wiser men. Learn to make a right use of your eyes ; the commonest things are worth looking at—even stones and weeds, and the most familiar animals. Read good books, not forgetting the best of all: there is more true philosophy in the Bible than in every work of every sceptic that ever wrote, and we would be all miserable creatures without it, and none more miserable than you. You are jealous of the upper classes ; and perhaps it is too true, that with some good, you have received much evil at their hands. It must be confessed they have hitherto been doing comparatively little for you and a great deal for themselves. But upper and lower classes there must be so long as the world lasts ; and there is only one way in which your jealousy of them can be well directed. Do not let them get a head of you in intelligence. It would be alike unwise and unjust to attempt casting them down to your own level, and no class would suffer more in the attempt than yourselves, for you would only be clearing the way, at an immense expense of blood and under a tremendous pressure of misery, for another and perhaps worse aristocracy, with some second Cromwell or Napoleon at their head. Society, however, is in a state of continual flux ; some in the upper classes are from time to time going down, and some of you from time to time mounting up to take their places—always the more steady and intelligent among you, remember ; and if all your minds were cultivated, not merely intellectually, but morally also, you would find yourselves, as a body, in the possession of a power which every charter in the world could not confer upon you, and which all the tyranny or injustice of the world could not withstand.

“ There is none of the intellectual, and none of the moral faculties, the exercise of which does not lead to enjoyment ; nay, it is chiefly in the active employment of these that all enjoyment consists ; and hence it is that happiness bears so little reference to station. It is a truth which has been often told, but very little heeded or little calculated upon, that though one nobleman may be happier than another, and one labourer happier than another, yet it cannot at all be premised of their respective orders, that the one is in any degree happier than the other, simple as the fact may seem, if universally recognized it would save a great deal of useless discontent, and a great deal of envy.” (p. 27).

Mr. Miller illustrates his meaning, and strengthens the counsel

he gives, by a brief but very interesting account of the commencement of his own career as a slim, loose-jointed boy, set to work in a quarry; and there finding, to his surprise, not only that the labour was no great hardship, but that this which was apparently mere drudgery, opened to his observation numerous facts, imparting a lasting pleasure to himself, and ultimately conveying important instruction to others; so that a simple quarry man was thus enabled to better his own circumstances, and also to enlarge our stock of knowledge and benefit science itself.

“My first year of labour came to a close, and I found that the amount of my happiness had not been less than in the last of my boyhood. My knowledge too had increased in more than the ratio of former seasons; and as I had acquired the skill of at least the common mechanic, I had fitted myself for independence. The additional experience of twenty years has not shown me that there is any necessary connexion between a life of toil and a life of wretchedness; and when I have found good men anticipating a better and a happier time than either the present or the past, the conviction that in every period of the world's history the great bulk of mankind must pass their days in labour, has not in the least inclined me to scepticism.....One important truth I would fain press on the attention of my lowlier readers. There are few professions, however humble, that do not present their peculiar advantages of observation; there are none, I repeat, in which the exercise of the faculties does not lead to enjoyment.” (pp. 37, 39).

The remarks of a working man have one advantage over those of men of science—that they result from a longer and closer acquaintance with the subject, and are experimental rather than theoretic. The observations of the workman result from his work. The mason distinguishes the quality of the stone because its durability depends upon its quality, and he remarks its joints and cleavage, as by attending to these things, or the grain of the stone, the work is facilitated and the building improved. St. Paul's cathedral seldom wants repair, because the stone was well chosen, well wrought, and rightly placed: Blackfriars Bridge is continually needing repair, because these things were neglected. And as Mr. Miller observes,

“The amateur will often pronounce a formation unfossiliferous, when, after the examination of a few days he has not discovered any organic remains; half the mistakes of the geologists arising from conclusions thus hastily formed. But the working man, whose employments have to be carried on in the same formation for months, perhaps years together, enjoys better opportunities for arriving at just decisions. There are formations which yield their organisms slowly to the discoverer, and the proofs which establish their place in the geological scale more tardily still. I was acquainted with the old red sandstone of Ross and Cromarty for nearly ten years ere I had ascertained that it is richly

fossiliferous—a discovery which, in exploring this formation in those localities, some of our first geologists had failed to anticipate: I was acquainted with it for nearly ten years more ere I could assign to its fossils their exact place in the scale.”

It is to this very extensive formation, which holds a place between the mountain limestone of the coal districts, and the gneiss, grauwacke, and clay slate, of the transition series, that the attention of geologists has been especially directed of late: first in the Silurian rocks bordering Wales; next in the Devonian rocks abutting upon Dartmoor; and lastly, in the most extensive deposits of the same rocks throughout the southern districts of European Russia, abutting upon the Uralian mountains; all of which have been carefully examined by Mr. Murchison, to whom Mr. Miller dedicates his book, as having encouraged him in the prosecution of his researches, and assisted him in his enquiries with advice.

The facts which have been thus made known are of such importance as to shake the theory of successive destructions and new creations to its very foundation—to make it necessary that the whole theory should “be greatly modified before it can be admitted—before we can receive it as an universal truth.” And we, therefore, think this a favourable opportunity for bringing the whole theory of the geologists under review at once; that while they are acknowledging error in one point, and endeavouring to correct it, they may also re-examine the other weak points of their system, and either amend it, or if not capable of correction and explanation, abandon it altogether.

And as Mr. Miller has very properly counselled the working classes to exert themselves, and not to let others get a-head of them in intelligence, so it behoves the scientific not to let others get a-head of them; and it behoves the clergy, above all classes, to take care that the laity do not get a-head of them, for the days are gone by when the word of a clergyman would pass for gospel. The clergy now must make themselves acquainted with the pursuits and studies of the laity, to meet their wants and solve their difficulties. And there is no one pursuit so much in danger of being perverted to infidelity as geology, and therefore none which it more behoves the clergy to understand in order to guard it from this perversion. And this is our reason for examining the question pretty fully on the present occasion.

And since it cannot be expected that working men will be very deeply versed in science, yet scientific knowledge is required in discussing the points involved in the geological theory—the clergy, who, from their education and leisure, are for the most part able to acquire this knowledge, may save the working

classes from being misled by the specious appearances of science on which the theory rests. And the most dangerous part of the theory is that which the clergy are best able to understand, and can most effectually meet and expose; it is that part of it which professes to reconcile the theory with the Scriptures. This attempt at reconciliation is not undertaken with any dishonest intention—it is meant in good faith, and undertaken in sincerity, and is received in all simplicity by the humbler classes. But those who are well-informed in the Scriptures and in theology will perceive how entire a failure there is in the argument, and how impossible it is to produce such a reconciliation, save by a sacrifice of one part or other of the word of God. And in Mr. Miller's book we have an instance of exactly that which we mean. For he, no doubt with sincerity, recommends the Bible to the working man as the best of books, and containing most of true philosophy, yet he himself has adopted those very opinions of the geologists which would subvert the credibility of Scripture, and place it as completely on a level with any scientific treatise as the veriest infidel would desire. We are sure that it would grieve and offend Mr. Miller to be told so, and that he, as well as Dr. Buckland and the other clergymen who are professed geologists, will deem the accusation unjust and most uncharitable. And we can only disclaim all intention to offend, and beg them to weigh what we say.

Mr. Miller, whose researches have been conducted chiefly in the old red sandstone, is naturally surprised that its contents should have been so long unknown, and even its existence as a formation very recently denied. To a foreigner, who said "you must inevitably give up the old red sandstone," Mr. Murchison replied, "I would willingly give it up, if nature would, but it assuredly exists, and I cannot." Since this time such further acquaintance with his old favourite has been made by Mr. Murchison, in the eastern parts of Europe, as will we doubt not attract Mr. Miller's attention. It is possible that we may find the geologists as confident against what we can say as the foreigner was against the existence of the sandstone formations, and yet they may ultimately become convinced, as we hope the foreigner is by this time. And as the sandstone itself is a strong illustration of the principles for which we contend, this may tend to procure a more favourable hearing from these gentlemen for principles of science which we believe to be as indisputable as the existence of sandstone.

The geologists have no hesitation in ascribing to all those who question their theory *at present*, all those prejudices and defects which have been unsparingly heaped by them upon the

old geologists. The construction of theories in ignorance of facts and of the true principles of science—the adoption of such theories without examination—the combining opposite theories without regard to their contrariety—and continual prepossessions in regard to the duration of past time—all which circumstances might have influenced their minds, and given an undue bias to their opinions. The geologists are, therefore, bound to submit to the same ordeal, and must expect to be weighed in the same scale. All their opinions must be so scrutinized as to deprive them of all undue bias—we must guard against their prepossessions—and, above all, insist upon having facts produced in support of every assertion, and a close conformity with facts, and with the acknowledged principles of science in *the new theory.*

When it is shown that an old theory is faulty or absurd, we are quite right in rejecting that theory, but we are not therefore obliged to find out or to adopt some other theory. It may be that we have not facts enough to found any theory upon, it may be a subject beyond our reach and out of the sphere of our comprehension. And the talent to demolish is not always such as can also construct; the man who detects faults in another, is very often blind to the same kind of faults committed by himself; and the modern geologists must not be outrageous if they find themselves in company with their elders; if they find themselves committing faults which are in principle the same, and changed only in circumstances.

In one respect the older geologists, at least the great majority of them, were quite agreed with those of the present day; they considered precipitation from a mechanical solution to be sufficient to account for such deposits as contain organic remains; and they also agreed with the moderns in supposing that such processes as those by which the rocks were formed have been going on to the present day. But the older geologists supposed that the deluge of Noah was the time during which this precipitation took place on the high lands, which deposits they thought were consolidated to their present degree by the retiring of the waters. Whereas it does not appear that the modern geologists attribute any noticeable effects to the deluge of Noah, ascribing each stratum or deposit to a distinct deluge; the last of which catastrophes took place long before any recorded era, long before the creation of man. In one respect the older geologists are more consistent than the moderns are; for though they maintain that mechanical solution and precipitation provided the materials of stratification, they believed that an extraordinary agency, a supernatural deluge, was

needed to provide sufficient materials, and to raise them to their present places. Whereas the moderns suppose not only that the agency for preparing the materials, but also for raising them to the positions they now occupy, is an agency still going on; that no part of the agency is supernatural. And their inconsistency lies in this, that, appealing as they do to facts, and professing to account for all things by ordinary operations, they cannot show an instance of any one stratum formed by that agency to which they attribute the formation of all: and all are thrown back beyond the bounds of time, to an epoch in which the six thousand years of our chronology is as an undiscernible atom, yet they use the phenomena around us to measure and calculate this antemundane immensity. And they have really no data whatever for doing so. They have mud at the bottom of lakes, they have slime on the banks of tide rivers mixed with sand-bars at the mouths, and they have the shingles, and comminuted shells, and uncohesive sands on the sea-shore, but they have no further facts: the mud, shingles, and sand, for anything we know, may be mud, shingles, and sand to all eternity. There is not a step taken towards the consolidation of any of these, and the assertion that they will become in the course of time solid strata by any process now going on must be treated as an assertion purely hypothetical.

Professor Sedgwick observed long ago, respecting geology, that the rival theories would do no real harm to science, if men could abandon a theory with as little difficulty as they felt in embracing it: but since a theory necessarily gathers round it the facts concerning that science which it professes to explain—so reducing them into principles, and ranging them under elementary heads, as to form one system—we are not only reluctant that this should be disturbed from the dislike to the trouble of acquiring a new arrangement, but resist every assault upon the theory, as if it were an attempt to despoil us of science itself. And when we know that the theories we have adopted were originally framed by men of great practical knowledge, and have since received the sanction of men of great repute in science, we are tempted to regard the humble remonstrance of any less eminent man with the contempt and scorn due to an arrogant pretender.

While the geologists were divided into the two great classes of Plutonists and Neptunists, the opposite theories of fire and water saved the contending partizans from becoming so built up in their own positions on either side as to think them impregnable; the opponents could not claim a monopoly of science on either side, and equal talents were put forth in assaulting and

repelling. The disgrace attending even a defeat was very tolerable; to change sides was small dishonour; to rank with the followers of Hutton and Playfair was not considered, in a follower of Werner, to be an abandonment of science. But now, the geologists have taken another position, in maintaining which they all agree—a position so wide as to give room for both the preceding parties; to allow them to meet without clashing, and in their union, concentrating all the science, to become safe from all assaults, save the vulgar assaults of the uninstructed and prejudiced, which they might wisely disregard.

The early geologists devoted themselves to the examination of local facts, to ascertain the circumstances under which each mineral might find its present place, and assume its present appearances. The Wernerians, in their examinations, were guided, first, by external and obvious characteristics, and as all minerals indicate some kind of stratification, and some reference in their fracture to adjacent mountain ranges, as well as to the horizontal line, therefore *mechanical* action alone might in all cases suffice to explain the local facts. And the Wernerians classified the rocks according to mechanical principles of deposition—as primary transition, secondary, tertiary, diluvial, &c., succeeding each other from the oldest to the newest. The Huttonians, on the contrary, attended more to the internal characters and constituent ingredients of minerals in forming their system; and as fire was the agent employed in their laboratories to resolve all the rocks into their primary elements, and as in many instances they were able to reconstitute them by the agency of fire, even in their small furnaces, so they supposed that all the minerals might have been formed, in the great laboratory of Nature, by the agency of fire alone.

The Wernerians were pre-eminently practical men; they collected abundant facts, before they began to speculate, and their theories were in strict agreement with the facts; and, therefore, they limited their system to the countries they had examined. The Huttonians were scientific men, and examined every fact in order to bring it under some law; the theory of these last preceded their collection of facts, and was continually seeking to overpass and overbear the facts. The theory of fire agency of course *reversed* the order of succession as to primary, secondary, and tertiary rocks; as the fire acted in the bowels of the earth and formed the strata from beneath, in a *descending* order; but the water acted on the surface of the earth, depositing the strata from above in an *ascending* order. In favour of the aquatic origin of strata, it was alleged that shells and corals were found universally, and to the tops of all but the highest

mountains, and forming constituent ingredients of all formations save the primitive. And in favour of the igneous origin, we were referred to the many indisputable indications of heat amounting to fusion, and volcanic heavings, and rending of the strata, and, above all, to those phenomena which, like granitic veins, must have proceeded from an upward pressing of the crystalline rock, while in a state of fluidity or lava-like fusion. And these things led to a sort of amalgamation of both theories into one system, in which the joint agency of fire and water were admitted, before the accurate notices of the animal remains peculiar to the different strata had brought into the enquiry the new element of time, which has since become the most striking feature of the science, and the point to which geologists have given most attention.

From the earliest times shells had been observed, and were taken for a proof of the deluge; and large bones had also been observed, which were called bones of giants, or dragons, or dun cows, according to the local superstition of the vulgar. But when comparative anatomy came to be studied, it was found that these fossil bones scarcely ever were remains of such animals as can now live in our northern clime, often remains of animals not at present known, often of such as we have every reason for supposing now extinct; and among them all not a fragment has been found which ever formed part of a human body—a deficiency which excited most marked attention from the first, and which has not been as yet supplied.

As from the presence of shells and marine remains on the mountain-tops, men had inferred a general deluge; so from the absence of human bones in the vast quantities of animal remains, they not unnaturally inferred that those animals had existed before the creation of man, and the more confidently, as many of the animals belonged to genera and species which we believe to be extinct. This second inference from the absence of human bones, may serve to show that the pious conclusion derived from the presence of shells was somewhat rash; but both together ought the more to warn us against being too confident in the sceptical conclusions which have been deduced from the absence of human bones. For a negative argument is at best a weak position, and may be turned by a single discovery of a single fragment; and needs, moreover in this instance, the proof that human bones are capable of fossilization, like the bones of animals and the shells of fishes.

While these more accurate examinations of each specimen were going on, men were also observing their relative positions in the strata and beds which respectively contained them. And

it was soon discovered that although some strata consisted of vast masses of shells and corals heaped together promiscuously, as if by a deluge, yet in any one specimen, and the stratum to which it belonged, there was some predominant characteristic to distinguish it from other strata, and often some one species of shell or coral, found no where else. And as these observations came to be made in distant regions, a curious interchange was observed, so that the fossil ferns and heaths of England were tropical species; the fossil plants of America, European; our fossil shells, mostly Asiatic; elephants on the shores of the Frozen Ocean up to the north cape, and bears and wolves in the Rock of Gibraltar.

The observation that each stratum has its characteristic fossils, was first verified and methodised by Mr. Smith; and his remarks applied principally to the chalk deposit, and the strata connected with it, above and below. But the principle thus established in one series, was found to prevail through all the stratified deposits; so that by merely seeing the shell or bone, a geologist was able to declare with confidence from what part, in the long series of stratification, this specimen came. A higher value and far greater precision was given to the observations of Mr. Smith, by the skill of Baron Cuvier, so unrivalled in comparative anatomy, and that of M. Agassiz in ichthyology; who, bringing their own peculiar acquirements to bear on the facts brought into notice by Mr. Smith, determined, beyond the possibility of contradiction, the distinctness and order of the various strata, and also that the fossil remains were not of such animals as are at present known upon the earth.

Of these fossils it may suffice in general terms to remark, that they are most imperfect in the oldest or transition strata, being there only casts of bivalves, of distorted form and of very few species; that in the slates and shales, ferns and palms most abound; with the red sandstone and mountain limestone, corals, madrepores, and trilobites are associated; with the newer sandstones and the oolitic limestones, nautili and cornua ammonis come in, and in the lias beds of this formation, the gigantic ichthyosauri; while the chalk is characterized by echini of various species, passing into the slightly differing echini and bivalves of the upper gravel, and the oysters, whelks, and nautili of the London clay, and the junks, fruits, and land animals of the Sheppey beds.

While these observations were in progress, some most important experiments, by Sir James Hall, proved the possibility of converting amorphous substances into perfect minerals, by means of heat; as chalk into limestone, sand into flint, and sawdust

into coal; which experiments the Plutonists regarded as a triumphant demonstration of their theory. But other experiments were conducted by Chenevix, Hatchett, and Sir Humphrey Davy, which were subsequently further prosecuted by Mr. Crosse, to the equal gratification of the Neptunists, as they proved that by the application of galvanism to an aqueous solution, it was possible to obtain crystals and stones, no less perfect than those obtained by the application of heat in the preceding process. Geologists, therefore, concluded, that having found the order of the strata as above, and having, through these double experiments, the command of both fire and water *ad libitum*, they might get up a very pretty theory, and account for all things in a very plausible way. Water being the most simple, they might push that as far as it would go, quite sure that they would not burn their fingers; when water failed, fire was at hand to carry them a little further, or, at all events, to raise a smoke; and if fire and water should both fail, there were earthquakes and volcanoes for a last resort, which furnish a safe retreat for every hard-pressed geologist, as they appear to have no law, and are veiled in impenetrable obscurity.

A tone of ridicule is not that which is suitable to a scientific discussion, because we expect that scientific enquiry, and the systems deduced from those enquiries, will be solid, rational, and conclusive; but the geological system is so utterly at variance with common sense, if brought to bear on the sciences involved, in their merest rudiments, that it cannot but excite ridiculous emotions to behold grave men, in all the pomp and pretence of learning, pursuing the strange vagaries of such an *ignis fatuus*; and playing their pranks over the quagmire of infidelity, without being aware of the gulph which quivers beneath the ground they tread. One can but laugh or weep.

The train of reasoning among the geologists is this. No human bones are found in the strata—*ergo*, the strata were formed before the creation of man. Each stratum is distinct from every other stratum—*ergo*, each stratum is a distinct act of creation, and all in an approximately ascertainable succession of periods dependent upon our present knowledge of the increase of animals, and of the time it would now take to deposit strata of that thickness! An accurate thinker would not need to go further than this to perceive the flimsiness of the whole, and would apply the poetic adage, *Nec Deus intersit nisi dignus vindice nodus*. A sweeping argument is drawn from the non-discovery of human bones, and then assumed as an axiom for the basis of all the rest. Then it is assumed that each stratum is universal, and once formed the sole and entire superficial covering of the

earth, the whole earth being at that time inhabited by no other animals than those which are imbedded in that stratum. Then God is supposed to come in, to make an end of that race of animals, which they therefore call extinct; and to create the next race, to be in like manner destroyed and imbedded in the next superincumbent stratum! But whence comes the stratum to imbed them?—must not this be created too? It cannot come from the last, or precedent stratum, because in that case it would contain the *same* fossil remains washed out of it, and the *same* ingredients, as being formed from the detritus of the same materials: but this would contradict the very argument itself, which assumes that they are distinct, both in animal remains and ingredients!!! And it is a very sorry and purposeless work to suppose God engaged in creating only to destroy, for such countless generations, and such innumerable ages; and all *before* man had sinned, and the creation was cursed for his sake—before the creature became subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who subjected the same.

Such general objections to the reasoning of the geologists have quietly settled the argument in the minds of many, and these think no more of them or of their system. But for this very reason such objections do not reach the geologists themselves, and if they did, a refuge would be at hand in the details of the system; which, by the help of a little shifting and shuffling, with a seasonable earthquake or volcano, may seem to stop, or parry, or evade the force of every general objection. But obstacles in detail, and that of a most formidable kind, have recently occurred, on which the whole system is in a fair way of suffering shipwreck. First, when the gallant bark was in full sail, wafted by the unanimous voice of popular favour, with Professor Buckland at the helm, for want of a good look-out she came bump upon the sandstone rock of Dumfries, and all on board were well nigh frightened from their propriety by the sight of some unknown and unexpected monsters of the deep in a place where they had proved such things could not be. Next, a most formidable reef of a somewhat similar description appeared close to leeward before they had got clear of Dumfries, called the Silurians, and another, not far off, called the Devonians, and now a still more formidable shoal has been discovered astern, called the Permians, and on the top of it, *et alto prospiciens, summa placidum caput extulit unda*, Murchison, who seems to be preparing, however, not to save the vessel in danger, but meditating a *coup de grace* for the pilot, or any other of the crew that may stand within his reach.

These details are not at all consistent with the general argu-

ment; but such an objection is a mere trifle with the geologists—an earthquake will reconcile all. In the details they cannot assert that *any one* stratum is universal, or prove that any one ever was universal, though the general argument assumes that *all* were once so. The frequent parallelism of hundreds of strata together requires that these, one and all, should have been quite horizontal, to be thus regularly deposited, according to their theory; and then one and all raised to their present degree of inclination, or dip, as it is called, by an earthquake—that most accommodating, because most irregular, friend in need. So far, so good; the strata were deposited horizontally, and raised at one end or depressed at the other, as the circumstances may require, by an earthquake. But each stratum, they say, was thus deposited separately, and then each was raised to drain it, in preparation for another deposit; and each, when drained, brought down a second time to the horizontal position, that the second deposit may be parallel with the first, and so in succession, alternate draining and deposition, for every stratum of the series. The earthquake does his part quite genteelly—he raises the strata quite civilly, however many they be, and as soon as they are at the dry point, lets them down again quite easily, and repeats this process as often as any geologist desires. Truly this is a very docile earthquake, and seems to have had as good a course of training as that notable lion who promised and vowed to roar as gently as any sucking dove, so that the ladies should all say, let him roar again.

The theory—which this accommodating earthquake was thus conveniently used to bolster up, by lifting up strata of a mile or two in thickness, and of some hundreds of miles in length, and letting them down again with all the ease and regularity of the lid of a box, or the leaves of a book—received a very severe shock by the anomalies discovered in Dumfries, Hereford, and Devon—anomalies which had not been foreseen, and to which the earthquake could not be accommodated. And Mr. Murchison's recent discoveries in Russia will oblige us, however unwilling, to send the earthquake about his business elsewhere, for there is no place for him here—there is no work at all for him to do.

Mr. Murchison asserts that the stratification examined by him in the government of Perm is unquestionably the old red sandstone, and has the known characteristics of the Silurian and Devonian strata; yet that in the Permian system the strata are evidently undisturbed, and are still, as from the commencement of this deposition, perfectly horizontal, yet each stratum is quite distinct from the others, as distinct as if our kind friend the

earthquake had intervened to distinguish them. So that now the earthquake must go overboard—must be kicked off like an old shoe.

The next point in the geological details which involves a principle is that which accounts for the ingredients of the strata—the materials of which each stratum is made up. On this it is maintained that each succeeding stratum is formed from the detritus of pre-existent strata, or of the rocks from which those strata were formed: so that, in fact, all strata, without exception, have been formed from the detritus of the primitive rocks. This may not require that the ingredients of the primitive rocks should be found in *the same proportions* throughout the derived strata, but it does require that there should be *some correspondence* between them, and certainly that there should not be large masses of derivatives wholly untraceable to the supposed origin of these masses. We cannot bring this point to direct issue by taking adjoining rocks; but, if the principle be true at all, it is applicable to all strata, and we would therefore try the issue between the granite, the most abundant primitive rock, and the newer limestone and chalk, the most abundant of the stratified. Limestone and chalk occupy about one-eighth of the surface of the earth, and is that deposit which is the most clearly marked and most uniform of all. It consists almost entirely of lime, save where bands of chert and nodules of flint intervene, and these are evidently distinct concretions, gathered into the mass while it was in a liquid state, and are not to be regarded as ingredients of the stratum, or as derived from older rocks, if such had furnished the said ingredients; the stratum is almost exclusively pure chalk, or carbonate of lime. Now, is granite carbonate of lime? Is it anything like it? We know that it is not; we know that it does not contain a particle of lime which can be separated by any mechanical action, and that the quantity which can be extracted by chemical analysis is very small indeed—is as nothing compared with the enormous masses of limestone and chalk.

The geologists are practical men; they have been aware of this objection, and they have endeavoured to answer it. The objection is very fairly stated by Dr. Buckland, and the best answer which he was able to give. We do not think that a better can be given, but this is their affair; it is the best answer we can find:—

“It is a difficult problem to account for the source of the enormous masses of carbonate of lime that compose nearly one-eighth part of the superficial crust of the globe. Some have referred it entirely to the secretions of marine animals—an origin to which we must obviously

assign those portions of calcareous strata which are composed of comminuted shells and corallines: but, until it can be shown that these animals have the power of forming lime from other elements, we must suppose that they derived it from the sea, either directly, or through the medium of its plants. In either case, it remains to find the source whence the sea obtained, not only these supplies of carbonate of lime for its animal inhabitants, but also the still larger quantities of the same substance which have been precipitated in the form of calcareous strata."

Such is the objection as stated by Dr. Buckland, and now follows the answer:—

"We cannot suppose it to have resulted, like sands and clays, from the mechanical detritus of rocks of the granitic series, because the quantity of lime these rocks contain bears no proportion to its large amount among the derivative rocks. The only remaining hypothesis seems to be, that lime was continually introduced to lakes and seas by water that had percolated rocks, through which calcareous earth was disseminated."—*Bridgewater Treatise*, p. 89, note.

Dr. Buckland is a practical man, and we ask him where are these rocks which must be percolated to form his hypothesis? They do not exist in the granitic series, nor in the sands and clays formed from the detritus of granite, even by Dr. Buckland's own showing: but these are the only localities where, *on the geological theory*, they could by any possibility exist; and every practical geologist knows that such rocks have no existence, that such an hypothesis has no basis—has no fact to rest upon; and is only brought in to blink an insuperable difficulty, and this in one of the fundamental principles of a system which pre-eminently claims the praise of being founded entirely on facts.

But, instead of a fact, we are treated with a volcano—that convenient friend to help a lame theory over a stile. For Dr. Buckland goes on to say that—

"Although carbonate of lime occurs not in distinct masses among rocks of igneous origin, it forms an ingredient of lava and basalt, and of various kinds of trap rocks. The calcareous matter thus dispersed through the substance of these volcanic rocks seems to afford a magazine from which percolating water, charged with carbonic acid gas, may, in the lapse of ages, have derived sufficient carbonate of lime to form all the existing strata of limestone, by successive precipitates, at the bottom of ancient lakes and seas." (p. 90, note).

And it is stated that lava contains from 7.29 to 10. of carbonate of lime, the basalt of Saxony 9.5.

Now let us examine what these volcanic rocks will do for the theory—whether they can bolster it up on any supposition; and passing by the objection that the existence of such rocks is merely hypothetical and conjectural. It has just before been stated by Dr. Buckland that the mass of carbonate of lime to be

accounted for constitutes nearly one-eighth part of the superficial crust of the globe—that is, if put into decimals 12.5; but the highest estimate of the carbonate of lime contained in lava is only 10.0: therefore, if the whole superficial crust of the globe, which is not carbonate of lime, were nothing but lava most highly charged with lime, it would not suffice—it would be still 2.5 short of the quantity required! And then what has become of the residuum—what has become of the lava out of which the lime had been washed?—a residuum which, taking the same figures for our basis, would be nine times as much as the carbonate of lime; while the surface of the earth is actually only seven times as much as the carbonate of lime, according to Dr. Buckland's own showing!

We are not only surprised that such palpable errors should pass unobserved, but also surprised that it should not be perceived that the having recourse to a volcano *at all* for the constitution of strata is, *ipso facto*, an abandonment of the whole theory, so far as *time* is a part of it. For all the arguments as to time rest upon the supposed length of the periods which would be required to decompose the older rocks and reconsolidate them into the newer strata, *by mechanical laws still in action*. Volcanoes in their action, and lavas in their decomposition, cannot be brought under any law, and the introduction of such an element is tantamount to an opposite theory.

The objections which we have made to the explanation given are conclusive against it, even on the lowest estimate of the carbonate of lime, even as it now constitutes masses on the surface of the earth. But it is obvious that these masses were, many of them, once connected together, and that extensive denudations have taken place; such, for instance, as the whole district between Shakspeare's Cliff and Beachey Head, including the wealds of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and lying between the north and south downs to the borders of Hampshire. By the confession of all, many large tracts of such a description were once occupied by continuous masses of carbonate of lime, of equal thickness with the cliffs which bound these districts on all sides. And, according to the geological theory, the *whole earth* was covered by one such continuous mass during the carbonate of lime epoch: and thus not only are the objections increased in the ratio of the former enlargement of the deposit, but there seems to be no compatibility between them—no standing-place both for the lava and the lime: the lime is said to be extracted from lava, for which lava itself no place can be found. It is putting the elephant on the back of the tortoise with a vengeance!

The same line of argument applies to every other distinct for-

mation, as well as to that of the carbonate of lime; for it cannot be shown from whence, among the older rocks, materials of sufficient quantity, and of sufficient purity, could come to form the newer strata. The masses of clay slate among the transition rocks are as pure and as distinct as the chalk, and the crystalline marbles more so; nay, every stratum, and almost every bed, down to the silicious sandstone, and London clay, and ferruginous gravel, has sufficient homogeneity to assure us that each has been formed under laws and conditions peculiar *to it, and it alone*, and not that all have been formed by one common process, from one common basis—the granite; not even with the supplementary help of lavas and other volcanic products.

Again: not only is there a failure in the sources from whence the materials for stratification are supposed to have been derived, but the agency assigned as sufficient to consolidate those materials into strata is insufficient for that end; and the situation and appearances of the strata are inconsistent with the supposition of any such agency. For if each stratum were separately formed by precipitation from an aqueous solution of its ingredients, the time required to form it being indicated by its thickness, and the consolidation which it acquired by time and draining having constituted its separateness; then would this consolidation resist its taking any other form and position than that in which it was deposited and consolidated, viz., the flat form and horizontal position. And where many strata are conformable, each stratum of that group must have been consolidated without any of them changing their position; for in any change they would be unconformable, since after the change the succeeding deposits would continue to be horizontal. Now, since strata of contorted form, and raised to a very high angle of inclination, are of very frequent occurrence, we should expect that we might sometimes meet with a *single* stratum so raised, and unconformable with those above and below it, and at all times that this raising of consolidated strata would be attended with the *fracture*, never with the *bending*, of the horizontal slabs or strata of stone. But, on the contrary, singly raised strata are never found; and innumerable instances are met with of vast masses of strata, bent and contorted in all possible degrees, yet each cohering and not snapping, and all conformable with each other in these bendings and contortions. Thus showing that, so far from each stratum being consolidated before the deposition of the next, the whole mass, sometimes consisting of hundreds of strata, was in a plastic and cohesive state, so as to bear to be bent upwards to nearly a right angle, and in many instances for the strata to slide over each other, and curl and

wrinkle in sliding, like sheets of wet paper sliding down an inclined plane. Such is the case along a great portion of the coast of South Wales, especially between Pembroke and Tenby; to the north of which last town the strata consist of a very hard silicious sandstone, with rock crystals on the upper surface of each stratum; yet these, which average from two feet to a yard in thickness, are bent, and have slidden in the manner alluded to.

In this question of the way in which strata were formed, the geologists deceive themselves, and mislead others, by not rigidly adhering to one mode of explanation—not perceiving that, by thus shifting their ground, they do really abandon their theory, and do confess it to be untenable. The basis of the geological argument is the assumption, that the laws now in operation upon the surface of the earth are those which have regulated all stratification, and that by studying those laws we can ascertain when, and under what circumstances, stratification has proceeded. These laws involve, first, the mechanical deposition of the strata; secondly, the universality of each deposit: for mechanical deposition is the only action *the time* of which we can calculate; and each deposit must be assumed to have been universal, to ensure a *succession* of such strata, and get at a succession of time. By the introduction of fire, or of chemical agency, in neither of which can we take in time as an element, we so far weaken the arguments from mechanical deposition; and by any abandonment of universality, we open the door for *simultaneous* deposits in *different* places, and so nullify the whole argument. Yet every treatise on Geology speaks vaguely on these points. Dr. Buckland, for instance, speaks of “the origin of crystalline rocks, which the common consent of nearly all modern geologists and chemists refers to the action of fire;” and says “there is little doubt that the fluid condition in which all unstratified crystalline rocks originally existed was owing to the solvent power of heat.” Yet, in another place, he so qualifies the agency, both of fire and of water, as to render it impossible for us to bind him down to either. “The state of the ingredients of crystalline rocks has, *in a great degree*, been influenced by chemical and electromagnetic forces; whilst that of stratified sedimentary deposits has resulted *chiefly* from the mechanical action of moving water.”

When rocks are said to owe their original existence to any power, this is a tangible proposition, and we may grapple with it; but when it is afterwards broken down to their being influenced *in a great degree* by such a power, or another state has resulted *chiefly* from a certain action, the expressions may mean anything or nothing, for they are too vague and indefinite to lay hold of. And when they would draw out in detail the succes-

sion of formations, from the crystalline to the sedimentary, there is the same vagueness of statement, and the same eking out one agency by bringing in another. For, speaking of the elements rendered fluid by heat at the beginning, Dr. Buckland says—

“From this fluid mass the first granitic crust appears to have been formed, and subsequently broken into fragments, disposed at unequal levels, above and below the surface of the first formed seas. Wherever solid matter arose above the water, it became exposed to destruction by atmospheric agents—by rains, torrents, and inundations, at that time probably acting with intense violence, and washing down and spreading forth in the form of mud, and sand, and gravel, upon the bottom of these existing seas, the materials of primary stratified rocks, which, by subsequent exposure to various degrees of subterranean heat, became converted into beds of gneiss and mica slate, and hornblende slate, and clay slate. In the detritus, thus swept from the earliest lands into the most ancient seas, we view the commencement of that enormous series of derivative strata, which, by long continued repetition of similar processes, have been accumulated to a thickness of many miles.”

And, to account for the elevation of these primary strata, the granite peaks are supposed to have risen and forced up certain portions of these strata.

“Corresponding formations of primary and transition strata are represented as occurring on each side of this elevated granite, which is supposed to have broken through, and to have carried up with it to their present elevated and highly-inclined position, strata that were once *continuous*, and nearly *horizontal*.”

And concerning the succeeding formations—

“The secondary strata are composed of extensive beds of sand and sandstone, mixed occasionally with pebbles, and alternating with deposits of clay, and marl, and limestone. The materials of most of these strata appear to have been derived from the detritus of primary and transition rocks; and the larger fragments, which are preserved in the form of pebbles, often indicate the sources from which these rounded fragments were supplied.”

In all which there is the same shifting of the ground, and a continual bringing in of other agency, under a secret consciousness that the agency assigned is not sufficient. For when the granite peaks are lifted above the first formed seas, the theory affords nothing for their demolition, in order to form the strata, but *atmospheric agents*, rains, torrents, and inundations; and this conscious inefficiency in the agents is eked out by a *probably*; at that time *probably* acting with *intense violence*. And having by this probability obtained the semblance of a sufficient quantity of mud, and sand, and gravel; and yet nothing but the water which had demolished them could reconsolidate them, and

it being hard to believe that the same agent could produce contrary effects on the same materials ;! therefore “ *various degrees of subterranean heat* ” are brought in, which of course they claim the liberty of *varying* as much as they please, and would not, perhaps, like to define too exactly as subterranean ; since the mud has only as yet got to the bottom of the sea, and the sea itself has a bottom of consolidated granite, through which we do not well see how the heat could come to the mud. And, above all, we have here the strata, one and all, resolved into detritus of the granite, which we have already shown to be the supposition of an impossibility, as the granite does not contain the ingredients.

Moreover, we again think it necessary to remind our readers that the fundamental point of the whole theory is this : that by the agency *now at work* in the earth they can account for stratification, and *therefore* have it in their power to calculate its periods, and to assert with such confidence a duration of millions of years. They must not be suffered to escape from the position they have chosen, and the ordinary agency now in operation, into the bowels of the earth, where it is very possible that, under confinement and pressure, stony dust may, by the united agency of fire and water, become consolidated. For the subterranean agencies and all chemical or electro-magnetic forces operate with such rapidity, or such inequality, as to render it quite impossible to deduce comparative time from them ; and all the calculations concerning time in the geological theory rest solely on the supposition that stratification has taken place under *ordinary circumstances*—in such circumstances as we can now *observe*, and *watch* in progress, and *measure* in amount. They assert that the animals imbedded in the several strata lived upon the surface of each stratum until the time of its immersion, which being consolidated, the next stratum was first another surface, inhabited in like manner for a time, and then immersed and consolidated like the preceding ;—a supposition which they hold so confidently as to carry it out into all the collateral and ulterior consequences ; such as inferring great changes of the climate from the plants and animals, when these last belong to tropical countries, and are now found imbedded in the colder regions. And some of the inferences drawn from these considerations are not a little curious ; as when Dr. Mantell infers, from the iguanodons of Tilgate, that the wealds of Sussex formed the estuary of a mighty river, with numerous tributaries, flowing through a country possessing a tropical flora, and inhabited by reptiles of appalling magnitude, and of species which no doubt became extinct ere the creation of the human race.

Or as when Mr. Hawkins, in contemplating the lias deposits of Whitby and of Lyme Regis, exclaims, how specious and imposing the ideas present with us, of a vast continent, sending forth a mighty stream, the solitary haunt of these voracious reptiles ! So that we have three *mighty rivers* flowing in *opposite* directions within the compass of no vast continent, but of little England ; and we have to travel no very enormous distances to ascertain the sources of each mighty stream, but should most probably find them in a place not very remote from the Chiltern Hundreds, or some such convenient abstraction.

And touching the extinct races of animals, which occupy so prominent a place in the argument of geologists, it is not a little remarkable that the most striking fact concerning them is slurred over, if not entirely omitted, in the argument. It is upon record that the carcase of a mammoth was discovered in Siberia, on the shores of the Northern Ocean, imbedded in ice, and thereby preserved from corruption ; so much so, that the birds and beasts of prey came to feed on its flesh, when it had fallen from the mass of ice upon the sea-shore. Now what does this fact prove ? It proves that the catastrophe which overwhelmed this *extinct* animal was *the last* that has occurred, for there it has lain in its mass of ice undisturbed by any *succeeding* catastrophe. It proves also that the catastrophe was sudden, overwhelming, and freezing up an animal which dwelt not amongst frosts and snows ; and either its climate became all at once converted to the climate of Siberia, or it was so sealed up in ice, at the time of its destruction, that the atmosphere could not reach it to corrupt it, during transport, or at any subsequent period. It proves that no subsequent deposit has taken place on the surface of the earth ; for there, on the surface of the earth, where it was then deposited, it has ever since lain. It proves that up to the very time, we might almost say the very day, when the earth took its present form of surface, and present constitution of climates, animals of the extinct races existed ; and it bridges over that gulph which was supposed to be so vast between the present and the former world ; it presents us with one of its extinct inhabitants all but alive, and it brings the era of the last of its races into contact with time, and within the roll of this world's generations.

Another proof that the operations, by which the stony crust of the earth was hardened, took place far more rapidly than the geologists suppose, is to be found in those foot-marks which occur at Dumfries, and in many other places on the upper surface of sandstone and other stratified rocks. These impressions prove that a living animal had just passed—that the stratum was soft enough to receive the impression of its feet ; but that before the tide had time to turn—before a shower of rain fell, the rock

was indurated, and the impression preserved. A single ripple of the waves, or a shower of rain falling, would obviously have obliterated marks which the yielding nature of the surface alone enabled it to receive. And strata such as these were not indurated by pressure under ocean depths, or by any of the various degrees of subterranean heat which the mind of man can conceive; nor did it require countless ages to form them, but each was hardened in about the same time as would be required to form such a sheet of ice.

The echini of the chalk strata furnish also conclusive proof of their petrification having taken place in a yielding mass, which became hard almost immediately after the echini were engulfed or embedded. It is evident that they were suddenly and violently swept away, from a large proportion of the shells being *crushed* against each other, and against pieces of shingle; and the form still shows that there was the *elastic flesh* of the living fish within, only yielding to a certain extent, and keeping the crushed fragments of the shell in their places. Dr. Mantell, in many of his writings, has noticed this, saying—

“Flints of the chalk strata, though now so hard and unyielding, must once have been in a state of softness or fluidity; for we have in them the most delicate markings of various echini, enveloped in the very substance of the flint, and silicated. These remains are found in so perfect a state—the shells with all their spines and delicate processes so entire, that no doubt can be entertained that these animals were surrounded by the chalk while living in their native seas, and that many of them were entombed in their stony sepulchres *suddenly*, and while the rock was in a state of fluidity, like plaster of Paris. The chalk is stratified—that is, it is separated into layers or strata; and these as if a certain quantity had been precipitated, and had sunk to the bottom of the sea, and enveloped the animals which fell in its way, and this layer had hardened into stone before a fresh stratum was deposited. There is conclusive evidence that the flint and chalk were both dissolved or suspended in the *same liquid*, and that the two substances separated from each other (upon well known chemical principles) as they passed into a state of consolidation; the organic bodies serving as centres, around which the silicious matter concreted. Hence we find a coral, shell, or fish, partly embedded in chalk and partly in flint. And the chalk of the south east of England was deposited in the basin of a profound ocean; for the fossil shells, called ammonites, were inhabitants of deep waters, and these abound in the chalk.”

With these observations of Dr. Mantell we entirely concur, save that the chalk may have been *thrown up* from a deep sea, carrying with it the inhabitants of those waters; and all Dr. Mantell's facts would remain just as they are, and other facts would receive a better explanation.

The assertion which is most frequently and most confidently made is that just adverted to; and on it, in fact, the whole theory of the geologists mainly depends—namely, that all strata were formed at the bottom of the sea: and the proof adduced is, that the fossils embedded in the strata are marine productions, and often, as in the ammonites just mentioned, inhabitants of *deep seas*. But mixed with the ammonites, and in far greater numbers, we find also echini, which are not inhabitants of the deep, but of the shoal waters; these, they say, were washed down into the depths, and so got intermingled with the ammonites. But as there is no proof of this *washing down*, are not we at equal liberty to assert that the ammonites were *washed up* to the echini? If the geologists are right in their assertion, let them prove it, and by some better arguments than those by which Dr. Buckland endeavoured to show that chalk in sufficient quantity might be accumulated in the seas.

But the idea that stratification can be explained in this way, so as to agree with the facts, is perfectly absurd. For (not again to insist upon the improbability of an alternate raising and levelling of the strata, as must be assumed to produce their distinctness from each other, though it amounts to an absurdity)—we say that to suppose the strata to be, by any means, or in any number, thus raised from the depths of the sea, is contrary to every fact and every principle, and is therefore perfectly absurd. Granting that the deposition of the strata be rightly accounted for; allowing the geologists to have their own way, until the last stratum was formed under the oceanic pressure; granting all this, though not proved, to come at the further point, of raising the strata from the bed of the ocean; we say that this further point cannot be proved, and is in all instances a mere assumption, and in many instances directly contrary to the fact.

Suppose the whole mass of conformable strata which constitute one formation to lie horizontally at the bottom of the sea, and that they are all to be lifted so as to become dry land, and many of them to be so raised as to produce the high angle of dip which we find; to accomplish this, it is evident that there must be a raising power applied, either *between* the stratified rocks and the crystalline, so as to raise the former, disjoin them from the latter, and submerge these last in the same degree as the former were raised; or such a power must be applied *beneath the crystalline* as well as the stratiform rocks, and so both would be raised together, and retain, when raised, the same relative position towards each other which they had before. Or, rather, the granitic rocks could not be lower, and would generally be higher, than the others; as in lifting they would

also protrude their pointed summits, and rise to a greater relative height than before.

The first of these applications of the raising power, so as to disjoin or intervene between the crystalline and stratified rocks, no one, we presume, will maintain, as the contrary is indisputably the fact. Therefore we assume that all geologists place that power, which raised the stratified rocks to their present height, so deep in the bowels of the earth, as to be, not only below the lowest deposits, but beneath those crystalline rocks upon which these deposits rest. In accordance with this, in all those plates which illustrate the principles of geology by diagrams, the granite is represented, not only as the basis on which the stratified deposits rest, but as rising into peaks, which break through the deposits, and lift the strata in rising, which strata become most highly inclined as they are nearest to the granite, the points of the granite rising far above them all. Such a diagram, drawn by Mr. Webster, is prefixed to Dr. Buckland's *Bridgwater Treatise*.

But is this the case in nature? We think not. Cases certainly occur in which a granite peak crowns the summit of a mountain, seeming to burst through the secondary rocks which form the buttresses around its base: and a diagram, which was designed to represent merely the order of the rocks and the proximity to the granite, would be quite correct in making the granite a pyramidal centre, and the other rocks as steps to the apex of the pyramid. This is not the point which we are here considering; we are considering, not the *order*, but the *mode* of formation, and are alluding to diagrams which are intended to represent universal facts, and an order which would be found universally, if local and accidental circumstances did not interfere. What we require to be shown is, that in *a district*, taken *as a whole*, and including all the stratified rocks of that district, the granite is the highest. Take, for instance, our own country, and examine the granite of Dartmoor: so long as we limit our observations to that spot, the granite is the highest, and would be correctly represented in a diagram as bursting through the other rocks. But continue the examination into Somerset, and cross over into Wales, you find no granite there, till you pass beyond Snowden, when granite re-appears: yet some of the stratified rocks of Somerset rise higher than the granite of Dartmoor; and Snowden, which contains shells imbedded in the strata to its very top, is more than double the height of the Cornish granite, and five or six times higher than the granite of Anglesea, which lies almost at its foot. A diagram for the whole western side of Britain should not represent the granite highest, like the diagram of Dartmoor, but should

represent the southern granite as 1,500, the northern as 600, and the secondary rocks of Snowden as rising to a height of 3,600 feet, between the two granites. Where, therefore, is the power which has lifted Snowden?

The same facts occur in that part of Scotland to which Mr. Miller's observations extend. "The old red sandstone of Morvheim, in Caithness, overlooks all the primary hills in the district, from an elevation of 3,500 feet." (*New Walks*, p. 49). And we doubt not that this would be found to be the rule, and the superior elevation of the granite to be the exception everywhere, if persons in their examination were wholly free from prepossession, and looked beyond the mere locality to the whole of a district.

And it should be remembered that we have only been speaking of that superior elevation which the granite ought to have in consequence of being *lifted*. And this, according to the geological theory, is only a second stage of elevation in the primary over the secondary rocks. For the theory supposes that the primary were *originally* higher, as they must of necessity have been if the secondary were formed by a detritus washed down from the primary. And thus the primary ought to evince proofs *both* of their having been *originally* higher than the secondary, and also of that *additional* elevation which would ensue from their lifting.

Let not our readers suppose that we are denying the existence of a power sufficient to effect all that the geologists ascribe to it. Quite the contrary. We see proofs of such a power in the heavings and shakings of whole continents. But we assert that this power has not operated in the way that the geologists suppose; and that they are arguing from Tenterden steeple concerning Goodwin Sands. In geology there are two great classes of phenomena, which men endeavour to account for: there is the *orderly* class, of the regular succession of strata and the *uniform* nature of their contents; and there is the *disorderly* class, of the mighty convulsions, dislocations, and *bouleversment* of the previous order. All these phenomena the geologists ascribe to the same agency, and this is contradiction and absurdity.

We have collected materials for pursuing the enquiry into all its details, but this our space will not allow, nor is it necessary. The time is come, as we have already said, when the whole theory must be re-examined; we have sought to point out the false principles and the faulty observations involved in the old theory, and we can wait patiently for a better theory. We are not ourselves bound, nor do we think the geologists bound, to furnish a better; and we rather incline to the idea that more facts and observations on a broader scale, and from more distant lands, are still wanting for the right adjustment of all the parts

of any theory, which shall stand the test of time, and be at all worthy of astronomy, or any of the sciences that rest on fixed principles.

Yet, though decidedly averse to theorizing in the present state of our knowledge, we think it opportune and becoming to indicate the principles which should guide others in endeavouring to account for and arrange the facts which geological enquiry is continually bringing under notice. The careful examination of facts and the diligent and impartial comparison of these different collections of facts, cannot but, in the long run, lead to the knowledge of all truth within our reach, and so subserve and promote the cause of religion. But hasty speculation does nothing but mischief, and most of all in the hands of religious men, who think they are, by crude and hasty speculation, advancing truth and godliness, when at best they are only indulging the imagination, and frequently even opening a door for unsuspected and insidious infidelity. And the same haste, which misapplies facts in turning them into crude speculations, may lead to a misunderstanding of Scripture, and so a misapplication of it, in support of a false theory. Geology may pursue its course, may collect its facts, may illustrate the facts by the principles of science, apart from theology, and without reference to the Scriptures. But this it has not done; on the contrary, geology has become so mixed up with religion that we cannot now separate them, and must advert to the theology of the question; and the theology of the question is forced upon us by the writings of the geologists, some of whom so insist upon their discoveries as to deny any other mode of ascertaining the truth, and reject with scorn whatever is opposed to them in the Scriptures; others of them explain away the real meaning of Scripture in well meant but futile endeavours to reconcile statements *toto cælo* opposed; and a still larger number speak of creation and extinction as if they were things of every day occurrence!—as if any one could create save God alone!—as if the very act of creation did not necessarily imply that God had done it!—or, most absurd of all, as if the creature could create itself! To take an instance of one beyond exception, as both a geologist and a clergyman, we quote Dr. Buckland:—

“ The study of these remains will form our most interesting and instructive subject of enquiry, since it is in them that we shall find the great master-key, whereby we may unlock the secret history of the earth. They are documents which contain the evidences of revolutions and catastrophes long antecedent to the creation of the human race; they open the book of nature, and swell the volumes of science, with the records of many successive series of animal and vegetable creations, of which the creation and extinction would have been

equally unknown to us, but for recent discoveries in the science of geology." (p. 128).

Now there is one volume which we rank higher than the book of nature, or the volumes of science, and to the standard of which we would bring the book of nature, assured that where they differ we have not read the book of nature aright. We are sure that the Bible speaks of only *one* creation, and at the beginning—that it speaks of only *one* revolution or catastrophe, and at the deluge; and we, therefore, scrutinize narrowly that interpretation of the book of nature which professes to discover *many* creations, and *many* catastrophes; and we assert that, on scrutiny, we find it to be manifestly erroneous—inconsistent with itself and with science; and therefore, even leaving the Bible out of the question, this interpretation cannot stand.

For these "many successive series of animal and vegetable creations" must be coupled with the theory concerning the formation of the strata, from which theory the evidence of *succession* is avowedly deduced. The theory assumes that each stratum was formed separately by means of a catastrophe which overwhelmed the pre-existent creation, broke up the older rocks into fragments, which subsided into a new stratum, which embedded all the living creatures then in existence; and new races were created when the new stratum was sufficiently consolidated for their reception. The many distinct strata—each thus succeeding the other—each ushered in by an universal deluge, becoming the tomb of an entire creation, and itself then the subject of an entire new creation—is what they mean by the many successive series of creations and extinctions. Now we must pin the geologists to this, and mark the consequences.

The argument necessarily requires that each stratum containing these remains should have covered the whole earth to ensure *succession*, and that the catastrophe should have been universal to ensure *extinction*; as otherwise different strata might be formed *simultaneously* in different places, and some of the animals would have found refuge in the *undestroyed* parts of the earth, and so be found in *other* strata than those which they are said to mark and number.

And now let us take a few such strata, in order to see how the hypothesis will work; and we will take, first, the first stratum deposited upon the granite. We might grant that this first stratum was formed from a detritus of the granite, caused by the action of moving water, covering the surface of the whole earth; that the time required to form such a stratum might be indicated by its thickness; and that in the stratum thus formed might be imbedded the remains of whatever fish existed in that first sea.

At the conclusion of the epoch, during which the first stratum was deposited, the "granite is supposed to have broken through, and to have carried up with it, to their present elevated and highly inclined position, strata that were *once continuous and nearly horizontal*," (*Buckland*, vol. ii., p. 4). We wanted an account of the next stratum, and can only get all the strata in the lump; and it is by sweeping generalizations such as this that all the error has come in. But we will confine our attention to the next stratum, and will suppose that, in preparation for it, a catastrophe took place, or, in other words, an universal deluge, and a destruction of every living thing. How is this deluge to be brought about, and how is it to be got rid of? This is the question. A catastrophe suggests three ideas—a state of rest preceding, a state of convulsion during the time, and a following state of rest: during the preceding rest, however long it might be, only one stratum could be deposited;—the catastrophe might be accompanied with the raising of the granite, and so fulfil some of the required conditions, and explain some of the recorded facts; but in this it renders other indispensable conditions quite unattainable, and is contrary to a still greater number of facts. For the granite, once raised, *cannot* subside; the dry land, once appearing, an universal deluge *cannot* take place by any known and natural causes, for it would be contrary to them all; and it is by laws *now in operation* that the geologists profess to explain all these phenomena. To agree with the geological hypothesis, the granite must subside, the first stratum must unbend and lie flat upon the granite to receive the second, and both must, in like manner, rise and sink to receive the third. And as there is no vacuum in nature, but every rising of the land is accompanied with a corresponding falling of the waters, there would be no possibility of producing an universal deluge by *natural causes* after the mountains were raised; it could only be done by cutting off the mountain-tops and casting them into the depths of the sea, to raise the waters; which no one pretends to have been the case. The deluge of the Bible stands on a different footing, for both its infliction and removal are ascribed expressly and exclusively to the finger of God. Here, therefore, the geological hypothesis breaks down, after the deposition of the first stratum, and leaves us without any means of accounting for the second; and they themselves virtually acknowledge it, in bringing in a new act of creation in each. And they talk loosely and familiarly of creation and extinction, as if these were two of the laws of matter, like attraction and repulsion—as if these were laws now in operation, the progress of which we can watch, and measure, and weigh; when they mean no such thing, and when

to both words they attach *two meanings*, and, between the two, shirk the exact and rigid application of either. For creation and extinction are not correlatives: the proper opposite to creation is annihilation; but this would not serve the same turn. They mean creation proper—the bringing into being of new forms of life: they do not mean un-creation proper—the making those beings as though they had never been; but extinction of the life, without destroying the form: and the evil of improperly assorting such terms as creation and extinction is sure to extend to both terms. For though creation proper is the only meaning which truly agrees with their argument, since their extinction at each stage does mean the disposal of all the then existing creation in the stratum then deposited, and consequently to bring in the new inhabitants of the next stratum, there is absolutely nothing for it, in their theory, but new creation; yet they shrink from the idea, and would fain imagine that the germs of the new forms of being had been latent somewhere, in the air, or the sea, or the bowels of the earth, and were brought to light by chance, rather than by the power of God. Nay, even in the acknowledged *beginning* of all things, they will scarcely allow the proper meaning of creation, and often flatly deny it; as is the case of Dr. Buckland quoting with approbation from Dr. Chalmers, as follows:—“Does Moses ever say, that, when God created the heavens and the earth, he did more, at that time alluded to, than transform them out of previously existing materials?” (*Bridge. Treat.*, p. 19). So then to create, is to transform! But what is gained by this? The previously existing materials must have, some time or other, been brought out of nothing!—must have been *created proper* when they began to be!—and what other time is this but the beginning—the time when God created the heavens and the earth?

It is sore and sorry work to say such things of such men as these; and we are sure they must be besotted by a foolish system, and that their hearts are guiltless of the mischief which such statements as these are calculated to produce. And, although the Hebrew Professor of Oxford has been also brought in, to give the weight of his authority on the same side, it is really not so much a question of Hebrew criticism, as of common sense. But such of our readers as have made Hebrew their study know perfectly well, that in the first chapter of Genesis three words are used—*created*, *made*, and *formed*; and each of these is used with the most exact discrimination, and that they are not interchanged. The word *created* always expresses the act of bringing a new thing into existence, and is applied to the three new existences of *matter*, *life*, and *spirit*. The word *made* expresses the act by

which these new existences are diversified, under all the various forms of which these several classes are capable ; as the various forms of matter, and various forms of life. And by the word *formed* is expressed a still lower act than *making*, like that of a potter forming a jar of clay. In the creature Man all these operations come into act. His body was *formed* of the dust of the ground, which is not said concerning any of the animals. But as the last and most perfect form of the second act of creation, viz., animal life, he is also said to be *made*. And as being made in the image of God, and, therefore, as bringing a *new thing* into manifestation, not seen in the animals, not previously seen in any creature thing, he is also said to be *created*. And the threefold being of Man, consisting of body, soul, and spirit, is most accurately expressed in these three words, which invariably retain the same precise meaning : the body *formed* of the dust of the ground, *made* man by the impartition of life, and a spirit *created* within, as the peculiar distinction of man beyond all other living creatures.

Great and manifold are the blessings received by us through the Bible—through those Scriptures of truth which reveal to us things which we could not otherwise know, and principles which would not spontaneously occur to the mind of man ; but which, being revealed, commend themselves to the conscience as true, and to the reason as consonant with all the other sound principles universally held amongst men. These blessings have regard, not only to the highest, the purely spiritual class, as God, and salvation, and eternity ; nor are they limited to things which concern our moral being, as righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come : but they bring a blessing to the understanding also. The Scriptures, in the truths which they make known, calm and settle the mind in many points which have troubled, perplexed, and bewildered the thoughts of men, wheresoever they have not had a revelation, on which faith could rest, to enlighten and guide the understanding.

Rightly to estimate the blessing which we have received, it is necessary to know what might have been our state without it ; which we can best ascertain by enquiring into the state of those who have been left to their own unassisted reason, in matters which we know by revelation : if, when we find them to become fatuous and absurd, we have but the modesty to conclude that we ourselves, under similar circumstances, should fall into similar follies. And the state of those, who are neglecting or despising a faith in the midst of which they have been educated, is not an illustration of sufficient force ; they cannot but have imbibed some of the heavenly influences, some of the guiding principles,

which constitute the light and life of the institutions by which they are surrounded. If we would rightly estimate what we owe to revelation, we should contrast our knowledge with that of men who have been wholly destitute of that blessing, both as it respects themselves, and as to those with whom they have held any intercourse.

It is to Eusebius principally, and in his "*Præparatio Evangelii*," that we are indebted for having preserved to us the means of instituting such an enquiry. For it is of the nature of all advance in knowledge to extinguish the preceding rude and imperfect essays, and so to obliterate them as to leave no sufficient traces whereby we might ascertain the amount of the acquisition or the absurdity. And some of the fragments in Eusebius are so very absurd, as to excite no little surprise that they should have been preserved at all. This preservation they owe to the idea of their containing some traces, however faint and distorted, of patriarchal tradition, derived from Noah, or Melchisedec, or Shem, and carried by different tribes, with various degrees of corruption, into the land of their dispersion. And, therefore, we may be assured that these fragments were not the most absurd in existence, but such as Eusebius thought had some accordance with the truth, and such as gave some weight and colour to his argument for the wide-spread preparation for the Gospel.

We shall not enter upon the question of how far these fragments were or were not traditions of truth corrupted, or how far they were symbolic and enigmatic, inculcating profound mysteries of superstition. In any case, they answer our purpose of showing how wild men may become when they give rein to imagination on subjects which we know by revelation; and of teaching us to avoid tampering with the truths that are revealed, warned against doing so by their absurdities. For if we adhere to revelation in these matters, and, taking its principles for our light and guide, endeavour thus to understand and arrange the facts we meet with, all will be rendered clear and consistent, so far as the facts extend. But if we are tempted to construct theories, where the facts are not only limited and partial, but many of them necessarily beyond our knowledge, the consequences will be palpable inconsistencies and absurdities in the theories we invent; and probably lasting injury to ourselves, in the weakening of the authority of Scripture, and its actual rejection by all such of us as are bold enough to be consistent in our tenets.

Speaking of the fragments in Eusebius, Mr. Cory says — "One of the most authentic may be found in the remains of the Phœnician history of Sanchoniatho, who is considered to be the

most ancient writer of the heathen world." The fragment is as follows :—

"He (Sanchoniath) supposes that the beginning of all things was a dark and condensed windy air, or a breeze of thick air, and a chaos turbid and black as Erebus: and that these were unbounded, and, for a long series of ages, destitute of form. But when this wind became enamoured of its own first principles (the chaos), and an intimate union took place, that connexion was called Pothos: and it was the beginning of the creation of all things. And it (the chaos) knew not its own production; but, from its embrace with the wind, was generated Môt, which some call Ilus (mud), but others the putrefaction of a watery mixture. And from this sprang all the seed of the creation, and the generation of the universe.

"And there were certain animals without sensation, from which intelligent animals were produced; and these were called Zophasemin, that is, overseer of the heavens; and they were formed in the shape of an egg: and from Môt shone forth the sun and the moon, the less and the greater stars.

"And when the air began to send forth light, by its fiery influences on the sea and earth, winds were produced, and clouds, and very great defluxions and torrents of the heavenly waters. And when they were thus separated, and carried out of their proper places by the heat of the sun, and all met again in the air, and were dashed against each other, thunder and lightning were the result: and at the sound of the thunder, the before-mentioned intelligent animals were aroused and startled by the noise, and moved upon the earth and in the sea, male and female. These things were found written in the Cosmogony of Taautes, and in his commentary, and were drawn from his observations, and the natural signs which he, by his penetration, perceived and discovered, and with which he has enlightened us."—*Eus. Præp., Ev. i. 10.* Cory's translation.

How different from this is the word of revelation! In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. God said, "Let there be light" and there was light! The heathen fictions disclose no agent—tend to no end or purpose. Revelation ascribes everything to God, as the source and origin; the omnipotent Word of God is the agent, and the manifestation of His glory is the end and purpose for which all things were made.

Those theories which emanate from the mind of man, at best, refer only to visible and sensible things—to those things which we can subject to experiment. It is to the laws imposed upon matter, to cause and effect, as observed in material things acting continuously and uniformly, that man ascribes the various phenomena he perceives; and so material and visible things are kept before the mind continually. But in Scripture, God is made all in all. He is the doer of all things. Not only has He imposed those laws, but His power and energy is present during their continuance. Nothing goes on without God. He guides and

governs the laws which He has imposed, and is ready to accelerate, or retard, or suspend, or reverse the operation of those laws, if the ulterior end and purpose may so require. In Scripture it is the invisible, it is God himself, that is ever kept before the mind; and all visible things are represented as subservient to this end.

The Scriptures declare, that in the beginning God *created* the heavens and the earth, and that, under this first act of creation, God also *made* all visible, and material, and inanimate things. Thus all the various elements were made and separated, the one from the other—the land from the water—the light from the darkness; and thus also the herbs of the field and the trees of the forest were *made*, and are not regarded as separate acts of creation, but as various organizations of those material elements which were brought into being by the one comprehensive act at the beginning—of *creating* the heavens and the earth. Yet this first act of creation contained a promise of a second act; in the fruits and flowers, designed not merely to propagate the species of plants, but to serve for the sustenance of the animal races not yet brought into being. For these, though so complicated in their organization, all belong to matter; yet they carry our thoughts forward also, as not having been designed by the Creator merely to waste their sweetness on the desert air.

The second act of *creation*, but quite distinct from the first, and as truly that which God alone could effect, was the bringing animals into being, to occupy the material creation already provided for them. “And God *created* great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly after their kind.” And God *made* the beast of the earth after his kind; and cattle after their kind; and every creeping thing that creepeth on the earth after his kind.” And thus all the various fishes, birds, and beasts, are included in one act of creation—the creation of animal life. And their varieties are not spoken of as so many acts of *creation*, though wrought by God; but God *made* these varieties. And this second act, like the first, gives the promise of another—all the animals in their several instincts preparing for man.

The last act of *creation*, taking up and crowning the two preceding acts, brought man into being, as truly an act which God alone could effect; and more emphatically so, as man was created in the image of God. In this act there is a gradation, as well as a climax. God took of the dust of the ground, and from it *formed* the body of man: thus linking him with matter. God *made* man a living soul, linking him with animals; and God breathed into him of His own spirit, *creating* man in the image of God. And this must necessarily be the last act of creation; and may be said to form the visible climax of creativeness known

to this sphere even in the Omnipotence itself: for what creature can we conceive more perfect than that which was made after the likeness of the Creator himself? *Godlike* must needs be the last and highest of all created forms.

But it should be observed, that although, in one point of view, these three acts of creation are perfectly distinct, as much so as if they were the creations of different worlds, being of three different regions; yet, in another point of view, they are blended through insensible gradations, and linked by indissoluble ties. The material creation, in the highest forms of vegetable life, and the animal creation, in the mollusca and polypi, seem almost interchangeable: and so also animal instincts, such as in the half-reasoning elephant, approximate and almost trench upon the prerogatives of man. Moreover, this connection is shown by each succeeding act of creation springing out of the precedent acts, and embodying them so as to form one whole throughout; as when herbs and trees are brought forth from the earth; the great whales from the waters; the cattle and creeping things from the ground; and man from the dust, and from among animals, to be man. Yet, still more clearly and more forcibly is this connection and preparation discovered by tracing the connection between the form and mechanism found in different races of animals by means of comparative anatomy. Notwithstanding the infinite variety of external form in fishes, birds, and beasts, they all afford some indications of their having reference to one common standard, which is to be found only in man. So that, beneath the apparently rude and shapeless exterior of the less perfect animals, we find a machinery of bones and muscles far more complicated than we should expect, and find the uses of this machinery developed only in the more perfect animals. Naturalists have very properly classed the whale among the mammalia, at the head of which class is man; yet what forms can have less resemblance than the lumpish monster of the deep, with its simple rudderlike action, and the ever-varying outline and agile complicated motions of the human frame? But in the fins and tail of the whale, though its simple actions need them not, the bones and muscles underneath those rude outlines are found to correspond, in number and position, with those of the hands and feet of a man. In the hoofed animals, like the horse, the external correspondence begins to appear; which increases as the foot becomes divided into toes, as in the lion and bear; and in the monkey tribe the antagonist action of the thumb, and many other correspondencies, combine to give, in external form, the rude type and promise of the man.

Creation, thus contemplated as a whole, and rising thus, stage

after stage, in preparation for bringing man into being, is a noble theme for our gratitude and praise. But when it is further added that this creation itself, in all its beauty and completeness, is only preliminary to a further purpose of God, in which man shall occupy the most conspicuous place, our sense of the dignity and importance of the creature man is prodigiously increased. For *creation* was but a preparation for *incarnation*; the *first* Adam was the type, and a necessary preliminary for the *second*: the world was prepared as a stage, where, in the fullness of time, God should be manifested; the body of man was prepared as the predestined dwelling-place of the Son of God. Shall we be charged with exaggerating the dignity of man by any who believe that, at the incarnation, Godhead was united with manhood? and that the same Godman now sitteth at the right hand of the Father? or by any who believe that at the last day we also shall rise from the dead, and be like Him, and see him as He is?

Thus it appears that the declarations of Scripture, concerning the origin of things, form one consistent whole; and that the intent thereof is not the gratification of curiosity, not even the more exact account of how these things came into being, or what is the relation they bear to each other; but that the intent is to make known the purpose of God in the creation. And the same intent is discernible in all the subsequent narratives of Scripture, whether they relate to the time when God looked down upon the whole creation with entire approbation, and pronounced it to be very good; or whether they refer to the time when God beheld the earth to be full of wickedness, and brought a flood upon the whole world to destroy every living thing. The blessing of the earth at the first was not from mere natural causes—it was by the provision of God; the destruction of the earth for its wickedness was not by natural causes—it was a judgment of God.

In Scripture the power and goodness of God is declared, not only in bringing all things into being, but in providing for their continuance. The different forms and habits observable in the vegetable creation came not by chance, but are the work of God, and evidence design. And different plants, to suit their habits, require different elevations, soils, and climate: therefore the earth from the beginning of vegetation was diversified with hill and dale, and varieties both of moisture and of temperature. These differences in the plants had also a prospective design, diversifying the kinds of food for animals about to be created, and in creating whom various instincts were about to be implanted, leading them, according to their kinds, to choose that kind of food which had been severally prepared for each instinct. Thus, the plants being classified and aggregated by the peculiar

localities they require, and the animals being classified and aggregated by the peculiar kinds of food they require, we can perceive in this a sufficient explanation of all the facts which have been as yet brought forward in proof of such a distinction between the remains of different strata, as, in the opinion of geologists, nothing short of creation and extinction can account for. And although we are quite aware of the scorn and contempt with which the natural philosophers will meet such an avowal, we do avow our belief that there were no carnivorous animals at the beginning; and that we can conceive the possibility of the wolf lying down with the lamb, and of the lion eating straw like the ox, and none to hurt or destroy upon the earth, without any change in their form or structure, without the necessity of supposing their instincts to be reversed, and merely by the subjugation of their ferocity. But there cannot be a doubt that, at the time when the strata we allude to were formed, the animals embedded therein were as ferocious as at present; and, therefore, the distinctions of carnivorous, &c., are most true and important for all purposes of natural history, and are only objectionable, when, by perversion, they are used to inculcate false theology.

And like as we avow our belief in the word of God, which has declared that at the creation, all things, including man, were very good; so on the same word we believe that the body of man, taken from the dust, to dust returns. Yet, with the whole Catholic Church, of all generations, we steadfastly believe in the resurrection of the body; that the same identical body shall rise again, we believe, without stopping to enquire in what its identity consists. We avow our belief that man, the whole man, even the body of man, is different from other creatures; that God made this difference at the beginning, and that He will make it manifest in the end by the resurrection of the whole man, the *body*, as well as the soul and the spirit. This being our belief concerning the origin and the final destiny of man, we rather expect that it will appear, even in the physical composition of his body, that there is a provision for this difference, and shall not therefore be surprised if human remains should never be found fossilized; nor be driven thereby to the conclusion that the animal remains were deposited before the creation of man.* In those

* There is also one palpable argument for the presence of *animal* fossilized remains prior to the *human*, and it is somewhat curious that it has never been noticed by any writer, and this is, that the *lives of the Patriarchs*, being of vast extent, embrace few *human* deaths over a large period of *animal* extinction. Adam died in the 930th year of his age, consequently, supposing the present fossilized remains of animals to be ante-diluvian, their types would far outnumber the human in those early periods when races of men were not exterminated utterly for fear the exuberant animal life should overpower the human. Of this exube-

calamities also which have overtaken multitudes of the human race, within the time to which historical records ascend, how little remains of man ! and especially where water has been the destroying agent. The ashes that destroyed Herculaneum and Pompeii have a few remains, though very few compared with the population of those cities ; but in other catastrophes, as that in which sixty thousand persons perished at Lisbon, in 1755, we cannot expect that a vestige will ever appear. On one spot, where a great concourse of people had collected for safety, the quay, on which they stood, sank to the depth of one hundred fathoms, and not one of the dead bodies ever appeared. And in the late blowing up of the *Royal George* how little was the record of the hundreds of souls that had been there engulfed !

The deluge, which is spoken of in Scripture as the *only* universal catastrophe, was, in all its circumstances, unprecedented, and stands yet *alone*, as never having been repeated. All catastrophes may, in one sense, be ascribed to God, but not in the same sense as the deluge of Noah ; whether we regard the deluge itself, or the causes and consequences : and we greatly mistake the meaning of Scripture if we suppose *that* deluge to be in any respect like an inundation produced by rain, or the other agencies which are now in operation. We know, in fact, that an *universal* deluge, from *natural* causes alone, is an impossibility now ; there is not water to effect it, and it would be folly to expect such a catastrophe.

The deluge of Noah was, in all respects, *supernatural* ; it was by the immediate hand of God himself. God threatened it beforehand, for the sin of mankind. He commanded Noah to proclaim it beforehand, while preparing for his own safety and He announced to Noah the precise time ; and the safety of Noah being assured, God opened the windows of heaven and the fountains of the great deep. We are too apt to evade the true meaning of such passages as this, by supposing the language to be metaphorical, or, in plain words, so exaggerated as to be untrue. Words that record an unprecedented thing must, in a sense, be metaphorical, because you have no fact exactly like it ; but yet the new fact is itself literally and exactly true. The deluge came in the form of rain from above, and of floods from the deep beneath ; but no ordinary rain, no ordinary floods, could bring on *such* a deluge, and therefore the windows of heaven are opened, and the fountains of the great deep are said to be broken up.

rance but a small portion is now visible in a fossilized form ; the absence, therefore, of *human* remains was most naturally to be expected, and the presence of animals in the fossilized varieties.

From its being declared, at an earlier period (Gen. ii. 5), that there was then no rain, but that a mist watered the earth, and from the rainbow being first introduced *after the flood*, and in a new constitution of things—it is generally supposed that the whole constitution of the atmosphere, so far as clouds, rain, &c., are concerned, underwent a change at the deluge. But we do not need a discussion of this at present, having principally to notice the breaking up of the fountains of the great deep, as being the main cause of the deluge, and of which, therefore, we ought to find traces still remaining upon the whole surface of the earth.

Since the time of Newton, the laws of matter and motion have been better understood than formerly; and the late advances in chemistry, and in the experimental branches of science, have shown that matter is never either created or annihilated by us, but only assumes a different form, or enters into new combinations, when it seems to be destroyed. By the laws above-mentioned the earth is kept in its orbit, and any change in the bulk or density of the earth, *as a whole*, would alter its motion and change its orbit. And so also, in the constitution of the earth itself, there is a balance observable in the elements, so that the quantity of its solid, liquid, and gaseous constituents remains the same at all times; and if there be an increase of any one element *in one place*, there is a correspondent diminution of that element *in some other place*. Hence every *elevation* of the land will produce an equal *fall* of the water; which would appear to be *double* its actual amount, as there would be a movement of both in *opposite* directions, if measured from any fixed point. This it is scarcely possible to do now, from the small amount of the greatest elevations compared with the bulk of the water of the ocean; and still more from any fall of the ocean being, of necessity, *not local*, but diffused over its *whole surface*: so that the rise of the whole of Great Britain could scarcely cause a fall in the ocean of more than a hair's breadth. In proportion as this is considered, by so much the more will the impossibility appear of an universal deluge being produced by the *rising of the water*, or by any known natural causes, or any laws *at present in operation*: nothing short of the *subsidence of all the land*, and that to a degree *equal to half its bulk*, could bring about an universal deluge. And this is what we understand in the breaking up of the fountains of the great deep—the chief thing spoken of in the deluge.

The fountains of the great deep are often regarded merely as the fathomless ocean, and breaking up as only the heaving or lifting these volumes of water. But water cannot raise itself—some solid substance must displace the bulk of water to be

raised; the earth must be depressed, that the fountains of the deep may overflow the earth. And what agency can accomplish this, but the power of God! The fountains of the deep, however, lead our thoughts to the bowels of the earth, from whence they spring, and require us to consider in what way the depression of the earth for the deluge, and its subsequent restoration to its present state, would be a breaking up of the bowels of the earth, and what kind of traces it would leave. For we are always assuming that God has a purpose in all He brings about, and uses for accomplishing it those very instruments which He has already provided as best fitted for the work.

We know, from numerous instances of eruptions consisting only of mud, that there are liquid reservoirs of this kind in the bowels of the earth; and these may be of very vast extent without our knowing it, as they remain quiescent when undisturbed, and only appear when burst in upon by some volcano. And to the *ejected* mud, rendered impure by the volcanic vapours, we are now alluding; not to the muddy streams occasioned by the rains which often accompany eruptions of volcanoes. Could we penetrate deeper, we should probably find, beneath the stony crust of the earth, all the mineral substances in a state of chemical solution; and whatever be the thickness of the stony crust, and however much we may hesitate in allowing any speculations concerning what may lie beneath, all must at least allow that the *thinnest* part of that crust is at the bottom of the sea; and if that which lies beneath the crust should break out anywhere, it would break out *there*, where the fountains of the great deep are seated; and such an ejection into the bottom of the ocean would be a sufficient machinery for depressing the land and raising the water for an universal deluge; and a subsequent re-absorption into the same deep chambers, by the raising of the land, would be a sufficient machinery for removing the waters of the deluge. Many instances occur of petrific materials thus bursting forth; and such outbursts will, we believe, be found invariably at the upper end of every extensive valley of denudation. These outbreaks of the lower strata are accompanied with a lifting and bending of the superincumbent masses, showing that they were then in a soft or bending state; and none of these rocks bear the least traces of heat—nothing like lava or basalt is found. And the under or outbursting rocks are often lifted to a much greater height now, than any present remains of those strata which they have displaced.

And here, with the classification of animals and plants, which we have laid down as a thing of course at creation—and with the fountains of the great deep breaking up, and thus imbedding in classes those animals which they found in their way, as

surge after surge broke forth, at different depths; we might construct a very pretty geological theory, if so disposed to do. And we say, most seriously and advisedly, that we could, on such an hypothesis, explain the geological facts more consistently and more intelligibly than the geologists do by the hypothesis now in vogue. But we will not do any such thing—we will wait for more facts—we will counsel our readers to wait, and, in the meantime, content ourselves with denying that any of the facts militate against the narrative of Scripture, or that Scripture may be in such a fashion qualified, as is recommended by those who maintain the geological theory, and yet believe the Bible.

The fate of Galileo, and the retribution of more enlightened times, is a standing topic for self-applause with the geologists. But there was on Galileo's side the consistency and coherency which accompanies truth, and, to some extent, that demonstration which has since been brought out to the whole extent; and he was opposed, not by argument, not by any endeavour to show the fallacy of his statements, but with overbearing authority alone. The geological theory, on the contrary, is inconsistent with the facts, incoherent in its parts, contrary to known principles of science, and it is opposed on these argumentative grounds, and not by the mere dictum of authority—all the dogmatism is with the geologists. A comparison with astronomy is that which is most unfavourable to geology; and the setting their theory beside that of Galileo is the thing which the geologists ought most to deprecate. The cycles, epicycles, and vortices, which the Newtonian system supplanted, would agree much better with their millions of acts of creation and extinction, through which this world is supposed to have floundered on. And the glorious science of astronomy is not less elevating to the mind by its harmony, simplicity, and sufficiency, than it is exalting to the spirit, by keeping God continually in view; the understanding perceives the laws to be godlike, and the spirit is lifted up to God himself.

And until the same is the case in geology, we shall not believe that the geologists have discovered the true theory. What! when of astronomy this earth itself forms a part? When, as one of the heavenly orbs, the earth obeys those laws of motion so godlike in their simplicity, certainty, and permanency! shall we be expected to believe that the earth itself has been nothing better than the sport of chance—its primal law a chaos—and the remedial laws earthquakes and volcanoes? Let us have a law for the constitution of the earth which will bear some tolerable comparison with those laws, which, after it was constituted, all acknowledge it has obeyed.

God has not two ways of acting: one, orderly and balanced

the motions of the heavenly bodies ; another, the opposite, and nothing but disorder, in the fabrication of the earth. And it is not pretended, even by geologists, that God is thus inconsistent. But when they allude to God at all, it is only as having provided the crude materials, and having endowed these with certain powers of attraction, repulsion, &c., and then left them to themselves to work out a world as best they might ; with time enough before them of countless millions of ages ; with no need to care for any waste of life, if they could get it, nor for any individual pain and suffering ; as it might come to be discovered that the “ aggregate of animal enjoyment is increased ” by the individuals being devoured by one another, each having the pleasure of devouring many before he is himself devoured. Nor does God teach two opposite lessons, saying one thing in his word, and doing another thing exactly the contrary in his providence. One of the earliest discourses of Christ was designed to impress upon his disciples the necessity of discerning God in all things, that they might trust him at all times and in all circumstances. He taught them that the very hairs of their head were all numbered, that the sparrows fell not to the ground without God, and that he clothed the grass of the field ; much more would he care for them, and all belonging to them. We are told to consider the lilies, and to mark their beauty, in order to infer, not merely the wisdom and power, but also the love and care of God ; that his goodness is perfect as his wisdom, and his providence unwearyed as his power. It was not by accident that the fields were clothed with verdure : and the same Providence brought the world itself into being, and continually sustains and governs it, with such care as we may infer from all we behold around us, and in such regularity as we find in the returns of summer and winter—of day and night. And this in order that we may refer everything to God, and trust to Him at all times. Not trust to an abstraction—a great first cause—or some unknown god ; but to one whom we can know, and know most accurately, both because we are made in His image, and because He hath revealed himself to us ; most accurately, though not fully, for we are finite, He is infinite ; yet truly, so far as our limited capacity, and the revelation which He has given, extend. Such a reference of everything to God will not cramp investigation in the least ; nor has natural philosophy any necessary and inevitable tendency to turn us aside from God. On the contrary, the contemplation of the dependence of each thing upon some other thing, and of all things upon principles and laws, which become more simple and more universal in proportion as they are better understood, should necessarily lead, and will inevitably conduct the rightly informed, to the one grand unity which is only to be

found in God—to that into which every law must be ultimately resolved.

This is the end and purpose which we have kept in view during these remarks. We have endeavoured to show that there is a wide difference between the *explanation* of a fact, and the investigation of the *laws and principles* which that fact may be thought to involve. The facts of the geologists we do not question; and most of the explanations of those facts we have little scruple in admitting; but when they attempt to draw inferences, and lay down principles, inconsistency and failure stare us in the face on every side. And we know not which to wonder at the most, either their blindness to the inconsistency, or their blinking of the failure; their contradictory inferences neutralize each other, and their principles are obliged to be bolstered up at every step, by creation after extinction.

The laws of God, and the principles which He has revealed, are uniform as His own being, and stable as the throne of heaven. Their courses are orderly and progressive, and any seeming irregularity is either but local and temporary and accidental, or, like an eclipse of the sun, does but more clearly mark the certainty of the order. By the progress of astronomy we look with calmness and intelligence upon these phenomena, which once filled mankind with terror so great, that contending armies threw down their weapons. And even the blazing comet, which, “from his horrid hair shakes pestilence and war,” and “frights the nations,” in *poetry*, is now beheld in its eccentric orbit, of so many centuries, but as forming part of the same system, and governed by the same laws, as the earth itself in its annual and diurnal motions—one law governing such widely different appearances.

These comprehensive principles in astronomy, which embrace all the phenomena, and account for all the appearances, were the result of a diligent collection of facts, and the reward of persevering investigation; and they have dispelled the mists of the old astronomy, and brought order out of that chaos. And so in geology, by pursuing the same course, we may expect the same results. That such results have been as yet attained, the geologists themselves will not affect to maintain. But we believe that principles may be discovered, embracing, explaining, reconciling, all the phenomena concerning the constitution and arrangement of the materials of the earth, as universal as those which regulate its motions in its orbit. Then will the erroneous systems of geology be exploded, like the forgotten systems of astronomy; and then will the deductions of science be found, in this instance also, to explain and confirm the declarations of the Bible.

ART. IV.—*Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa : a Journal of Travels in the year 1838, by E. Robinson and E. Smith, undertaken in reference to Biblical Geography. Drawn up from the Original Diaries, with Historical Illustrations.* By EDWARD ROBINSON, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. *With five Maps.* 3 vols. 8vo. London: Murray. 1841.

MOST deeply interesting are the recollections, historical and devotional, which are connected

“ With those holy fields,
Over whose blessed acres walked those holy feet,
Which fourteen [eighteen] hundred years ago were nailed,
For our advantage, on the bitter cross.”

Henry IV., part 1, act 1, scene 1.

And this circumstance it is which secures a welcome reception for every work that professes to make us better acquainted with Palestine, or the Holy Land. Not the least welcome are the “Biblical Researches” of Dr. Robinson, which were briefly noticed in our tenth volume, p. 507, at the time of their publication, and which amply sustain the reputation previously acquired by Dr. Robinson, by his learned Greek and English, and Hebrew and English Lexicons to the New and Old Testaments.

Dr. Robinson embarked at Trieste on the 1st of December, 1837, and spending a fortnight at Athens, he proceeded to Alexandria and Cairo. As Greece was not the object of his journey, and a visit to Athens had formed no part of his plan, he has given only a few particulars relative to that celebrated city: but his account of the Areopagus, where Paul preached, throws so much light on the apostle’s discourse in Acts xvii. that we are tempted to transfer it to our pages:—

“ The Areopagus is a narrow, naked ridge of limestone rock, rising gradually from the northern end, and terminating abruptly on the south, over against the west end of the Acropolis, from which it bears about north, being separated from it by an elevated valley. This southern end is fifty or sixty feet above the said valley; though yet much lower than the Acropolis. On its top are still to be seen the seats of the judges and parties, hewn in the rock; and towards the S. W. is a descent by a flight of steps, also cut in the rock, into the valley below. On the west of the ridge, in the valley between it and the Pnyx, was the ancient market; and on the S. E. side, the later or new market. In which of these it was that Paul ‘disputed daily,’ it is of course impossible to tell; but from either it was only a short distance to the foot of ‘Mars Hill,’ up which Paul was probably conducted by the flight of steps just mentioned. Standing on this elevated platform,

surrounded by the learned and the wise of Athens, the multitude perhaps being on the steps and in the vale below, Paul had directly before him the far-famed Acropolis, with its wonders of Grecian art; and beneath him, on his left, the majestic Theseium, the earliest and still most perfect of Athenian structures; while all around, other temples and altars filled the whole city. Yet here, amid all these objects, of which the Athenians were so proud, Paul hesitated not to exclaim: ‘God, who made the world and all things that are therein,—He, being Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands!’ On the Acropolis, too, were the three celebrated statues of Minerva; one of olive-wood; another of gold and ivory, in the Parthenon, the master-piece of Phidias; and the colossal statue in the open air, the point of whose spear was seen over the Parthenon by those sailing along the gulf. To these Paul probably referred and pointed, when he went on to affirm, that ‘the Godhead is not like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man’s device.’ Indeed, it is impossible to conceive of anything more adapted to the circumstances of time and place, than is the whole of this masterly address; but the full force, and energy, and boldness of the apostle’s language, can be duly felt only when one has stood upon the spot. The course of the argument, too, is masterly—so entirely adapted to the acute and susceptible minds of his Athenian audience.” (Vol. i., pp. 10-12).

On his return to Cairo, from a voyage up the Nile as far as Thebes, he found that his future fellow-traveller, Mr. Smith, had just arrived from Palestine, whose thorough knowledge of the Arabic language enabled them to prosecute their “biblical researches,” independently of the traditional lore communicated to European travellers by the local guides furnished by the Latin and Greek convents.

The following account of the “land of Goshen” will be interesting to biblical students:—

“It lay along the Pelusiatic arm of the Nile, on the east of the Delta, and was the part of Egypt nearest to Palestine. This tract is now comprehended in the modern province *esh-Shūrkiyeh*, which extends from the neighbourhood of Abu Za’bel to the sea, and from the desert to the former Tanaitic branch of the Nile; thus including also the valley of the ancient canal. If the Pelusiatic arm, as is commonly assumed, were navigable for fleets in ancient times, the Israelites were probably confined to its eastern bank; but if we are at liberty to suppose, that this stream was never much larger than at present, then they may have spread themselves out upon the Delta beyond it, until restrained by larger branches of the Nile. That the land of Goshen lay upon the waters of the Nile, is apparent from the circumstance, that the Israelites practised irrigation; that it was a land of seed, figs, vines, and pomegranates; that the people ate of fish freely; while the enumeration of the articles for which they longed in the desert corresponds remarkably with the list given by Mr. Lane, as the food of the modern *Fellâhs*. All this goes to show, that the Israelites, when in

Egypt, lived much as the Egyptians do now; and that Goshen probably extended further west and more into the Delta than has usually been supposed. They would seem to have lived interspersed among the Egyptians of that district, perhaps in separate villages, much as the Copts of the present day are mingled with the Muhammedans. This appears from the circumstance of their borrowing 'jewels of gold and silver' from their Egyptian neighbours; and also from the fact, that their houses were to be marked with blood, in order that they might be distinguished and spared in the last dread plague of the Egyptians.

"The Land of Goshen was 'the best of the land;' and such too the province *esh-Shūrkiyeh* has ever been, down to the present time. In the remarkable Arabic document translated by De Sacy, containing a valuation of all the provinces and villages of Egypt in the year 1376, the province of the *Shūrkiyeh* comprised 383 towns and villages, and is valued at 1,411,875 *dinars*—a larger sum than is put upon any other province, with one exception. During my stay in Cairo I made many enquiries respecting this district; to which the uniform reply was, that it was considered as the best province in Egypt. Wishing to obtain more definite information, I ventured to request of Lord Prudhoe, with whom the Pasha was understood to be on a very friendly footing, to obtain for me, if possible, a statement of the valuation of the provinces of Egypt. This, as he afterwards informed me, could not well be done; but he had ascertained that the province of the *Shūrkiyeh* bears the highest valuation and yields the largest revenue. He had himself just returned from an excursion to the lower parts of this province, and confirmed from his own observation the reports of its fertility. This arises from the fact that it is intersected by canals, while the surface of the land is less elevated above the level of the Nile than in other parts of Egypt; so that it is more easily irrigated. There are here more flocks and herds than anywhere else in Egypt; and also more fishermen. The population is half migratory, composed partly of *Fellâhs*, and partly of Arabs from the adjacent deserts, and even from Syria, who retain in part their nomadic habits, and frequently remove from one village to another. Yet there are very many villages wholly deserted, where many thousands of people might at once find a habitation. Even now another million at least might be sustained in the district; and the soil is capable of higher tillage to an indefinite extent. So too the adjacent desert, so far as water could be applied for irrigation, might be rendered fertile; for wherever water is, there is fertility." (*Ibid.* pp. 76-79).

Dr. Robinson has a curious discussion respecting the route of the Israelites to the Red Sea, and their passage over it (as he thinks) near Suez; but we confess that we cannot adopt his conclusion respecting the precise line of transit: and the limits necessarily prescribed to this article forbid us to enter upon a dry critical examination of his arguments.

The first route of Dr. Robinson and his associate was from

Suez to Mount Sinai. The account of their approach to this mountain is very interesting, and throws much light upon the Mosaic narrative :—

“As we advanced, the valley still opened wider and wider with a gentle ascent, and became full of shrubs and tufts of herbs, shut in on each side by lofty granite ridges, with rugged, shattered peaks, a thousand feet high, while the face of Horeb rose directly before us. Both my companion and myself involuntarily exclaimed: ‘Here is room enough for a large encampment!’ Reaching the top of the ascent, or watershed, a fine broad plain lay before us, sloping down gently towards the S.S.E., enclosed by rugged and venerable mountains of dark granite, stern, naked, splintered peaks and ridges, of indescribable grandeur, and terminated at the distance of more than a mile by the bold and awful front of Horeb, rising perpendicularly in frowning majesty, from twelve to fifteen hundred feet in height. It was a scene of solemn grandeur, wholly unexpected, and such as we had never seen; and the associations which at the moment rushed upon our minds were almost overwhelming. As we went on, new points of interest were continually opening to our view. On the left of Horeb, a deep and narrow valley runs up S.S.E. between lofty walls of rock, as if in continuation of the S.E. corner of the plain. In this valley, at the distance of near a mile from the plain, stands the convent; and the deep verdure of its fruit trees and cypresses is seen as the traveller approaches—an oasis of beauty amid scenes of the sternest desolation. At the S.W. corner of the plain the cliffs also retreat, and form a recess or open place extending from the plain westward for some distance. From this recess there runs up a similar narrow valley on the west of Horeb, called el-Leja, parallel to that in which the convent stands; and in it is the deserted convent el-Arba’in, with a garden of olive and other fruit trees not visible from the plain. A third garden lies at the mouth of el-Leja, and a fourth further west in the recess just mentioned. The whole plain is called Wady er-Râhah; and the valley of the convent is known to the Arabs as Wady Shu’eib, that is, the Vale of Jethro. Still advancing, the front of Horeb rose like a wall before us; and one can approach quite to the foot and touch the mount. Directly before its base is the deep bed of a torrent, by which, in the rainy season, the waters of el-Leja and the mountains around the recess pass down eastward across the plain, forming the commencement of Wady esh-Sheikh, which then issues by an opening through the cliffs of the eastern mountain—a fine broad valley affording the only easy access to the plain and convent. As we crossed the plain our feelings were strongly affected at finding here, so unexpectedly, a spot so entirely adapted to the Scriptural account of the giving of the law. No traveller has described this plain, nor even mentioned it, except in a slight and general manner; probably because the most have reached the convent by another route, without passing over it; and perhaps, too, because neither the highest point of Sinai (now called Jebel Mûsa), nor the still loftier summit of St. Catharine, is visible from any part of it.” (*Ibid.* pp. 130-132).

"The extreme difficulty and even danger of the ascent, was well rewarded by the prospect that now opened before us. The whole plain er-Râhah lay spread out beneath our feet, with the adjacent Wadys and mountains; while Wady esh-Sheikh on the right, and the recess on the left, both connected with, and opening broadly from er-Râhah, presented an area which serves nearly to double that of the plain. Our conviction was strengthened, that here, or on some one of the adjacent cliffs, was the spot, where the Lord 'descended in fire' and proclaimed the law. Here lay the plain where the whole congregation might be assembled; here was the mount that could be approached and touched, if not forbidden; and here the mountain brow, where alone the lightnings and the thick cloud would be visible, and the thunders and the voice of the trumpet be heard, when the Lord 'came down in the sight of all the people upon mount Sinai.' We gave ourselves up to the impressions of the awful scene; and read, with a feeling that will never be forgotten, the sublime account of the transaction, and the commandments there promulgated, in the original words as recorded by the great Hebrew legislator, *Exod. xix. 9-25; xx. 1-21.*" (*Ibid.* pp. 157, 158).

"We came to Sinai with some incredulity, wishing to investigate the point, whether there was any probable ground, beyond monkish tradition, for fixing upon the present supposed site. The details of the preceding pages will have made the reader acquainted with the grounds which led us to the conviction that the plain er-Râhah above described is the probable spot where the congregation of Israel were assembled, and that the mountain impending over it, the present Horeb, was the scene of the awful phenomena in which the law was given. We were satisfied, after much examination and enquiry, that in no other quarter of the peninsula, and certainly not around any of the higher peaks, is there a spot corresponding in any degree so fully as this to the historical account and to the circumstances of the case. I have entered above more fully into the details, because former travellers have touched upon this point so slightly; and because, even to the present day, it is a current opinion among scholars, that no open space exists among these mountains. We, too, were surprised as well as gratified to find here, in the inmost recesses of these dark granite cliffs, this fine plain spread out before the mountain; and I know not when I have felt a thrill of stronger emotion, than when, in first crossing the plain, the dark precipices of Horeb, rising in solemn grandeur before us, we became aware of the entire adaptedness of the scene to the purposes for which it was chosen by the great Hebrew legislator. Moses, doubtless, during the forty years in which he kept the flocks of Jethro, had often wandered over these mountains, and was well acquainted with their valleys and deep recesses, like the Arabs of the present day. At any rate, he knew and had visited the spot to which he was to conduct his people, —this *adytum*, in the midst of the great circular granite region, with only a single feasible entrance; a secret holy place, shut out from the world, amid lone and desolate mountains." (*Ibid.* pp. 175, 176).

Dr. Robinson's account of Sinai terminates with historical

researches into its ancient and modern state, and with a description of the convent, whose inmates follow a very strict rule:—

“ They eat no flesh and drink no wine ; but their rules were made before the invention of distilled liquors, and therefore do not exclude date-brandy. Yet they all seem healthy and vigorous; and those who remain here retain their faculties to a great age. The lay brother who waited on us had seen more than eighty years ; one of the priests was said to be over ninety ; and one had died the year before at the age of one hundred and six. A great portion of their time is nominally occupied in religious exercises. They have (or should have) regularly the ordinary prayers of the Greek ritual seven times in every twenty-four hours. Every morning there is a mass about 7 o'clock ; and on Saturdays two, one at 3 A.M., and the other at the usual hour. During Lent the exercises on certain days are much increased ; on the Wednesday which we spent there the monks were at prayers all the morning until 12 o'clock ; and again during the night from 10 till 4 o'clock.” (*Ibid.* p. 194).

From Mount Sinai the travellers proceeded to Jerusalem, through Hebron. On this route they came to the site of ancient Beersheba, the celebrated border city of Palestine, still bearing, in Arabic, the name of Bir-es-Seba. Here they found two deep wells:—

“ These wells are some distance apart ; they are circular, and stoned up very neatly with solid masonry, apparently much more ancient than that of the wells at 'Abdeh. The larger one is twelve and a half feet in diameter, and forty-four and a half feet deep to the surface of the water ; sixteen feet of which, at the bottom, is excavated in the solid rock. The other well lies fifty-five rods W.S.W., and is five feet in diameter and forty-two feet deep. The water in both is pure and sweet, and in great abundance ; the finest, indeed, we had found since leaving Sinai. Both wells are surrounded with drinking-troughs of stone for camels and flocks, such as were doubtless used of old for the flocks which then fed on the adjacent hills. The curb-stones were deeply worn by the friction of the ropes in drawing up water by hand.

“ We had heard of no ruins here, and hardly expected to find any, for none were visible from the wells ; yet we did not wish to leave so important a spot without due examination. Ascending the low hills north of the wells, we found them covered with the ruins of former habitations, the foundations of which are still distinctly to be traced, although scarcely one stone remains upon another. The houses appear not to have stood compactly, but scattered over several little hills, and in the hollows between. They seem to have been built chiefly of round stones, though some of the stones are squared and some hewn. It was probably only a small straggling city.”.....“ We could find no special traces of churches or other public buildings ; although one or two larger heaps of stones may probably have been such edifices. These ruins are spread over a space half a mile in length, along the

northern side of the water-course, and extending back about a quarter of a mile. Fragments of pottery are scattered over the whole. On the S. side of the water-course is a long wall of hewn stone under the bank, extending for several hundred feet, apparently intended to protect the bank from being washed away by the torrent. Probably gardens of some important building may have been situated on the bank above, of which however there is now no trace. On the same side are several heaps of stones, and the ground is also strewn with small fragments of pottery.

“ Here then is the place where the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, often dwelt ! Here Abraham dug perhaps this very well ; and journeyed from hence with Isaac to Mount Moriah, to offer him up there in sacrifice. From this place Jacob fled to Padan-Aram, after acquiring the birthright and blessing belonging to his brother ; and here too he sacrificed to the Lord on setting off to meet his son Joseph in Egypt. Here Samuel made his sons judges ; and from here Elijah wandered out into the southern desert, and sat down under a shrub of Retem, just as our Arabs sat down under it every day and every night. Here was the border of Palestine proper, which extended from Dan to Beersheba. Over these swelling hills the flocks of the patriarchs once roved by thousands ; where now we found only a few camels, asses, and goats !

“ Beersheba is last mentioned in the Old Testament, as one of the places to which the Jews returned after the exile. The name does not occur in the New Testament ; nor is it referred to as then existing by any writer earlier than Eusebius and Jerome in the fourth century. They describe it as a large village, with a Roman garrison. It is found as an episcopal city in the early ecclesiastical, and other *notitiæ*, referring to the centuries before and after the Muhammedan conquests ; but none of its bishops are anywhere mentioned. Its site was in like manner long forgotten ; and the crusaders assigned this name to the place now called Beit Jibrîn, lying between Hebron and Askelon. About the middle of the fourteenth century, Sir John Maundeville, and also Rudolf de Suchem and William de Baldensel, passed on this route from Sinai to Hebron and Jerusalem ; and all of them mention here Beersheba. The two latter say it was then uninhabited, but some of the churches were still standing. From this time onward for five centuries, it has again remained until this day, apparently unvisited and unknown, except the slight notice which Seetzen obtained respecting it from the Arabs.” (*Ibid.* pp. 300, 303).

On quitting Hebron, Dr. Robinson and Mr. Smith took the direct road to Jerusalem. In many places it is laid with stones, and is doubtless the ancient road which patriarchs and kings of old have often traversed : but it is only a path for beasts ; no wheels have ever passed there. They reached the holy city on Easter-eve, April 14th, 1838, at sunset, just before the closing of the gates. A large portion of Dr. Robinson’s first volume, and part of the second, are devoted to minute researches respecting that justly celebrated city—“beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth.”

In approaching Jerusalem from Hebron, Dr. Robinson was struck with the very rapid descent of the valley of Hinnom, and the great depth of that of Jehoshaphat, into which the former opens. The descriptions given by most travellers had prepared him to find the houses miserable, the streets filthy, and the population squalid: but in all these respects he was agreeably disappointed. The houses, he states, are better built, and the streets are cleaner, than those of Alexandria, Smyrna, or Constantinople. The hills and valleys, which marked the ancient city, are still distinctly visible. The valley of the Tyropæum (or of the Cheesemakers), described by the Jewish historian Josephus, may be traced from its head, near the Yaffa (Jaffa) gate, to its foot, at the pool of Siloam. The hills of Zion, Akra, Bezethe, and Moriah, are yet distinct and marked. The last mentioned eminence, on which the ancient temple stood, is now occupied by the mosque of Omar, and by the extensive area or court which surrounds it. Of this area, and the structures which it contains, Dr. Robinson has given a minute and critical description, as well as of the topography and antiquities of Jerusalem, for which we must refer to his work. The circumference of the holy city, which he carefully measured, he states to be two and one-eighth geographical miles, or very nearly two and a half English miles.

Various excursions were made from Jerusalem into and through the surrounding country, which Dr. Robinson, travelling at leisure, was enabled fully to explore: and thus he succeeded in discovering the sites of numerous places of great note in ancient times, but which have been lost to modern geography. We select a few of the more interesting.

About an hour's ride north-east from Jerusalem the travellers reached 'Anâta, the ancient Anathoth, the birth-place of the prophet Jeremiah. It is now a miserable village, but it seems to have once been a walled town and a place of strength:—

“Portions of the wall remain, built of large hewn stones, and apparently ancient; as are also the foundations of some of the houses. One of our party found the fragments of a column or two among the ruins. The houses are few, and the people seemed poor and miserable, amounting only to a few scores. The village lies where the broad ridge slopes off gradually towards the S.E. On this side are tilled fields; and we had passed several others on our way. The grain was still standing, the time of harvest not having yet come. Fig trees and olive trees are also scattered around. From the vicinity of 'Anâta a favourite species of building-stone is carried to Jerusalem; and we met several troops of donkeys loaded in this manner with the materials of future dwellings; a hewn stone being slung upon each side of the poor animal. Larger stones are transported on camels.

“ From this point there is an extensive view over the whole eastern slope of the mountainous tract of Benjamin, including also the valley of the Jordan and the northern part of the Dead Sea. The region before us was that alluded to by the prophet Isaiah, near the end of the tenth chapter, where the approach of Sennacherib towards Jerusalem is described; and from the spot where we now stood, several of the places there mentioned were visible.” (Vol. II., pp. 109, 110).

Proceeding northwards from Anathoth, and crossing two deep valleys, Dr. Robinson and his companions came in eight minutes to Jeba, the ancient Gibeah of Saul, situated also on high land, with a deep valley on the north. It is now a small village, half in ruins, among which are occasionally seen large hewn stones, indicating antiquity. North-east of Jeba, or Gibeah, across a very deep valley, lies Mukhmâs, the ancient Michmash :—

“ This steep precipitous valley is probably ‘ the passage of Michmash,’ mentioned in Scripture. In the valley, just at the left of where we crossed, are two hills of a conical or rather a spherical form, having steep rocky sides, with small Wadys running up behind each so as almost to isolate them. One is on the side towards Jeba’, and the other towards Mûkhmâs. These would seem to be the two rocks mentioned in connexion with Jonathan’s adventure; they are not indeed so ‘ sharp’ as the language of Scripture would seem to imply; but they are the only rocks of the kind in this vicinity. The northern one is connected towards the west with an eminence still more distinctly isolated. This valley appears to have been, at a later time, the dividing line between the tribes of Benjamin and Ephraim.” (*Ibid.* p. 116).

One of the most remarkable discoveries was that of Bethel, the name of which place is but slightly changed, the Arabs calling it Beitîn. The ruins of this place

“ Occupy the whole surface of the hill-point, sloping towards the S.E., and cover a space of three or four acres. They consist of very many foundations and half-standing walls of houses and other buildings. On the highest part, towards the N.N.W., are the remains of a square tower; and near the southern point the walls of a Greek church, standing within the foundations of a much larger and earlier edifice, built of large stones, part of which have been used for erecting the later structure. The broken walls of several other churches are also to be distinguished. In the western valley are the remains of one of the largest reservoirs we saw in the country, measuring 314 feet in length from N.W. to S.E., and 217 feet in breadth from N.E. to S.W. The walls were built of massive stones; the southern one is still entire; those upon the sides are partly gone, while the northern one has almost wholly disappeared. The bottom was now a green grass-plat, having in it two living springs of good water. Here we spread our carpets on the grass for breakfast, by the side of these desolations of ages. A few Arabs, probably from some neighbouring village, had pitched their tents here for the summer, to watch their

flocks and fields of grain ; and they were the only inhabitants. From them we obtained milk and also butter, of excellent quality, which might have done honour to the days when the flocks of Abraham and Jacob were pastured on these hills. It was indeed the finest we found anywhere in Palestine.

“ There is little room for question, that both the name and site of Beitîn are identical with those of the ancient Bethel. The latter was a border city between Benjamin and Ephraim ; at first assigned to Benjamin, but conquered and afterwards retained by Ephraim. According to Eusebius and Jerome, it lay twelve Roman miles from Jerusalem, on the right or east of the road leading to Sichem or Neapolis (Nâbulus). From Beitîn to el-Bîreh we found the distance to be forty-five minutes, and from Bîreh to Jerusalem three hours, with horses. The correspondence, therefore, in the situation is very exact, and the name affords decisive confirmation. The Arabic termination *in* for the Hebrew *el*, is not an unusual change ; we found indeed several other instances of it entirely parallel. Yet the name has been preserved solely among the common people. The monks appear for centuries not to have been aware of its existence ; and have assigned to Bethel a location much further towards the north. Our friends, the Greek priests, at Taiyibeh, had also recognised the identity of Beitîn and Bethel, and had endeavoured to bring into use the Arabic form *Beitîl*, as being nearer the original ; but it had found currency only within the circle of their own influence. From them the missionaries in Jerusalem had heard of the place, and had learned the name Beitîl ; though from others they had heard only of Beitîn.

“ Bethel is celebrated in the Old Testament. Abraham first pitched his tent in Palestine, on the high ground eastward of this spot, still one of the finest tracts for pasturage in the whole land. Here Jacob slept on his way to Haran, and saw in his dream the ladder and the angels of God ascending and descending upon it ; and hither he afterwards returned and built an altar, and called the place Beth-el, ‘ House of God.’ Samuel came once a year to Bethel to judge the people. In later times it became notorious as a seat of idolatrous worship, after Jeroboam had erected here one of his golden calves. This was denounced at the time by a prophet of the Lord, who then transgressed and was destroyed by a lion. Bethel came afterwards into the possession of Judah ; and king Josiah destroyed its altars and idols, burning upon them dead men’s bones from the sepulchres. After the exile, the place was again inhabited by the returning Jews ; and was fortified by Bacchides, the Syrian, in the time of the Maccabees.

“ In the New Testament Bethel is not mentioned ; but it still existed, as we learn from Josephus, and was captured by Vespasian. Eusebius and Jerome describe it as a small village in their day. This is the last notice of Bethel as an inhabited place. The name is indeed mentioned by writers of the times of the crusades, but apparently only as a place known in Scripture history, and not as then in existence. Yet the present ruins are greater than those of a small village ; and show that, after the time of Jerome, the place must probably have revived and been enlarged. The ruined churches upon the site and beyond the valley, betoken a town of importance even down to the

middle ages; and it certainly is matter of surprise that no allusion to the place as then existing occurs in the historians of the crusades. The site would seem already to have been forgotten in ecclesiastical tradition. During the following centuries, Bethel was sought for near to Sichem; and it is only within the last three or four years that its name and site have been discovered among the common people, by the Protestant missionaries in Jerusalem. The monks even now know nothing of it; and the traveller who communicates only with them, is still led to believe that Bethel and its very name have perished." (*Ibid.* pp. 126-130).

The excursion to the Dead Sea is full of interest, and the narrative of it places Dr. Robinson in the first rank of erudite and observant travellers. We reluctantly pass it, in order to present our readers with a portion of his description of Nâbulus (by other travellers called Napolose, or Naplaus), the Neapolis of the Romans, and the Shechem of ancient times, together with his interview with the remnant of the Samaritans who still reside there:—

"The city of Nâbulus is long and narrow, stretching close along the N.E. base of Mount Gerizim, in this small deep valley, half an hour distant from the great eastern plain. The streets are narrow; the houses high and in general well built, all of stone, with domes upon the roofs as at Jerusalem. The valley itself, from the foot of Gerizim to that of Ebal, is here not more than some five hundred yards wide, extending from S.E. to N.W. The city lies direct upon a water-summit in this valley; the waters on the eastern part, as we have seen, flowing off east into the plain and so to the Jordan; while the fine fountains on the western side send off a pretty brook down the valley N.W. towards the Mediterranean. This somewhat remarkable circumstance, so far as I can find, has hitherto been noted by no traveller.

"Mounts Gerizim and Ebal rise in steep rocky precipices immediately from the valley on each side, apparently some eight hundred feet in height. The sides of both these mountains, as here seen, were to our eyes equally naked and sterile; although some travellers have chosen to describe Gerizim as fertile, and confine the sterility to Ebal. The only exception in favour of the former, so far as we could perceive, is a small ravine coming down opposite the west end of the town, which indeed is full of fountains and trees; in other respects both mountains, as here seen, are desolate, except that a few olive trees are scattered upon them. The side of the northern mountain, Ebal, along the foot, is full of ancient excavated sepulchres. The southern mountain is now called by the inhabitants Jebel et-Târ, though the name Gerizim is known at least to the Samaritans. The modern appellation of Ebal we did not learn.

"One of our first objects at Nâbulus was to visit the Samaritans, that singular and feeble remnant of an ancient people, which to this day has survived the storms of ages and of adverse influences, upon their native soil. Some men, formerly from Beirût, soon came around us; and an old Christian of the Greek rite undertook to conduct us to the Samaritans, to the summit of Mount Gerizim, and to Jacob's well. We repaired

to the city, passing among luxuriant groves of fig and other fruit trees, and entering by a gate at the western end. The quarter occupied by the Samaritans is in the S.W. part of the city, rising somewhat upon the acclivity of Gerizim. It is well built, and the houses seemed solid and comfortable. On coming to the synagogue we found it closed. Several of the Samaritans came to us; but as the priest was not at hand to open the door, we could not now visit the synagogue. They offered us a guide, however, to the top of Mount Gerizim; and we determined to go thither immediately, and see the priest on our return. We set off, therefore, at four o'clock, on foot, attended by one of the younger Samaritans, an honest, simple-minded man. Our old Christian we were willing to dismiss till we came back; having discovered meantime, that his plan had been to take a Samaritan guide himself, besides demanding one of our mules to ride. We struck up the ravine above mentioned, which comes down from the S.W., and is full of fruit trees and verdure. Just out of the city is a fine fountain, called 'Asal; and still further up, an aqueduct and mill.

Above the ravine the ascent of the mountain is steep; yet not so but that one might ride up without difficulty. When about two-thirds of the way up, we heard a woman calling after us, who proved to be the mother of our Samaritan guide. He was her only son, and had come away, it seems, without her knowledge; and she was now in the utmost terror at finding that he had gone off as a guide to Franks, to show them the holy mountain. She had immediately followed us, and was now crying after us with all the strength of her lungs, forbidding him to proceed, lest some evil should befall him. The young man went back to meet her, and tried to pacify her; but in vain; she insisted upon his returning home. This he was not inclined to do; although he said he could not disobey his mother, and so transgress the law of Moses. This touching trait gave us a favorable idea of the morality of the Samaritans. After reasoning with her a long time without effect, he finally persuaded her to go with us. So she followed us up; at first full of wrath, and keeping at a distance from us; yet at last she became quite reconciled and communicative.

"Twenty minutes of ascent from the city in the direction S.W. led us to the top of Gerizim; which proved to be a tract of high table land stretching off far towards the W. and S.W. Twenty minutes more towards the S.E. along a regular path upon the table land, brought us to the Wely we had seen before, standing on a small eminence on the eastern brow of the mountain, perhaps the highest point, and overlooking the plain on the east, and indeed all the country around, including Jebel esh-Sheikh, or Hermon, in the distance. Here is the holy place of the Samaritans, whither they still come up four times a year to worship. The spot where they sacrifice the passover, seven lambs among them all, was pointed out to us, just below the highest point, and before coming to the last slight acclivity. It is marked by two parallel rows of rough stones laid upon the ground, and a small round pit, roughly stoned up, in which the flesh is roasted.

"On ascending the rise of ground beyond this spot, the first object which presents itself are the ruins of an immense structure of hewn stones, bearing every appearance of having been once a large and strong

fortress. It consisted of two adjacent parts, each measuring about two hundred and fifty feet from E. to W. and two hundred feet from N. to S., giving a length in all of about four hundred feet in the latter direction. The stones are the common limestone of the region, tolerably large, and bevelled at the edges, though rough in the middle. The walls in some places are nine feet thick. At the four corners of the southern division were square towers, and one in the middle of the eastern side. In the northern part is now the Muslim Wely, and also a cemetery. The stranger at first is very naturally struck with the idea that these must be the remains of the ancient temple of the Samaritans upon Mount Gerizim ; but the Samaritans of the present day attach no sanctity whatever to these ruins, and simply call them *el-Kul'ah*, 'the Castle.' We shall hereafter see that they are probably the remains of a fortress erected by Justinian.

"Just under the walls of the castle, on the west side, are a few flat stones, of which it is difficult to say whether they were laid there by nature or by man. Under these, the guide said, are the twelve stones brought out of Jordan by the Israelites ; and there they will remain until *el-Muhdy* (the Guide) shall appear. This, he said, and not Messiah, is the name they give to the expected Saviour. He could not tell when he would appear ; but there were already some tokens of his coming." (Vol. III., pp. 96, 100).

In the course of conversation with a Samaritan priest, Dr. Robinson ascertained that the Samaritans have a copy of the first volume of the Polyglott Bible, edited by Bishop Walton ; and the correctness of the Samaritan Pentateuch contained in it was acknowledged by the priest :—

"The Samaritans are now reduced to a very small community, there being only thirty men who pay taxes, and few, if any, who are exempt ; so that their whole number cannot be reckoned at over one hundred and fifty souls. One of them is in affluent circumstances ; and having been for a long time chief secretary of the Mutesellim of Nâbulus, became one of the most important and powerful men of the province. He had recently been superseded in his influence with the the governor by a Copt, and now held only the second place. He was called *el-'Abd es-Sâmary*. The rest of the Samaritans are not remarkable either for their wealth or poverty. The physiognomy of those we saw was not Jewish ; nor indeed did we remark in it any peculiar character, as distinguished from that of other natives of the country. They keep the Saturday as their Sabbath with great strictness, allowing no labour or trading, not even cooking nor lighting a fire, but resting from their employments the whole day. On Friday evening they pray in their houses, and on Saturday have public prayers in their synagogues at morning, noon, and evening. They meet also in the synagogue on the great festivals, and on the new moons ; but not every day. The law is read in public, not every Sabbath-day, but only upon the same festivals.

"Four times a year they go up to Mount Gerizim (*Jebel et-Târ*) in solemn procession to worship ; and then they begin reading the law as they set off, and finish it above. These seasons are : The feast of the

Passover, when they pitch their tents upon the mountain all night, and sacrifice seven lambs at sunset; the day of Pentecost; the feast of Tabernacles, when they sojourn here in booths built of branches of the arbutus; and lastly, the great day of Atonement in autumn. They still maintain their ancient hatred against the Jews; accuse them of departing from the law in not sacrificing the passover, and in various other points, as well as of corrupting the ancient text; and scrupulously avoid all connection with them. If of old 'the Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans,' the latter at the present day reciprocate the feeling; and neither eat nor drink, nor marry, nor associate with the Jews, but only trade with them.

"We enquired of the Samaritans respecting Jacob's well. They said they acknowledged the tradition, and regarded it as having belonged to the patriarch. It lies at the mouth of the valley, near the south side; and is the same which the Christians sometimes call Bîr es-Sâmîrîyeh, 'Well of the Samaritan woman.'" (*Ibid.* pp. 106, 107).

The importance and novelty of the information contained in the preceding extracts must be our apology for the length of them. The researches connected with Nazareth, and the vicinity of the sea of Tiberias, are characterized by great interest. But our space forbids any further quotations. If our readers expect to find sentimental reflections, such as have been penned with exquisite beauty by the poet Lamartine, or by the devout Trappist (and once celebrated leader of fashion and dissipation in this metropolis), Baron Geramb, we frankly assure them that they will be disappointed. But we should not do justice to Dr. Robinson if we did not state that his "Biblical Researches" manifest a copiousness of most accurate and interesting information, and a variety of important discoveries, which render them an indispensable accession to the library of every biblical student.

. Since the preceding article was written we have seen M. Léon de Laborde's "Commentaire Géographique sur l'Exode et les Nombres" (Paris, 1842, folio): in the appendix to which work (pp. 1, 2) M. de Laborde, in no measured terms, denounces Dr. Robinson's "Biblical Researches," as containing a tedious recital of petty personal adventures, and as a hasty compilation. Now it so happens, that, in this country at least, we have heard complaints that the learned traveller has introduced *too little* of personal narrative: and, as to its being a hasty compilation, if M. de Laborde had attentively perused Dr. Robinson's preface, he would have seen that it was not the hasty production which he asserts it to be; but that, having previously made himself thoroughly acquainted with all that had been written on the subject, he then travelled in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia: and subsequently he wrote his "Researches" at Berlin, when he not only had access to libraries for reference, but further, had the opportunity and advantage of consulting several learned German travellers who had preceded him in Palestine. But the value and character of Dr. Robinson's labours cannot be affected by the waspish remarks of Laborde, for which the doctor may well console himself by the honour recently and deservedly conferred upon him by the Royal Geographical Society; whose council (comprising the most eminent geographers and men of science) have recently conferred upon him one of their gold medals, by which act they have done honour to themselves.

ART. V.—*Poems by Alfred Tennyson*. 2 vols., 12mo. London: Moxon. 1842.

ONLY one of these volumes is entirely new. The first, as the author intimates in two successive dates at the beginning and middle of it, and a little more copious bit of information in four lines at the conclusion, is for the most part a collection of former volumes, and some of the poems in it have been “considerably altered.” Others, he might have added, have been left out; and, retaining what he has, we do not see good reason for the omission: so that the present publication is neither an entire collection, nor a thoroughly satisfactory selection, which is a pity.

We state our objections first, that we may get rid of the unpleasant part of our task, and enjoy the subsequent approbation with more comfort; for, though reviewers are supposed to take a special delight in censure, and we ourselves must in candour confess that we know what it is to be tempted to go the way of all critical flesh, and how strong the desire in the young reviewer is to make the importance of the judgment-seat felt; but a little more Christian reflection made us discern the danger which our love of truth was undergoing, especially towards persons who differed with us in opinion; and, though we must never cease to find fault where truth demands it, and where the book is of importance enough to render fault-finding necessary (for wretched books may surely be left to their own natural death, without exciting a shabby desire to kill them), yet, so far from giving either into this once reigning bad habit of reviews, or into the other pick-thank extreme of indiscriminate praise, or following the still more common and servile practice of giving the greatest praise to none but authors in fashion, and being afraid of doing justice to others perhaps far superior, we shall make it our business to give as cheerful and even reverential eulogy to genius, in whatever quarter we find it, as we shall jealously guard that right and sincerity of objection which alone can render it thoroughly valuable. We would not give wholesale, indiscriminate laudation to Shakspeare himself, as long as human nature is what it is, and no man perfect. Neither, on the other hand, shall any reigning fashion induce us to take common-place for invention, or the soothing of the languors of soft ears for a masculine versification.

We are compelled to say, then, in justice to the very respect which we entertain, and the more which we desire to entertain, for the genius of Mr. Tennyson, that the above “lettings out of the bag” of his dates and alterations, are a little too charac-

teristic of a certain mixture of timidity and misgiving with his otherwise somewhat defying demands upon our assent to his figments and his *hyphens*, and that we have greater objections to a certain air of literary dandyism, or fine-gentlemanism, or fastidiousness, or whatever he may *not* be pleased to call it, which leads him to usher in his compositions with such exordiums as those to *Morte d'Arthur*, and *Godiva*; in the former of which he gives us to understand that he should have burnt his poem but for the "request of friends;" and, in the latter, that he "shaped" it while he was waiting "for the train at Coventry," and hanging on the bridge "with grooms and porters." Really this is little better than the rhyming fine-ladyism of Miss Seward, who said that she used to translate an ode of Horace "while her hair was curling." And, if the "grooms and porters" have any meaning beyond a superfluous bit of the graphic, not in keeping with his subject, it is a little worse, for why should not Mr. Tennyson, in the universality of his poetry, be as content to be waiting on a bridge, among "grooms and porters," as with any other assortment of his fellow-men? Doubtless he would disclaim any such want of philosophy; but this kind of mixed tone of contempt and nonchalance, or, at best, of fine-life phrases with better fellowship, looks a little instructive, and is, at all events, a little perilous. There is a drawl of Bond-street in it. We suspect that these poems of *Morte d'Arthur* and *Godiva* are among those which Mr. Tennyson thinks his best, and is most anxious that others should regard as he does; and therefore it is that he would affect to make trifles of them. The reader's opinion is at once to be of great importance to him, and yet none at all. There is a boyishness in this, which we shall be happy to see Mr. Tennyson, who is no longer a boy, outgrow.

So of his hyphens and his dots, his *sëers*, *low-lieths*, and *Eleanoras*, and the intensifications of his prefix *a*—*awearry*, *amany*, *anear*; it is "affectations, 'oman," as Sir Hugh says; and a very unnecessary bad compliment both to his readers and himself, as if they did not know how to read, or could never enough see the merit of his quantities and qualities without the help of his lackadaisical particle. Upon a like principle we object to his excessive fondness for repeating a lyrical "burthen." His "awearry, awarey," in the *Moated Grange*, may indeed help us to sympathise with the fatigue of the inhabitant; but four "Orianas" to every stanza, in the ballad of that name, amounting to forty-four in all, burlesque all music and feeling, and become a parrot-cry instead of a melody. This, too, in a poem full of beauty!

We trust that in his next publication Mr. Tennyson will show that he has acquired energy enough to get rid of these mixtures of weakness with his strength. We do not wish him, merely because critics object to them, to leave out some of his second or third-best productions, as he seems to have done, and this, too, while retaining his most objectionable; we desire to see him once for all at ease both with his critics and himself, acknowledge what is juvenile or faulty, or rather perceive it without saying anything about the matter; and, whether he discountenances anything or nothing of what he has done, cease to combine misgiving with rashness, and airs of the drawing-room with the enlargement he really possesses, and give us a good, wholesome, satisfactory, and enduring quintessence of the best part of him. He has fancy, imagination, expression, thought, knowledge, and music, too — in short, all the materials of an admirable contemplative poet, and in some instances his success has been already great, and his name, we trust, will be lasting. But at present he still shows a little too much of the spoiled child. He is indolent, over-refining, is in danger of neutralizing his earnestness altogether by the scepticism of thought not too strong, but not strong enough to lead or combine, and he runs, or rather reposes, altogether upon feelings (not to speak it offensively) too sensual. His mind lives in an atmosphere heavy with perfumes. He grows lazy by the side of his Lincolnshire water-lilies; and, with a genius of his own sufficient for original and enduring purposes (at least we hope so), subjects himself to the charge of helping it too much with the poets gone before him, from Homer to Wordsworth, and to Shelley and Keats. But we will touch upon most of the poems in their order, and thus best show what we mean. The beautiful passages that we shall have to quote in eulogy will luckily far more than repay the reader and ourselves for any unpleasant necessity of finding fault.

Claribel, who “low-lieth” where the “beetle boometh” (not a good word), and the “wild bee hummeth,” and the “lint-white smelleth,” and the “mavis dwelleth,” *et cetera, et cetera*, is rather a series of descriptive items in obsolete language than a dirge in earnest.

Lilian is as light and pretty as its subject; but

“Till the lightning laughter’s dimple
The baby roses in her cheeks,”

is an instance of that injudicious crowding of images which sometimes results from Mr. Tennyson’s desire to impress upon us the abundance of his thoughts.

The style of *Isabel* reminds us both of Wordsworth's solemnity and Shelley's Grecisms and penultimate accents. It is a panegyric of chastity in that ultra-super-exalting spirit of Beaumont and Fletcher, which renders the sincerity of it suspicious; and the conclusion unluckily corroborates the impression by informing us that "the world hath not such another," for a "finished, chastened purity," as this lady! This is awkward for the sex in general, and for their gratitude to the poet. The expression "*blanched* tablets of the heart," will not do at all after its beautiful original in the old poet, "the *red-leaved* tablets of the heart." There is a charming verisimilitude and warmth of feeling in the latter image, full of grace and cordiality.

Mariana, in the *Moated Grange*, brings us at once into the thick of the real beauties of the author; and, as we have not noticed him in this publication before, and wish our article to give as thorough an idea of his genius as it can, we will quote the whole of it, though at the hazard of the reader's having seen it years ago. The loose, rusty nails on the garden wall, the "glooming flats," the low of the oxen coming from the dark fens, the blue fly singing in the pane, and the mouse shrieking behind the mouldering wainscot, are part of a heap of images all painted from nature, and true to the feeling of the subject.

MARIANA.

"Mariana in the Moated Grange."—*Measure for Measure*.

"With blackest moss the flower-plots
 Were thickly crusted, one and all;
 The rusted nails fell from the knots
 That held the peach to the garden-wall.
 The broken sheds look'd sad and strange;
 Unlifted was the clinking latch;
 Weeded and worn the ancient thatch
 Upon the lonely moated grange.
 She only said, 'My life is dreary;
 He cometh not,' she said:
 She said, 'I am aweary, aweary;
 I would that I were dead!'

"Her tears fell with the dew at even;
 Her tears fell ere the dews were dried:
 She could not look on the sweet heaven,
 Either at morn or even-tide.
 After the flitting of the bats,
 When thickest dark did trance the sky,
 She drew her casement-curtain by,
 And glanced athwart the glooming flats.

She only said, ' the night is dreary ;
He cometh not,' she said :
She said, ' I am aweary, aweary ;
I would that I were dead !'

" Upon the middle of the night
Waking, she heard the night-fowl crow ;
The cock sung out an hour ere light ;
From the dark fen the oxen's low
Came to her : without hope of change,
In sleep she seem'd to wake forlorn,
Till cold winds woke the gray-eyed morn,
About the lonely moated grange.
She only said, ' The day is dreary ;
He cometh not,' she said :
She said, ' I am aweary, aweary ;
I would that I were dead !'

" About a stone-cast from the wall,
A sluice with blacken'd waters slept,
And o'er it many, round and small,
The cluster'd marish-mosses crept.
Hard by a poplar shook alway,
All silver-green with guarled bark,
For leagues no other tree did dark
The level waste, the rounding gray.
She only said, ' My life is dreary,
He cometh not,' she said :
She said, ' I am aweary, aweary ;
I would that I were dead !'

" And even when the moon was low,
And the shrill winds were up and away ;
In the white curtain, to and fro,
She saw the gusty shadow sway.
But when the moon was very low,
And wild winds bound within their cell,
The shadow of the poplar fell
Upon her bed, across her brow.
She only said, ' The night is dreary,
He cometh not,' she said :
She said, ' I am aweary, aweary ;
I would that I were dead !'

" All day within the dreamy house,
The doors upon their hinges creak'd ;
The blue fly sang i'the pane ; the mouse
Behind the mouldering wainscot shriek'd,
Or from the crevice peer'd about.
Old faces glimmer'd through the doors,
Old footsteps trod the upper floors,
Old voices call'd her from without.

She only said, ' My life is dreary,
 He cometh not,' she said :
 She said, ' I am aweary, aweary ;
 I wish that I were dead !'

" The sparrow's chirrup on the roof,
 The slow clock ticking, and the sound
 Which to the wooing wind aloof
 The poplar made, did all confound
 Her sense ; but most she loath'd the hour
 When the thick-moted sunbeam lay
 Athwart the chambers, and the day
 Was sloping toward his western bower.
 Then said she, ' I am very dreary,
 He will not come,' she said :
 She wept, ' I am aweary, aweary ;
 Oh God! that I were dead !'"

Mr. Tennyson seems to have felt, that these descriptions, beautiful as they were, were rather native than foreign ; and he has accordingly given us a *Mariana in the South* ; which, though more Catholic in one sense is less so in another ; and though not without its truth too, and beauty, must undergo the fate of all sequels, in being considered very inferior to its prototype.

Madeline is held forth to us a lady, who " smiling frowning evermore," is considered " perfect in love." " Delicious spites and darling angers" are here ; things such as Tasso took delight in praising ; and as long as they only amused him, they were very well ; but when he came to take a deeper interest, adieu to the lovingness of the lady and to his own happiness. So with this ever frowning and smiling coquette of Mr. Tennyson's, who fixes a smile at him if he offers to go, and then " blushes angerly" if he offers to kiss the tips of her fingers. We confess we have no faith in the lady's knowledge of love at all, nor any vast deal in the loveability of Mr. Tennyson's ladies in general. They remind us too much of the fine young ladies in souvenirs and beauty-books, with rapturous eyes, dark locks and tresses, and all that—ready made to conquer between the meretricious and the moral—between a boarding-school education, and prudential, and in truth cold contradictions to it. He has a whole seraglio of them. The list would make a song of itself. There is Mariana, Eleonora, Oriana, Fatima, Dora, Margaret, Olivia, Rose, Emilia, Claribel, Isabel, Adeline, Madeline, Lady Clara, and Lady Flora. Poets are bound to be admirers of the fair sex ; but Mr. Tennyson talks as if he really loved most of these ladies, while it is pretty clear that his ad-

miration is of a very ordinary sort, and that he makes the poor creatures pegs to hang characters upon; for which we are not surprised that they seldom appear to return his passion. We think him more ingenious than happy in these portraitures. There is sometimes a good deal of observation in them, and metaphysical acuteness; but it is too ostentatiously shown, often in numbers affectedly musical; and he makes them so very conscious, or fastidious, or stately, or in some way or other almost always puts some such unpleasant contradiction to their loveability in the midst of their exuberant airs and graces, that they end in impressing us as a sort of poetical milliners, or artificial idealisms full dressed. And how can he condescend to write such fantastic nothings, pretending to be intense some-things, as the following:—

“ Lovest thou the doleful wind
When thou gazest at the skies?
Doth the low-tongued Orient
Wander from the side o’ the morn.
Dripping with Sabæan spice,
On thy pillow lowly bent,
With melodious airs lovelorn,
Breathing light against thy face,
While his locks *a-dropping* turned,
Round thy neck in subtle ring,
Make a carcanet of rays.

(The meaning?)

And ye talk together still,
In the language wherewith spring
Letters cowslips on the hill?
Hence that look and smile of thine,
Spiritual Adeline!”

We have read of lettered hyacinths in Theocritus (alluding to the story in the Mythology), and of “shuttles of the morn,” in a very different poet, one Mr. Merry, hight Della Crusca; who described them as “weaving an airy lay upon a cobwebbed thorn;” and we must say that in such verses as these, Mr. Tennyson reminds us far more of the gossamer fancies of that gentleman, than of his worthier and more kindred associate. Could any one suppose that the writer who would allow himself to put forth such lines as these was the same who painted the following masterly portrait? It is very different from those of his young ladies, and evidently taken entirely from the life. We have heard of its original being disowned in a late admirable poet and metaphysician. If so, it is after all but a one-sided, and in great measure even superficial portrait, for the whole

humanity at the bottom of his heart is left out, together with his lovely imagination. But still it is a masterly show-up of the worldly side of a man who is understood by most people to have had an esoterical and an exoterical creed; and it is very like his manner and his book.

“A CHARACTER.

- “With a half glance upon the sky,
At night he said, ‘The wanderings
Of this most intricate universe
Teach us the nothingness of things.’
Yet could not all creation pierce
Beyond the bottom of his eye.
- “He spake of beauty: that the dull
Saw no divinity in grass,
Life in dead stones, or spirit in air;
Then looking as ’twere in a glass,
He smooth’d his chin and sleek’d his hair,
And said the earth was beautiful.
- “He spake of virtue: not the gods
More purely, when they wish to charm
Pallas and Juno sitting by;
And with a sweeping of the arm,
And a lack-lustre dead-blue eye,
Devolved his rounded periods.
- “Most delicately hour by hour
He canvass’d human mysteries,
And trod on silk, as if the winds
Blew his own praises in his eyes;
And stood aloof from other minds
In impotence of fancied power,
- “With lips depressed as he were meek,
Himself unto himself he sold;
Upon himself himself did feed;
Quiet, dispassionate, and cold,
And other than his form of creed,
With chisell’d features clear and sleek.”

We look upon the above, after its kind, as a faultless composition; and its kind is no mean one. Considered as a poetical satire, it brings an atmosphere of imagination round the coldest matter of fact; and the delicate *blank* effect of the disposition of the rhymes completes the seemingly passionless exposure of its passionless object.

The *Poet* reminds us of Shelley; and we are not sure whether,

though it has in some respects a look of generality, it was not intended for his portrait. If so, whatever objections this publication would have to make to the original, we should have admired Mr. Tennyson's boldness more had he spoken out.

The *Merman* and *Mermaid* are true bits of half-human, half-fishy sympathy. But even under the water there is too much vanity and consciousness mixed up with the author's actions of love. The *Lady of Shalott*, we confess, we do not very well understand, except as a series of long-drawn musical reiterations; and as such, it is very successful. Oenone lamenting the infidelity of Paris is as beautiful and graceful as if it had been painted by one of the Italian masters. It reminds us of a lovely comparison by a brother critic, the other day, of Raphael, cut off in the flower of his years, to a broken orange-tree (something more than an imitation of Homer's simile of the fallen warrior with the young olive-tree.) Select beauty is in it; not the less true for being select; and a golden warmth pervades the grace, like Titian shining upon the Caracci, or the hue of the orange upon the beauty of its orb. The *Recollections of the Arabian Nights*, compared with this elegant bit of paganism, is not a true oriental contrast. It runs too much into mere luxury and exuberance. We are oppressed as with a nook of Lincolnshire weeds. The better part of the stateliness and drapery of the East is not in it, much less the human variety of that wonderful set of stories. When Mr. Tennyson's subject is spiritual, he is apt to become sensuous enough; and very beautiful he *then* is in his sensuousness. When his subject is *sensual*, it is to his detriment; for his luxury tends to rankness.

Of the *Goose* we shall only say that humour and jest are not Mr. Tennyson's forte, and that the less he meddles with them the better. These, like his vaticinations on the future glory of one of the Kemble family—the *only one* without a ray of talent or genius, presumptuous, overbearing, a self-conceited coxcomb and liberal—Mr. T. should relinquish. We can assure him he has not the prophetic portion of the ancient Vates, as this unlucky mistake of a goose for a god, a block for a brain, a braggart for a brave, indicates—proving him to possess less than vulpine astuteness into the real character of objects.

We now come to the principal poems in the second or *new* volume; and of these we may observe in general that, although we do not recognize any advancement upon the best of the former ones, we can testify to a very considerable negative improvement in the articles of fantasticism and whimsicality. We have no longer such passages as the one quoted from *Adeline*, nor the same propensity to hyphens, quaint lyrics, and other

juvenilities. The only difference for the worse is, that Mr. Tennyson has become more misgiving, not in what he omits, but in what he has at the same time a special inclination to do, and that not liking the misgiving, and fearing it will commit his dignity, he takes to a kind of unpoetical nonchalance or indifferent superiority to himself over his own performances. We have already noticed this involuntary exhibition of uneasiness in speaking of two of the new poems, the *Morte d'Arthur* and *Godiva*. We confess that, with all our admiration of particular passages, we do not like either of these poems so well as the author, by his studious airs of indifference about them, seems to wish we should. The *Morte d'Arthur*, as he truly designates it, is an "Homeric echo." It treats the modes and feelings of one generation in the style of another, always a thing fatal, unless it be reconciled with something of self-banter in the course of the poem itself, or the mixture of light with grave, as in *Pulci* and others. The impossibility of a thorough earnestness must, somehow or other, be self-acknowledged. The peculiar exoterical delicacy, or, as a prophane critic would say, the ticklishness of the position of Lady Godiva, is exceedingly well characterized. The very "stones" of the city streets and walls "prate of her whereabouts," or, at least, hold their tongues, and open their eyes with an eloquent intensity of dumbness. But the true spirit of the master, we conceive, is not hit in this treatment of the subject. The feelings of the heroine's heart ought to have been more spoken of, and those of the good people inside the houses, who did not think of "peeping," like the rascally tailor, but wept, and prayed, and loved the unseen angel that was going along. This would have been the way to do honour to the glorious Coventry heroine; and this is what few could have done better than Mr. Tennyson, had he been less in the habit of writing about a hundred Adelines and Madelines, and done more justice to the spiritual part of his fine genius. The best passage in this poem is the characteristic sketch of Godiva's husband and his dialogue, ending with a truly Homeric bit of human animal painting.

" She told him of their tears,
 And pray'd him, ' If they pay this tax, they starve.'
 Whereat he stared, replying, half amazed,
 ' You would not let your little finger ache
 For such as *these* ?'—' But I would die,' said she.
 He laugh'd, and swore by Peter and by Paul;
 He fillipped at the diamond in her ear:
 ' O ay, ay, ay, you talk !'—' Alas !' she said,
 ' But prove me what it is I would not do.'

And, from a heart as rough as Esau's hand,
He answer'd, 'Ride you naked through the town,
And I repeal it;' and, nodding as in scorn,
He parted *with great strides among his dogs.*"

The poem entitled *St. Simeon Stylites* is a powerfully graphic, and in some respects appalling satire on the pseudo-aspirations of egotistical ascetism and superstition. Poetry had need mix up the beautiful with the horrible, or, sometimes, in the enjoyment of its power to detect and punish, it would appear cruel. We do not recollect to have met with a more startling picture of the sordid and the aspiring—the selfish and the self-sacrificing—the wretched, weak body and mind and resolute soul—the abject, the dominant, the stupid, the imaginative—and, alas, the misgiving (don't let Mr. Tennyson suppose that we are applying any other of these bad epithets to him)—all mixed up in the poor phantom-like person of the almost incredible Saint of the Pillar—the almost solitary Christian counterpart of the Yogees of the Hindoos, who let birds build in their hair, and the nails of their fingers grow through the palms of their hands. We say Christian, out of Christian charity; for though real Christianity is a quintessence of good sense, both in its human and angelical aspirations, as the flower of it in due time will make manifest, yet these and other dark absurdities have, no doubt, lurked about its roots, and for a time, with equal absurdity, been confounded with the flower.

But our favourite poem in the new volume is *The Two Voices*. The humour of the *Head Waiter* we cannot relish, though we like its good fellowship; and *Amphion* is but a fancy of Monk Lewis's run to seed. We prefer the original ballad, in which—

"An arm of the sea,
Introduc'd by a tree,
To a fair young whale advances,
And, making a leg,
Says, "Miss, may I beg
Your fin for the next two dances."

The Two Voices is a summary of the argument, *pro* and *con*, about suicide, capitally well put on both sides, and ending, as they ought to do, in the victory of a cheerful wisdom befitting the beauty of the universe and the goodness of its Creator. We admire it so much, that we would fain extract the whole of it, did it not amount to upwards of thirty pages—a good bit of the volume; so that we must content ourselves with recommending the reader to buy the work, if it were only for this single poem, though his money would be well laid out were it not among the contents. Unluckily, the more we admire it, the more we are

compelled to do so at the expense of the volume that contains it, for, on looking at the last stanza, we suddenly discover a date which informs us that it was written in the year 1833; so that we must qualify in some respects what we have intimated about the progress of Mr. Tennyson's genius, the new volume assuredly containing nothing either in feeling or thought which is superior to the old one, if, indeed, it can be said to equal it. We will quote the beginning and the conclusion of *The Two Voices*, that we may have the pleasure of shewing the reader of what sort of stuff it is made, and then say a word or two more on this point, in bringing our remarks to an end.

“ A still small voice spake unto me,
 ‘ Thou art so full of misery,
 Were it not better not to be?’

“ Then to the still small voice I said,
 ‘ Let me not cast in endless shade,
 What is so wonderfully made.’

“ To which the voice did urge reply,
 ‘ To-day I saw the dragon-fly
 Come from the wells where he did lie.

“ ‘ An inner impulse rent the veil
 Of his old husk : from head to tail
 Came out clear plates of sapphire mail.

“ ‘ He dried his wings—like gauze they grew :
 Through crofts and pastures wet with dew,
 A living flash of light he flew.’

“ I said, ‘ When first the world began,’
 Young Nature through five cycles ran,
 And in the sixth she moulded man.

“ ‘ She gave him mind, the lordliest
 Proportion, and, above the rest,
 Dominion in the head and breast.’

“ Thereto the silent voice replied,
 ‘ Self-blinded are you by your pride ;
 Look up through night : the world is wide.

“ ‘ This truth within thy mind rehearse—
 That, in a boundless universe,
 Is boundless better, boundless worse.

“ ‘ Think you this mould of hopes and fears
 Could find no statelier than his peers
 In yonder hundred million spheres?’

“ It spake moreover in my mind,
 ‘ Though thou wert scatter’d to the wind,
 Yet is there plenty of the kind.’

- “ Then did my response clearer fall :
‘ No compound of this earthly ball
Is like another, all in all.’
- “ To which he answer’d scoffingly,
‘ Good soul, suppose I grant it thee,
Who’ll weep for thy deficiency ?’
- “ ‘ Or will one beam be less intense,
When thy peculiar difference
Is cancell’d in the world of sense ?’
- “ *I would have said, ‘ Thou can’st not know ;
But my full heart that work’d below,
Rain’d through my sight its overflow.*

That is very beautiful. But we must hasten to the conclusion, always begging the reader to become acquainted with the rest for himself.

- “ The still voice laugh’d. ‘ I talk,’ said he,
‘ Not with thy dreams. Suffice it thee
Thy pain is a reality.’
- “ But thou,’ said I, ‘ hast miss’d thy mark,
Who soughtst to wreck my mortal ark,
By making all the horizon dark.
- “ Why not set forth, if I should do
This rashness, that which might ensue
With this old soul in organs new ?
- “ Whatever crazy sorrow saith,
No life that breathes with human breath
Has ever truly long’d for death.
- “ ’TIS LIFE, WHEREOF OUR HEROES ARE SCANT,
OH, LIFE, NOT DEATH, FOR WHICH WE PANT ;
More life, and fuller, that I want.
- “ I ceas’d, and sat as one forlorn.
Then said the voice, in quiet scorn,
‘ Behold, it is the Sabbath morn.’
- “ And I arose, and I releas’d
The casement, and the light encreas’d
With freshness in the dawning east.
- “ Like soften’d airs that blowing steal,
When meres begin to uncongeal,
The sweet church bells began to peal.
- “ On to God’s house the people press’d,
Passing the place where each must rest,
Each enter’d like a welcome guest.

" One walk'd between his wife and child,
With measur'd footfall firm and mild,
And now and then he gravely smil'd.

" The prudent partner of his blood
Lean'd on him, faithful, gentle, good,
Wearing the rose of womanhood.

" And in their double love secure,
The little maiden walk'd demure,
Pacing with downward eyelids pure.

" These three made unity so sweet,
My frozen heart began to beat,
Remembering its ancient heat.

" I blessed them, and they wander'd on ;
I spoke, but answer came there none,
The dull and bitter voice was gone.

" A second voice was at mine ear,
A little whisper silver-clear,
A murmur, ' Be of better cheer.'

* * * * *

" What is it thou knowest, sweet voice?" I cried,
' A hidden hope,' the voice replied.

" So heavenly-toned, that in that hour
From out my sullen heart a power
Broke, like the rainbow from the shower.

* * * * *

" And forth into the fields I went,
And Nature's living motion lent
The pulse of hope to discontent.

" I wonder'd at the bounteous hours,
The slow result of winter showers,
You scarce could see the grass for flowers.

" I wonder'd while I paced along,
The woods were fill'd so full with song,
There seem'd no room for sense of wrong.

" So variously secur'd all things wrought,
I marvell'd how the mind was brought
To anchor by one gloomy thought.

" And wherefore rather I made choice
To commune with the barren voice,
Than him that said, ' rejoice, rejoice !' "

This is genuine, Christian, manly, and poetical philosophy,
far better than a hundred elaborate luxuries, whether of volup-

tuousness or woe, and in a style more advanced than that which heaps up compound epithets and an ostentation of thoughts. There has been a reaction of late years in favour both of thought and feeling, and a very salutary reaction it is, against the unthinking common-place that prevailed at the beginning of the century; but, with the usual tendency of revolutions, it has gone to an extreme, and young poets are in danger of exchanging one set of impertinences, that is to say, irrelevancies, for another. They *think* they must *think* at any rate, and be in an incessant state of exuberant remark and imagery, in order to shew what is in them. But real abundance is not under the necessity of taking those violent measures to prove itself. Everything even said well is not said fitly. The real feeling is apt to become smothered in the false; thought takes its place, and that alone is perilous; genuine powers prematurely exhibit themselves, taking pains to shew they have come to their full growth, with airs of universality, and profundity, and final judgments; till at last they are in danger of meeting with a very awkward “extreme, and, instead of hitting the real points of their subject, whirl their giddy heads round towards the gentle outer-pole of the heroes of the Dunciad,

“ Who wrote *about* it, goddess, and *about* it.”

Now, one thing said with thorough truth, and to the purpose, is worth millions of half-apposite fancies, and similes, and collateralities, which do but end, as Ovid calls it, in a poverty-stricken abundance—*inops copia*, and leave every poem of necessity unfinished: for where so many things are said *about* things, why not say more? or where is to be the end of them? Writers of this kind are apt to look with scorn on such poets as Gray and Collins, much more on Pope and the other poets of the French school. We ourselves are adherents to poetry in all its grades, and love the miniatures of Pope, notwithstanding our far greater love and delight in Spenser and Shakspeare, and our admiration of all the genuine intermediate good stuff, whether of thought or feeling, or both, in Beaumont and Fletcher, and Webster, and Marlowe, and Donne, and Daniel, and Drayton; but we cannot blind ourselves to the fact, that completeness is completeness—judgment, a thing select—and passion, a thing with “no nonsense”—and imagination, not to be confounded with thoughts and fancies, any more than quantity is quality, or profession performance. And the danger to these gentlemen is, that the Grays and Collinses, and even that of the simply natural in Goldsmith, will survive them, and see most of them

even speedily perish, unless they “change their hand and check their pride,” simply because those writers are consistent with the truth that is in them, and are not always provoking and disappointing the degree of expectation which they have undertaken to raise.

Mr. Tennyson is at present a kind of philosophical Keats, without the later judgment of that extraordinary genius, and of a turn of mind less naturally and thoroughly given to poetry, in its essence. But there can be no doubt that he is a genuine poet too in his degree (a sacred name—pray let him know how to value it, and be at his ease with it): and there is a class of poetry in which we think he may obtain for himself a name, perhaps as great in its way as that of the other, and one of an independent sort, and that is in a mixture of thought and feeling, more abundant in the former respect than Keats, and more pleasurable and luxuriant in the latter than Wordsworth. We have already characterized, at the beginning of our article, his poetical merits as well as defects, and surely out of all these he might produce another volume which, if less in bulk than the two before us, would have a far greater real abundance. His poems of *Mariana*, and *A Character*, and the *Merman and Mermaid*, and *Oriana* (in spite of its burden), and the *Miller's Daughter*, and *Simeon Stylites*, and the *Two Voices*, are almost all written in a style as clear and compact as the fancy and imagination are poetical, and the thinking profound; and we hope to see the day when Mr. Moxon will oblige us with a volume including these, and containing new ones nothing inferior to the old.

Such is the position, in the opinion of poets and lovers of genuine poetry (the opinion of critics, and of the public, may not as yet be quite in accordance with the former), which Mr. Tennyson has attained after having been before the world during ten or twelve years. With the first class his genius was at once recognized—with the critics and the public it has, as usual, been matter of slow progress and much contest; but we think that, on the whole, he has little reason to be dissatisfied, and no reason at all, when we consider the ill treatment and tardy admission of the claims of Shelley, of Keats, and of Wordsworth.

ART. VI.—*Reports on Education—Mechanics' Institutes—
Importance of Educating the Poor.*

EDUCATION professes to *educe*, draw forth, or develope that which is within. And within the complex being of man, there is a spirit to be drawn forth, as well as understanding to be informed, and affections to be cherished. And the tendency of this age is (as we have often remarked,) rather to overlook the importance of the duty regarding the first of these, in overrating the second and the third; as if a proper attention to these latter would in some degree supersede the duty of diligently cultivating the former. But a true and enlarged system of education has reference to the entire man; it watches over the spirit, the will, the moral faculties of man, in the first instance, that the understanding may safely be allowed its free exercise, and all the affections may be allowed full play, and happiness be the result.

Intelligence is not of necessity a blessing either to the possessor or to those around him. Whether it be a blessing or a curse, depends upon the direction which it has received, and the uses to which it has been applied. Angels and devils are both intelligent beings, and may be in the sense we are speaking of equally so. But the superiority of the angel consists in his devoting all that intelligence to its right use—to the service of God, and to the good of others.

So in educating man, who was made in the image of God, our first endeavours should tend to the awakening of his consciousness to that godlike germ of immortality which is man's peculiar distinction; and as intelligence increases, strengthening this more and more, that it may keep its place of lead, and man may attain his promised goal. This highest part of education more especially belongs to the Clergy, into whose hands our children are committed at baptism, and whose calling it is to watch over the spirit of man from infancy to old age, directing the dawning and sustaining the drooping faith of man, as though the very hand of God was stretched out to meet and suit our various necessities. And undoubtedly it would be the more perfect way, if all the other parts of education could remain in the same hands—could be conducted by the Clergy.

But this is at present impossible; the cry for education is so general, and its branches so various, that a division of labour in this, as in other things, is become necessary; and we also in treating on education must treat its parts separately. And

while the one grand aim of all our endeavours is to cheer and encourage the Clergy in their high and holy calling of ministering to the spiritual wants of mankind; and so much the more diligently when infidelity menaces or prevails. Yet we would also cheer and encourage those who are intent upon the lower branches of education, as mere information is a blessing, in the place of brutal ignorance; and if it be not preceded by the higher things we speak of, it may at least qualify the better to appreciate them. And if the education of the countless poor be beyond our immediate control, we may reach them by care over those who are engaged in their education; we may teach those who are themselves teaching others.

Education, in this lower sense, is the grand basis on which the human intellect is builded, it is the artistical development of a state of nature, it is the only resource which man has provided against the physical evils that continually oppress him, it is a great moral obligation, a solemn debt which the present ever owes to the future, and which "still paying still to owe," is ever held in a medium of extremes.

When the wants of men were few, and their numbers circumscribed, their education simply consisted in the lessons which a successive experience taught them—as their numbers increased, however, so did their wants, until the inventive genius of an awakened intellect added comforts to necessity and luxury to comfort. In those halcyon days, too, when the fruit ripened without the tree requiring much cultivation—when the earth gave her increase without the vast trouble and labour of the present day—when men could walk without jostling one another in the crowd, and partake of their substance without another's gazing with an eye of jealousy upon his more fortunate fellow—and when they had not to scramble through life, often requiring its commonest necessities—in those happy days, the want of an education might not have been felt so keenly as now; not but that these well-fed mortals had their immediate evils, and that our comforts far surpass their luxuries; but the point is simply on the score of education, as applied to the wants of the present day, and, therefore, because they were ignorant, they were in a state of comparative bliss. But this state of bliss hath passed away with what we may call the golden age, and men are now as poor, and have as capacious appetites as ever, without, oftentimes, the means of satisfying the insatiate monster.

Human life hath served so long an apprenticeship in the world, that it hath become a trade: if a man have money he may buy his way through, but, if poor, we know of no other

means of keeping the poor wretch from crawling otherwise than by proposing to educate him, and make him so serviceable to men that he may have a free passage amid the human strife, and money to help him on his way.

Now we would not have it understood for a moment that we conceive it to be the chief end of man to obtain food, clothing, and a competency ; we claim something far higher than this, as we will endeavour to shew ; but there be some who are of a different opinion, therefore, being willing to please opposing parties, we will shew that education is the means to attain all the desired ends. Society is composed, not of individuals, but of principles, of which education is the prime element, and without which no principles can be developed ; consequently, from the assumed data, without education there can be no society. By society we mean one grand, concentrated feeling of unity, in which all the members of a great people join, and which, with modifications, has an existence in all countries ; we will not pretend to define it—it may be a principle, an idea, a sentiment ; but, whatever it is, we venture to assert that it bears the stamp of education upon it.

There is much of ignorance and evil now existing among the majority of the poor ; there is anarchy, confusion, lamentable irreligion, among the great mass of a people who profess a Christian faith, who worship one God, one Saviour, whose acknowledged command was, to “teach all people.”

M. Guizot says, in his lectures on Civilization, that “human thought is most assuredly very far from being at this day all that it may become ;” and we sincerely believe so. There is something solemn and hopeful in reading these short pithy sentences, that seem to fall involuntarily, but prophetically, from the lips, and lead us to contemplate the immense capacities of the soul, and the prospects, however distant, of a perfectibility in man. Among those same concise and comprehensive precepts we have one of a far higher authority, in which is contained the whole of the moral law : “peace on earth, and good will to men.” With faculties, sense, and perception of a like nature, it is requisite to find a certain *something* which shall be applicable to all, yet fulfilling to the very letter the divine command. Therefore, as every individual is held responsible to society for his actions, it is the duty of society to impress upon such individual’s mind what is required of him ; and we know of no other method of doing this, but by educating him. Society will then have discharged its part ; and it remains for the individual to the return the obligation.

The old systems of instruction were founded upon false data, and by consequence led to conclusions which were false, and are, from their insufficiency, now obsolete. We deal not now with physical and mental sciences, as with things dark and mysterious; the language of Natural Philosophy is not written in hieroglyphics, nor do the secrets of Chemistry require cabalistic rites and alchemic ceremonies to unveil them; they are now grappled with in a literal, plain, and intelligible manner.

If this be not the day of profound individual knowledge (and we by no means say it is not), it is, at all events, the day of a more *universal* knowledge: the path is broad, open, and inviting, in which the myriads are now walking that before lay in despondency and gloom; science and discovery are progressive, and we may yet hope to have rivals to Watt, Harvey, Davy, and a host of others, whose names are remembered as the benefactors of mankind. The stupendous and unknown powers of the mind were not meted out by us; we cannot say, "thus far shalt thou go, and no farther;" but rather, as the waves of the sea under another aspect, that silently but surely, in the lapse of ages, encroach and cover the land, and leave their old resting-places bare as the home of future generations, so the mind, vast and overwhelming, gathering intensity from opposition, has shewn to us in the surpassing discoveries of science and art how vain was the attempt to fetter it with ignorance, and what a mockery such an attempt was of its gigantic and incalculable power.

The world is a school, and human life but a short lesson, which prepares us to gaze upon the mysteries that are now seen through a veil, to be unfolded in eternity. Shall we not then attain as high a perfection as we can? We are told that all is to be done during the progress of a short life, that rarely exceeds three score years and ten; it appears but a moment taken from the vast abyss of time before us; therefore,

"Press on! for in the grave there is no work,
And no device,—Press on! while yet you may!"

Alas! how few attain even the rudiments of this solemn alphabet; how fewer still the number of those that stumble blindly through the first lessons: and how lamentably few are those that have attained any thing like perfection. And yet we had high intelligences even from the modern schools. The rival philosophies of Aristotle and of Plato were the works of two immense minds; but there came those after them who could appreciate their lore, who saw what they had left undone, or done wrongly, and filled up the blank. Men who brought this profound philosophy to

the level of life, or who raised life to the standard of philosophy—it is immaterial which. Were not the problems of Euclid put to use by the brilliant and magnificent discoveries of Galileo and Newton? Was the Mosaic Law to be the guiding principle of life and religion, and the mystery of God to be enshrined between the cherubim; or was the mind of man progressive, and calculated at last, to receive the purer doctrines that issued from the lips of Christ? Was the solemn poetry of the ancients never to be rivalled by the Orphic melody of Shakspeare, or the measured grandeur of Milton? Will none of the grand old hymns of Luther mate in sublimity the classic odes to the gods! Is the mind as capable of receiving instruction, as vast in comprehension, or as inquisitive in the search after knowledge, as it was three thousand years ago? Ask the mind itself, and with the might of a Titan it standeth forward to assert its nobility, and indomitable power; and to demand from the commonwealth of the universe a portion of that knowledge which itself doth teach.

While we thus assert the possibility of cultivating the human intellect, so as to produce men of genius that may cope with the sages of the porticos of Greece, we do not forget the wide difference that exists in the comparison of time, place, and manners; neither do we attempt to set the schools of the ancients as models to be followed, but we would not have that glorious emanation from the God-head soiled by ignorance and shameful neglect, till the faculties become dim, darkling, and inane; and the soul, like a bright jewel in a foul case, hidden from the love of nature and the love of God.

With a voiceless but thrilling eloquence do the elements, the heavens, yea the great globe itself, become our teachers! The night, clothed in all its starry glory, becomes a book of beauty and of practical geometry. The vast seas, with their monsters mighty and strong—from the whale to the smallest inhabitant,—call on us to look and to learn. With sweetness and beauty, modesty and gorgeousness, the flowers nod and beckon to us to view their wonderful and interwoven structure. The tender herb hath a name and a use for the wants of man, and the strong forest tree, that hath reared up its stately form for the best part of a century, leaves us in breathless astonishment at the mass of matter that by universal and unalterable laws hath sprung from the almost unnoticed germ. In the boundless desert, where the lordly lion holds regal sway—in the dense forest, where the innocuous elephant basks in the shade, or feeds on the young branches—in the prairie, and on the mountain, are written indelibly the evidence of a Supreme Power that hath never failed,

that is ever active to do his creatures good. In the waving blade of grass and in the drop of water, from the stateliest animal to the minutest insect, myriads are leading a life of enjoyment and happiness, suited to their various natures, and all playing a part in the wondrous economy of the universe.

Seeing, then, that this is a world framed for happiness after all, that good prevails over evil, that pleasure is more abundant than pain, and that men's high faculties do oft times cause a mental pain far surpassing the physical, we are led to enquire why it is that man, possessing higher attributes, should yet, in many instances, enjoy less happiness than the brute? And we emphatically state it as our opinion that it is because he is ignorant! Remove this, and we as fervently believe that the cause of the evil is removed, and with it the evil will also cease to be so universal as at present.

The numerous wants of life and the artificial requirements of society, while they give a stimulus to the cultivation of taste, order, and beauty, still open fresh fields of encouragement to the ingenious artisan, and require that he should be educated. A slight knowledge of the leading principles of Natural Philosophy admits the pupil into the mighty secrets of Watt and Franklin. A lesson on Physiology explains much of the nature of man—the circulation of the blood, the mechanical contrivances exhibited in the bones, and in the valves of the arteries and veins. Chemistry unveils some of Nature's most complex works, and shows how simply, yet how beautifully, the whole mass of apparently confused matter is in a perpetual state of antagonism, of decay, and of reproduction; and how it becomes applicable to the wants of man, whether as food or medicine. And in the various arts of life, the most extensive and most magnificent operations of nature may be successfully imitated in the laboratory, each manipulation showing that all the immense varieties of matter are but a few ultimate elements combined together in different proportions, and these, succeeding experiments may show to be still fewer in number.

The universal law of gravitation was for ages spoken of as a mysterious agent—an occult principle, an undefined power that baffled all attempts to unriddle it. Since the time of Newton, however, we can reason somewhat more closely upon its power and duration, and calculate with precision its intensity, and the resulting effects as it acts upon matter. Yet we do not know what it is. Bacon describes it as an "incorporeal power, acting at a distance and requiring time for its transmission." This brings us no nearer to the comprehension of its abstract nature; yet we know infinitely more about it than the ancients did, and what we do know

of it renders much of the phenomena of matter plain and lucid. We cannot tell the nature of the vital principle, except by a mere gratuitous supposition that it is closely connected with the electric fluid; the connexion between mind and matter is a fruitful source of speculation only, yet we gain something by the speculation. Who can know the subtle mechanism of the bird in the egg, or the germination of the seed into a tree? We are but as children groping in the dark when we attempt to unravel the mystery of life and death, of decomposition and reproduction. These two antagonistic principles are found to be actively at work in every atom of matter, changing the whole of the human body by slow, unerring gradations, yet leaving the same sensations and the faculties entire.

With what wonder and awe do we gaze up at the gorgeous canopy, studded with its burning suns and stars—myriads of rolling worlds, suns surrounded by systems, and those surrounding others, all, perhaps, revolving silently and grandly around one vast principle of light, heat, and motion! We are lost in astonishment at the immense vastness—a circle large as eternity, or as St. Augustine gravely saith of the nature of God, “a circle whose centre is everywhere and circumference nowhere.” We can now speculate upon astral influence without danger of being accused of astrology—the mummary and chicanery of the astrolabe and of divination have been swept away with the dust of past ages into oblivion. No one, however, questions the effect of the sun’s rays upon matter and upon men—in every zone of the globe we see its influence; there is a vast difference between the phlegmatic inhabitant of the temperate and frigid zone and the Asiatic, who, under a vertical sun, has something of its fiery nature in his composition. Who questions its effects on fruit and flower, on tree and meadow—its emanating ether, the undulation of those particles that cause light, its various rays, calorific, luminous, and magnetic? The whole host of heaven have an undoubted, but an unknown, influence upon our globe, each on the other; there is constant re-action passing between them, and all performing some great work in the gorgeous arch, and showing the handiwork of the living God!

Greatly was the wisdom of the Egyptians lauded in bygone days, when the mind of man was in its infancy, and science was an occult and dark mystery, possessed only by her priests, and fostered to mislead the people and to aggrandize its possessors; that which was at first used as a sign to denote the mutation of the seasons, “of seed time and harvest,” of the overflow and retreat of the waters of the Nile, became, in time, an impersonation of beings entirely fabulous, and that existed only in the

perverted and false construction that those interested in keeping up the cheat put upon the simplest signs. This, however, was eagerly caught at by the neighbouring nations; and as man must have somewhat whereon to rest his faith, their gods became those of the surrounding nations, and thus error became, and in the place of valuable truths fictions multiplied, semblances were assumed. Having no longer this check on our civilization, which a false worship produces, if we cannot penetrate into the depth of all things, let us not, therefore, be discouraged; we have much to learn ere we come to a pause for want of more, let us approach perfection as close as we may, and there *alone* pause.

Probably the knowledge of *all* things is placed beyond the reach of man for wise and good purposes, as one of the glorious privileges of immortality, when, divested of its earthly garb, the soul may gaze forth from the mansions of the blessed, and view the beautiful order of the creation, and know its most secret workings. The greatest human intelligences have arrived at a boundary, and there remained, awe-struck, baffled, and beaten, at the dim glimmer of the mighty, but unrevealed truth, which left them breathless and unsatisfied. Addison, in his fine essay on the "Immortality of the Soul," would lead us to believe and to hope that perfect knowledge is one of the gifts of heaven, when, with an all-seeing and comprehensive eye, we shall behold things glorious and transcendent, which our mortal capacity cannot even idealize. Knowledge is the only thing that hath elevated man above the brute; our foolish and degrading superstitions are fast fading away, and the truth hath become the sole object of man's study. What a mighty power did Galvani disclose to the world by a simple accident, and how soon did discovery upon discovery show that in galvanism there exists "a power surpassing the bounds of the wildest imagination." Electricity has been found to be a universal agent in combining and dissolving matter; its power is unlimited, its effects incalculable, and its abstract nature totally unknown.

Many and deep were the researches and abstruse mysteries of the old alchemists, who, with an unwearying assiduity, wore away life in the vain pursuit after a shadow; they worked with agony and toil, doubtless with flattering prospects, which every succeeding experiment encouraged, as it drew them nearer to their (supposed) success. Yet, like the fabled treasure in the vineyard, it left behind goodly results, and laid the foundation of a science as unbounded as it is beautiful. From the days of Gebir, who founded the worship of the mysterious fire, even to the time of Addison, was alchemy indefatigably pursued; its

votaries were blinded with the strange results sometimes found in the ashes of the furnace and in the crucible. This infatuated the more enthusiastic, and they became absorbed in their ruling passion; youth, life, health, wealth—all was readily offered in the hope of a gorgeous repayment. By this means were spread open the treasures of the rock and the mine: metals, minerals, and combinations of unknown kind were brought to the eye of science and curiously analyzed. Then followed the phlogistic hypothesis of Stahl, which was rapidly succeeded by the discoveries of Priestley, Lavoisier, and Davy, until it became a methodical study, and the atomic theory of the Gargettian was modified and adopted, and is now the first line of the science.

Human physiology is both startling and interesting to the young pupil. He may be made to know that the body is in very truth but dust and ashes. It will surprise him for a moment only to know that bone is a phosphate of lime—the blood, chiefly water, holding in solution salts, carbon, and a colouring matter—that the muscles are carbon, hydrogen, and nitrogen; that all these, when endowed with a system of nerves, and the “breath of life” breathed into the clay, cause the being to move, to act, and to think; the senseless mass becomes sentient, and wears the stamp of immortality upon its mortal brow. The pupil will further know, and carefully retain his knowledge, that these elements, in different proportions, form entirely different substances, and each having distinct individual qualities. Carbon, nitrogen, and hydrogen, are the essential constituents of plants and animals; the blood, gastric juice, and tobacco, contain each the same element—chlorine; that calcium is found in bones, shells, and rhubarb; and that iron is held in solution in the blood, and found in the sap of the oak tree; that out of the fifty-four elements, twenty-two are found in the formation of organic, and the remaining thirty-two in the formation of inorganic matter.

The grand universal principle that we would have evolved from a perfect education is a love for all things—a love for man, for God’s creatures, for the fields, the trees, the winds, the flowers. We would, if it were possible, create hearts that should glow and warm in this overflowing affection, that should brighten the darker page of life, and shed an healthful influence over all. We would recreate the foul, deadly passions of man into holy and gentle feelings; we would give him that inward feeling which is akin to spirituality, that purifies our bright earth into a happier land, and cleanses the palpable hideousness away from it, leaving it to be no longer a den of sin, crime, and misery. We would also, above all things, encourage and foster in the heart of youth

an intense appreciation of all that is beautiful and harmonious. Whether in painting, poetry, or music, the perception of beauty is universal among all—it is divine in its essence, for are not all things belonging to heaven beautiful? Glorious and grand and magnificent are all the works of God, whether in the burning stars or in the sweet, delicate flower—whether in the stupendous mountain gorge or the green slope—whether in the streamlet or the mighty waters—all teem with beauty. Should we not, therefore, encourage that which comes the nearest to the comprehension of a deity and of his worship? For our part, we love to note, in the public exhibitions of our towns, the swart artizan, gazing with a kindling eye upon the gorgeous, life-like idealities of Titian or Raphael, or the no less true delineations of a Wilkie or a Hogarth. We love to see them drinking greedily the grand, solemn proportions of ancient sculpture; exhausting the figure, as it were, as one would exhaust the beauty of a face that gave one pleasure to gaze upon—a drink, divine and spiritualizing, that falls around the heart and clothes it with a deep, insatiate mystery. And the intense and god-like feelings, that have lain like precious ore in the hard rock, are thrillingly awakened: “the hewer of wood and the drawer of water” feels not longer his caste in society: God’s gift—his immortal soul, hath that moment equalized him with the greatest of the earth, and the MAN alone stands there.

Who hath not felt entranced with melody, listened with breathless eagerness, lest any portion of the sweetness should be lost? Who hath not felt the pomp of sound swelling and pealing skyward, filling the heart with its magic almost to suffocation, lingering with a fond anxiety upon the dying strains, lothful and sorrowful that they should depart? These are pleasures that once belonged exclusively to a few; the majority who have since constituted, or embodied, as it were, to themselves the arts and the sciences, have been the intelligences, the creators of such monuments. Poets, painters, musicians, chemists, astronomers, have not been supplied to the world out of the wealthy or the aristocratic; they have risen from the hovel and the cabin—from poverty and want; but they had great human hearts, and they ruled men, as intellect ever will—it is far superior to physical force—it touches a feeling within. Books, that were once to be seen only in the palace and the mansion, may now be seen on the shelf of the poor man. It is not strange now to hear a carpenter or a bricklayer quote, from works of philosophy or of science, terse and applicable passages to enforce some point of argument, or to illustrate a meaning more definitively. Yet all do not do so, or our present labour were useless: “they that

are whole need no physician ;” therefore this is intended for “ those that are sick.”

Education should have a subserviency to the future path of life ; this cannot always be done, from the bias or tendency that may at an instant influence the mind of the pupil, but it should be done so as much as it may be possible. If a poor man educate his son for the purpose of his becoming a lord, he will do this object to the full as well as if he educated him as an artisan ; he will make not the whit a worse noble for that. This remark implies that the education should not so much refer to station as to usefulness.

We are now past the time when the memory was the only admitted ground on which the child’s education could be built—when its was dogmatically asserted, and thought orthodox, that if the child had no memory it would not be a scholar. This might or might not be true ; we doubt it however, yet cannot now stay to canvass the point ; but they never supposed the child to have possessed other faculties—the mind was sacrificed to mechanical acquisition and parrot-like knowledge, but was never called upon to think, to analyze, to digest, and to judge.

By cultivating the mind, by exercising the judgment, by lessons upon real things, and by a critical analysis of them, is laid the basis of an education for the poor and the low, that shall be pure and undefiled ; a thirst for knowledge that will not content itself with abstruse theories or wordy logomachies, but that which may be understood by a cultivated reason. Thus shall be built a human temple, dedicated to God and to man, of a structure modelled by the purity of the soul, of a design drawn by the highest moral intellect, and its interior shall be boundless, vast, yet human. The relieved niches shall be stored with rich gems of thought, glowing like the marble life of Canova ; glorious and radiant shall the roof be with Truth and Charity and Love, which shall stud it like stars in the deep silent heaven, when heaven is most beautiful. There is a rapturous feeling in the vast power invested in the hands of the teacher, which is not sufficiently felt. He assists in forming the destinies of men for good or evil—let him beware that he neglects not his work, but remember that he is an hierophant of high and holy things. That he is the high priest of the future, and that he wields a power beyond *all* other earthly powers : verily, as he fulfils his work, shall he have his reward.

From the first moment that an infant begins to gaze curiously around it, its education may be said to have commenced, and from every object in life it may be taught ; it soon acquires ideas, among which those of comparison, wonder, and imitation,

are the most predominant. Every opportunity of impressing some great truth upon the young mind should be seized by the parent or teacher. In the play-ground of the infant school, care should be taken that the lessons of morality taught within should be practically exemplified: forgiveness, kindness, love, and all the generous feelings should be fostered; for this is a most important era in the mind of the child: this prepares it to receive lessons of far greater importance. In this part of education, woman is more peculiarly adapted, from her tact and softness of disposition, but particularly from the stores that lie deep in the fountains of her great, boundless, loving heart—in the affections that would insinuate themselves round the heart of the child; for her gentle nature and anxious care can rarely be found in the breast of man. The woman could better teach moral goodness, and the man moral science. It is our belief, therefore, that an infant school, conducted by a woman of cultivated taste, and with a love for children, will never fail in its object.

Man is the creature of education, and physical circumstances do much in determining his character. As in the whole system of nature, so in man, there are two antagonistic forces actively at work; we mean his animal faculties and moral sentiments. The organisation of man has become a question of great importance, and it is this which, in a great measure, constitutes the gradations of intellect. It is, therefore, necessary that the lessons taught should affect the mental faculties as much as possible, and keep in subjection the animal propensities. It is not our belief that the organisation of the brain decidedly forms the man, because, if that be admitted, education would fail in its object; but we conceive the faculties to lie hidden, like latent heat in matter, and until called forth by visible objects, or sensible impression upon the organs, they will for ever remain the same; upon this point.

There is but one element in the physics of man, and that is Time: which *has* but one existence—the *Present*!—the *Past* is gone for ever, but it existed to us as *the Present*. To-morrow lies shrouded in clouds and darkness: we are advancing daily upon it, but like a dream, Ixion-like, we grasp at a cloud. The hope of man, however, lives in it, and the present is but a step towards it; each moment is a sand from the glass, which counts for happiness or misery, as the moment is used. With a silent motion and a calm solemn footstep the waves of the great soundless ocean of the Future are rolling onwards to meet us. On its surface are dense mists, which Hope sometimes lifts up, and we gaze on the expanse, as if we should behold the tops of distant

cities : let all prepare to meet the tide that soon will overwhelm us, and pass solemnly and mournfully on, and perhaps leave no trace behind that we have existed ! What matter, if our patient efforts and undaunted perseverance have but scattered one bright thought, or left one good seed in the ground ; we shall feel no remorse for neglected duty. No feeling of despondency or gloom will press down our hearts as we approach the dark barrier that closes our account with the world ; indirectly we shall have been a useful atom in the microcosm—a wave in the tide of life, that hath done its part and gone for ever into the Past !

The education of the poor, then, is of the highest importance to the well regulating of the more numerous part of the community. In proportion to their knowledge will a dignity of bearing, good feeling, and all those kindly attentions to the feeling of others, will soon take place of vice, vulgarity, and immorality. True, there is a refinement in vice, but the refinement of which we speak appeals far beyond the faculties of sense ; it is an inward elevation, fostered within the fountains of the soul, by the which are all impressions sublimed and purified in the proportion that the mental is above the animal faculties.

Let then the education of the poor be undertaken with a sole view to the moral regeneration of their natures. Let us endeavour to take away from them that (which may seem to them and to us) hereditary birthright—poverty, in the which they are so often steeped to the lips : let them not feel themselves to be a caste, doomed to go through life in squalid misery and debasing wretchedness. Let us not treat them as the beings of an overcrowded estate—pensioners on the bounty of man : not as those thrust upon our hands, whom we are compelled unwillingly to support, rather than see them perish !—but as men who *have* a portion in the world which we are to shew them how to attain—men who are enrolled in the same charter of a common humanity, the sons of one common Father, one universal God !—who have feelings keen and sensitive, relationship, and bonds of affection, that are not weakened because the body is clothed in rags !—men who have souls immortal, that may “walk in white”—when the world has passed away and all its myriads are receiving their meed. With one voice do they demand, and our hearts echo the cry—that WE SHOULD EDUCATE THEM !

To what purpose ? it may be asked. That they may become good and useful members of society ; bearing within them feelings of grateful affection and respect to those who have rendered them so an inestimable a benefit, so essential a service, that they may become the pride and the glory of our nation : that happiness, peace, and contentment (things alas !

totally unknown to a vast majority) may beam in their cheerful faces—that our streets and our cities may be filled with the intellectual and the good—that virtue and temperance may walk forth where the step of the reeling drunkard is now heard—that the voice of truth may purify the air from the oaths of the profligate and the profane; and, oh! those foul blots upon humanity!—that we may not see those who were once beautiful, and gentle, and good, trafficking body and soul for gold. Let it be our endeavour to place woman in the station assigned to her by the Creator—the soother and the sharer of man's sorrows, the tender wife, the kind nurse, and the affectionate mother: let it be a strong hope within us (for it is a holy one) that the loveliest of God's lovely works may no longer be the slave of man's brutalized appetite, but walk among men pure and beautiful, with virtue and truth stamped upon her brow—that the holy stream of human happiness may gush through the barren land, untarnished by the foul slime that now chokes it; and let us strongly believe that the outcast and the abandoned may be recorded as among the hideous things that were.

Can the man of sense, or of sensibility, reflect for a moment on the vast number of females of the lower class, who live and die in brute ignorance of the high attributes of morality, and the more solemn consideration of an hereafter; that they should perish like the beasts of the field, within the crowded marts of men. Can he think for a moment on the vast picture, black, awful, horrible as it is, and not shudder at the idea, that in civilized England, women should be so fearfully wicked, because so fearfully ignorant? Educate them, then, and save their souls alive! We call upon you to do this by every adjuration that is solemn and eternal—by your hopes laid up in your children—by the trust you have that your grey hairs may be honoured—by your faith, your religion, and by your souls. As parents, husbands, brothers, and as men, we call upon you to do your endeavours in this mighty God-like cause—you will then be apostles of a grand creed—you will be the disseminators of those things that are pleasing in the sight of God. You will recreate the moral universe, and by this mighty uprising, you will convulse to their rocking foundations the depths on which ignorance, superstition, and degrading wrongs are built—you will have the sanction of your own hearts, and, even when dead, your names will be honoured and your memories will be hallowed.

Many and various are the theories proposed to bring Universal Education to pass. Laws, politics, and commerce, influence man materially; but we think that this should be a grand na-

tional cause; that the coffers of the State should be thrown open with a liberal hand. Great projects, having within them important results, have fallen to the ground from the want of a unity of action and resources. How much greater, then, is the one we propose! There should be no failure in this, no want of resources; it should go on progressing, until England and her dependencies be one great school. It is said that the poor of Scotland are better educated, and far advanced of the English peasantry in the science of morals. If this be true, it is a great national shame; we have many blots upon our 'scutcheon, and this is one of the greatest.

The development of principles, and a study of the springs of moral action, should be the subject of deep attention for the teacher. Like one cultivating a fair flower in a strange soil, should he encourage and foster the bright feelings, the wild impulse, the eager curiosity of childhood. All is gladness and goodness with them—their natures are gentle and their sympathies strong, easily enlisted in favour of the good and in a decided abhorrence of that which is bad. The play-ground is the great school of morals, where the feelings are opened and have full and unchecked play, they are more free in word and act than when in the class-room. It is here, that the deep lynx-eyed attention of the teacher should be drawn, ever ready to inculcate a lesson, to deprecate that which is evil and to encourage truth, honesty, and kindness, from one to another. A simple undorned truth, told in equally artless language, will meet with deep and serious attention, and will make impressions on the young mind from which the pupil draws his own inferences, and applies them to other lessons he may receive with a force and aptness that is truly astonishing, when the teacher may have forgotten all the circumstances of the past lesson. Let the boy grow up with these impressions fresh upon his heart and his enthusiasm for knowledge awakened, and with an insatiate absorbing thirst will he crave for more! Faust-like, his minds expands and his capacities increase.

We would also notice with gratitude the Mechanics' Institutes of our towns: of what incalculable benefit have they been to the artizan and the mechanic!—where, after the toil of the day, the man seeks for rest and recreation, not in the low pot-house, amid revel and obscene riot, but in the class-rooms of the evening schools, storing his mind with knowledge, while his body receives a grateful rest. Relieved from the toil of labour, the acquisition of knowledge becomes a positive pleasure to him; the greatest human enjoyment arises, not from the animal, but from the moral faculties, these can only exist with a cultivated intellect.

Is it not better to see the swart artizan, when his work is over, plodding cheerfully to the happy scene of his mental labours, where he becomes acquainted with various substances used in his trade, or is enabled to improve the manipulation of his craft—to find substitutes for one power, a greater addition to another, and so forth; not forgetting, at the same time, the immense benefit derived from an example of industry, sobriety, and the happiness that man can enjoy, paramount to the gratification of sense.

Let them, then, proceed in their labour of peace, granting this that if it does no real good, it does as little harm, and is thus far beneficial, that our prisons will have fewer inmates, and our colonies fewer felons. If they turn the jails and penitentiaries, which are rife in this land, into schools, they will do much more good: it is better to prevent than to punish crime.

There is a bright star hovering in the occident, and its beams are even now glimmering through the haze of Ignorance. It tells us, that England shall yet be a land spread over with the “knowledge of God as the waters cover the sea;” when “*Ignorance*” may be obliterated from our lexicon, and all men may lead a life of usefulness, honour, and happiness, each having a glimpse of truth, which, by the universal harmony of things, becomes an *inward benediction*, and “lifts the soul mightily upward:” when “life, which is one and universal, may divide itself into separate forms, each bearing in it and reflecting an image of God’s love.” This will not be in our time, but the germs of the great moral revolution are gathering in the far sky of the future—it will come, we fervently believe.

Human life is an experimental trial of spirit and matter conjoined, and its object is, that we may (according to our instincts and our impulses) live in peace and happiness. It is the great limit of our desires, the sole object of our wishes: many ways are taken to find it, and we have endeavoured to show that it can only be the result of a cultivated intellect. If we look back upon the great monuments of human power, upon the vast moral or political efforts of human genius, we shall find that such people have been enlightened and civilized in a supereminent degree; and all the mighty empires that have towered so statelily upon this earth have sunk only beneath the impotence of succeeding generations, beneath the retrogradation of mental power: man hath made the rod by which he chastised himself.

Man was *not* made to mourn. The genius of his nature shows that he can overcome the most stupendous physical difficulties: by his art he holds communication with the far corners of the universe; he has resources, great and vast, from the inner parts of the earth, and from the depths of the sea. Every division of

the globe ministers to his ease and his bodily comfort; instead of finding storms, and winds, and waves to be continually opposing forces to him, he has made them subservient to his own purposes, he has availed himself of their power, he has assisted them in their career, and by that means benefitted himself. Factories and forges are built upon rapid rivers. Ships of strength and size sail securely to their destined ports beneath the trade winds. Railways have caused him to elevate the valley, to depress the hill, and made the rugged surface a perfect level, for the conveyance to and fro of passengers and articles of commerce. Man now reads the earth like a book, as the mines of metals and of minerals testify; he hath assisted Nature in her operations on vegetable matter: from the poisonous mineral and plant he wrests a wholesome medicine; and to all this add, as a corollary, that man, like time, is progressive—that the search after true earthly happiness is not quite utopian, and we believe the evidence of this will be found in an Universal Education.

We have thus, with a singleness of purpose and an earnestness of heart, endeavoured to impress upon all the necessity of Education, and have shown also the results to be obtained; we have demonstrated that vice, crime, and outrage of every elevated feeling is the effect of ignorance, and have also shown its reverse. Trusting that we have not failed in the expression of our wishes, and with a humble hope that they may be of service, like bread scattered upon the waters, we bid our readers a kind farewell.

ART. VII.—*The Original Services for the State Holidays, with Documents relating to the same.* Collected and arranged by the Hon. and Rev. A. PERCEVAL, B.C.L. London: Leslie.

2. *The Book of Common Prayer Illustrated, so as to show its various Modifications, the date of its several Parts, and the Authority on which they rest: with an Appendix, &c.* By WILLIAM KEATRUGE CLAY, B.D. London: Parker, 1841.

3. *Liturgiæ Britannicæ; or the Several Editions of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, from its Compilation to the last Revision.* By WILLIAM KEELING, B.D. London: Pickering, 1842.

THE term “*State Services*” is usually applied to certain occasional forms which are appended to *The Book of Common Prayer*, though the designation is calculated to convey a somewhat erroneous impression of their true character. However,

we shall adopt the title, because our readers will be fully aware of the *services* to which it is applied; but as we proceed, we shall take care to point out their character, by noticing the portions which have received an ecclesiastical sanction, and those which have only been approved by the authority of the crown. Within the last year, in consequence of the anniversary of the *Martyrdom of King Charles I.* falling on a Sunday, much has been written, and in some cases with no small degree of ignorance of the subject, in the public newspapers, not always the best vehicles for the discussion of such matters. Several writers, *anonymous* of course, have expressed their opinion, that a clergyman could not be punished by the omission of a special service, and for reading the service of the day in its stead; and the reason assigned for such a conclusion has been this, that the service was not sanctioned by Act of Parliament. Others have questioned whether an action would lie against a clergyman for the omission, on grounds totally different, namely—that in their present form the services in question have not been sanctioned by Convocation. The advocates of this latter view have argued, that the Ecclesiastical Courts would not censure a clergyman for the omission of a service, which has no other authority than that of the crown.

Now we have no sympathy with those who require the sanction of an Act of Parliament for any occasional service. We cannot understand the feelings of the men who wish to see the Church so kept in bondage by the State, that she can only move, even in inflicting censures on her own ministers, as the State may prescribe. Though we are advocates for the connexion of Church and State, feeling that the latter is more benefitted by the connexion than the former, yet we cannot desire to see all ecclesiastical proceedings regulated by the State. The Church may surely prescribe laws and rules for herself, and the State is bound so far to sanction them as to make them obligatory; but the notion that nothing can be transacted in our Ecclesiastical Courts without the express authority of an Act of Parliament, is one which must be repudiated by all true Churchmen. Whatever dissatisfaction may have been created by some recent decisions in the Ecclesiastical Courts, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that the judges of those courts will always feel themselves bound to abstain from all interference in cases which are not expressly decided by Parliamentary authority. In our opinion, the Church should be so supported by the State, that after making laws for the government of her own members, and especially of her own ministers, the sanction of the civil legislature should be added, to enable her to act with

authority and energy in administering censure or rebuke, in the case of any of her children who may require correction. We look upon the feeling in favour of Acts of Parliament in matters ecclesiastical as *unchurchlike*; and we trust that such a doctrine will find no favour among Churchmen. Let the Convocation meet and frame laws according to the circumstances of the Church; and let the sanction of the State be granted, but by no means let us be subjected in spiritual matters to a body constituted as the House of Commons. Some persons speak with feelings of triumph of the Parliamentary sanction of the Prayer Book. But is our liturgy the more valuable on that account? Or ought it to be more binding on our consciences, after our solemn declarations to conformity, because an act of the legislature has confirmed it? Having been sanctioned by the Church, ought not clergymen to be satisfied? Surely the sanction of Parliament is a matter of comparatively trivial consequence. We hold it to be the interest as well as the duty of the State to afford that sanction; but we at the same time contend, that it is not necessary, in order to endear the Prayer Book to Churchmen, or to render the obligations to conformity, on the part of the Clergy, stronger. We do, then, sincerely grieve when we find clergymen building so much on Acts of Parliament, as if our liturgy stood in need of any such aid, or as if its character depended on any such sanction. We know well that the civil legislature can interpose its authority, and even sever the connexion between the Church and the State; but we hold, at the same time, that no Parliamentary authority can impose a liturgy or a form of government on Christ's Holy Catholic Church. Its sanction may be granted, for which we are thankful; but it can neither make nor unmake a church, though it may frame a religious system, under the name of a church, and call it the established church of the country. Woe, however, be to the state of England, if ever it interferes with the Church of Christ, so as to sever the connexion, and to establish an Erastian system in its room. But we have no such apprehension, and we have only noticed the subject for the purpose of showing the absurdity of, and delivering our protest against the Erastian theory, that Acts of Parliament are necessary to make the laws, canons, ordinances, and even ritual of the Church binding on Churchmen.

With respect to the other class of objectors to the use of the *State Services*, as they are termed, namely, those who question whether an action could be sustained in the Ecclesiastical Courts for the omission of any one of the services in question, we can only say that our opinion is totally different. We may observe,

that these objectors proceed on grounds widely different from those of the former class. They, like ourselves, think that the sanction of the Church is sufficient to render the use of a service obligatory on the clergy; but they are also of opinion, that, in the absence of such sanction, by which they mean an Act of Convocation, no action could be sustained against a clergyman who should omit the special service, and merely read the daily prayers. We can fully enter into their feelings; but we think that they are mistaken, both in the view itself, and also in their opinion respecting the proceedings of an ecclesiastical court in the event of any such case being brought under its cognizance. Our reasons for such a conclusion may be briefly stated.

The Church of England recognizes the supremacy of the Crown in matters ecclesiastical as well as civil; and, though she has not decided how much power is attached to that supremacy, yet, on that ground alone, even were there no others in the particular case of the special services, we contend that our ecclesiastical courts would decide against any clergyman who should refuse to read the services in question, and who, in consequence, had been proceeded against by his diocesan. In such a case the question could not be raised except by the bishop; but, should he commence proceedings against a clergyman for the omission, and should the case be removed into the Court of Arches, the court would, we feel convinced, support the diocesan in his views, and proceed to pass sentence upon the individual. The censure, of course, would not be severe; but that suspension for a limited period would be imposed, we feel assured. The question, we admit, has never been decided; still we ourselves have no doubt respecting the decision of the court. On one occasion only, as far as we are aware, was the matter in a fair way for being brought before a judicial tribunal, and that was in the case of Johnson, of Cranbrook, in the last century. This gentleman omitted to read the service for the sovereign's accession. In consequence of that omission, he was cited to appear before the ordinary. The case was somewhat singular. Mr. Johnson pleaded that he was bound to read the service according to the Book of Common Prayer, and no other—that the king was supreme only in his courts, and that he knew of no other supremacy except that which was thus exercised. He also argued that a royal proclamation, or order in council, had not the force of law. On this occasion the question appeared to be in a fair way for adjudication, as far, at least, as it could be settled by the decision of an ecclesiastical court; but before any judgment was pronounced the reverend gentleman submitted to his diocesan, confessing his sorrow for the step which he had been induced to take. Thus

the matter remains still undecided, or, at all events, no authoritative decision has been pronounced.

These services undoubtedly possess different degrees of authority : but we greatly question whether, since the alterations which at various times have been effected, they must not all be placed upon the same footing, namely, that of the royal order. We are aware that some persons make a distinction in the services ; yet after all, in their present state, they are unsanctioned by Convocation. Still, we are of opinion that the authority which they possess is sufficient to render their use obligatory on the clergy. On this point, however, we may dwell after we have given a brief history of the *four services*, with the various changes which they have undergone. We take them in the order in which they stand in the Book of Common Prayer, of which, however, they do not constitute a part.

I. THE SERVICE FOR THE FIFTH OF NOVEMBER.

The origin of this service is known to our readers, and need not be enlarged upon. It was first published in the year 1606, the year after the discovery of the *Gunpowder Treason*, and was intended to commemorate the merciful interposition of Divine Providence in favour of our Church and nation, at that period. Like other special services, it was set forth by royal authority, nor did it possess any other in that and the subsequent reign. During the time of James I., and also in the reign of Charles I., until the clergy were almost all ejected from their livings, this service was duly read in our churches. When the Book of Common Prayer was proscribed, this service experienced the same treatment ; for during the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, no *form* of *prayer* was allowed, the ministers being left to their own discretion in the management of public worship. At the Restoration, the Book of Common Prayer was necessarily rescued from the oblivion in which it had been placed by the Presbyterian and Independent factions ; and with the Common Prayer the service for the *fifth of November* was restored to use. In the year 1661 the service was revised by the Convocation : consequently, in the state in which it was published in 1662, it had the sanction of the Church—the highest sanction which can be pleaded ; though, of course, we know that Acts of Parliament may interpose and overrule the decisions of the Church. Still, where no Act of Parliament interferes, the authority of the Church, duly expressed by convocation, must be viewed as paramount by consistent Churchmen.

The service, therefore, was settled by Convocation ; and the

observance of the day was enjoined by Act of Parliament. Thus the civil authority commanded all persons to observe the day as a day of thanksgiving; and the Church, or the ecclesiastical authority, prepared and enjoined a special service to be used on the occasion. Still the service was not sanctioned by Parliament; for when the Act of Uniformity was passed, the special services were not annexed to the Book of Common Prayer. This and the next two were ordered to be appended by royal authority.

Matters continued in this state until the reign of King William. Shortly after his accession to the throne the special services were revised; and that for the *fifth of November* was materially altered. It happened that William landed on the fifth of November; and as the Church and the nation were delivered, by the Prince's arrival, from the danger which then threatened them, it was deemed desirable to commemorate both events—namely, the discovery of the Gunpowder Treason and the coming of the Prince—in the same service; and certain changes were accordingly made, so as to render the form suitable to both occasions. These alterations were made by the bishops, and sanctioned by the crown. They were not submitted to Convocation; nor is it probable that they would at that time have been sanctioned by that assembly. All the portions of the service, therefore, which refer to King William are new. So that, as a whole, the present *form* has only the authority of the crown, though the original parts have that of Convocation. Such is a brief sketch of the history of this service. The changes which were introduced subsequent to the Revolution may be seen by comparing the present *form* with any of the Books of Common Prayer previous to that event. They may also be seen in two of the works mentioned at the head of this article, namely, Mr. Percival's and Mr. Keeling's, who have printed the services in such a form as to show the alterations and variations.

II.—THE SERVICE FOR THE THIRTIETH OF JANUARY.

Some doubts were expressed by various clergymen, whether, as the 30th of January fell this year upon a Sunday, the service was to be used instead of the regular service. Their doubts arose from the punctuation in some of our Prayer Books, from which it was inferred that the service was to be read on the Sunday, and the fast kept on the Monday. It seems strange that any clergyman should have fallen into such an error; for in that case we should have had a *fast* enjoined without a service. Had the parties who doubted referred to the service in its

original state, they would have seen what was the intention of its framers ; and it cannot be imagined that those by whom it was altered intended to make any change in this respect. The original direction was clear enough, being couched in the following words : “ *If this day shall happen to be Sunday, this form of service shall be used the next day following.*” Or had the parties referred to the Act of Parliament, they would have seen their error ; for it is there expressed—“ unless it falls out to be upon the Lord’s-day, and then the next day following shall be for ever hereafter set apart to be kept in all the churches and chapels of these your Majesty’s kingdoms.” The reason, too, for appointing the service for the following day, whenever it fell upon a Sunday, is obvious enough, namely, that it would be very unseemly to keep a fast on the Lord’s-day.

As in the preceding service, we need not enter into its origin, since all the particulars are so well known to our readers. It was prepared and duly authorized by Convocation, in 1661, under the following title :—“ A Form of Prayer, to be used yearly upon the Thirtieth day of January, being the day of the Martyrdom of King Charles I.” In this form it was appended to the Book of Common Prayer by the authority of the crown. The observance of the day, as in the preceding case, is enjoined by Act of Parliament, and the ecclesiastical legislature provided the special service for the occasion. It continued in its original state until the accession of James II., when it was subjected to revision and alteration : the alterations, too, were important. It is remarked by Burn, that in the original service there was no “ reflection on the first authors of the opposition :” but in the revision, even in the title, a great change was made, in this addition—“ to implore the mercy of God, that neither the guilt of that sacred and innocent blood, nor those other sins, by which God was provoked to deliver up both us and our king into the hands of cruel and unreasonable men, may at any time hereafter be visited upon us or our posterity.” Several sentences were added to the introduction, and certain additions were made to the collects, corresponding in their character with the addition to the title. When King William came to the crown, no change was made in this service, so that we now have it in the form in which it was left by King James. Probably William was fearful of making the attempt to restore it to its original state. At all events, no alteration was attempted. As in *the service for the fifth of November*, therefore, this *form*, in its present state, rests only on the authority of the crown. The original portions, indeed, have the sanction of Convocation. A comparison of the present *form*, with the ser-

vice, as it stands in the Prayer Book prior to the accession of James II., will show what changes were effected in 1685. They may be seen also in Mr. Percival's and Mr. Keeling's volumes.

III.—THE SERVICE FOR THE TWENTY-NINTH OF MAY.

This was also prepared in Convocation in 1661, like the preceding, and was duly authorized by that assembly. It was intended to commemorate two events—the *king's birth* and the *Restoration*. The *twenty-ninth of May* was the *birth-day* of the king, and on that day he made his public entry into the kingdom. Both these events were noticed in the original service, which was published under the following title:—"A Form of Prayer, with Thanksgiving, to be used yearly upon the Twenty-ninth day of May, being the day of his Majesty's birth, and happy return to his kingdom." The day was also appointed by Act of Parliament, to be observed for ever, though no notice was taken of the special service, which was prepared by Convocation and sanctioned by the crown with the two preceding *forms*. On the accession of James II. this service was very materially altered. Changes were indeed necessary, for portions of the service referred to the birth of King Charles, and to have used it in its original *form*, after the death of the king, would have been singular. All those passages which referred to the birth of King Charles were accordingly struck out, both from the title and from the body of the service, and it was made to refer to the restoration of the royal family as well as of the king. In the service as altered in 1685 was the following *rubric* or notice:—"The office used hitherto upon this day, ever since it was by Act of Parliament established, relating, in several passages, to the birth and person of King Charles the Second, it is thought fit, now upon the occasion of his death, to alter it as followeth." A royal order was also issued, authorizing the use of the service in its altered state. The order was as follows:—"The Form of Prayer, with Thanksgiving, heretofore appointed for the 29th of May, relating, in several passages of it, to the birth and person of our most dearly beloved brother, King Charles II., and so upon occasion of his death being necessarily to be altered, and it being now, by our special command to the bishops, so altered and settled to our satisfaction, as a perpetual office of thanksgiving for the standing mercies of that day, our express will and pleasure is, that it be forthwith printed and published as here it followeth, to be used henceforth upon every 29th day of May, in all churches and chapels within our kingdom and dominion of Wales, in such manner as is therein directed." This order bears date

April 29th, 1685. The changes were necessarily somewhat numerous. At the Revolution the service was retained in the same form in which it still continues. The observance of the day was also enjoined by Act of Parliament, but no allusion was made to any particular service.

Such is a sketch of the history of three of the special services; for the *fourth*, which we shall notice presently, is somewhat different in its character from the preceding. These three forms were appended to the Book of Common Prayer by a royal order, dated the second day of May, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Charles II. The same order was issued by James II., in 1685, respecting the altered services, and that for the *fifth of November*, which was not altered. After the Revolution, when the service for the *fifth of November* was revised, it was set forth by a separate order, dated October the 19th, 1690, and signed by King William. For several years some confusion appears to have existed on this point; for, in certain editions of the Book of Common Prayer, the service for *November the fifth* is accompanied by the separate order, and then, at the close of the third service, there is the order for the three together, according to the practice of the two preceding reigns. So, again, in some of the books of this period, the separate order for the Restoration Service is retained in the form in which it was issued by King James. However, the one order, in the usual form, was subsequently adopted and continued in the succeeding reigns.

Our readers are now in possession of all the particulars respecting these three services; but there is a fourth to which we may now direct attention, namely, the *Accession Service*. Its history is equally interesting with that of the preceding. Even in the time of Elizabeth, the day of her accession was observed as a holy-day, a special service being appointed for the occasion. The *seventeenth* day of November, the day of her accession, was also observed, even after her Majesty's death, as a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the gracious deliverance wrought out for the Church by her instrumentality. Mr. Percival remarks that he had not met with any service appointed for the accession of Elizabeth. A service was, however, prepared and published, in the usual way, by royal authority, for this occasion. It bears the following title, and a copy may be seen in the British Museum:—"A Fourme of Prayer, with Thanksgiving, to be used of all the Queenes Majesties loving Subjects every year, the seventeenth day of November, being the day of her Highness entrie to her kingdom. Set forth by authority. Imprinted at London by Chris. Barker, Printer to the Queene's Majestie, 1578." The following direction occurs in the service:—"You

shall understand that everything in this book is placed in order, as it shall be used, without turning to and fro, saving the 111 lessons taken out of the Olde Testament, of which you may chuse any one as you thinke best for the first lesson at this Morning Prayer. And in cathedral churches the minister may use eyther of the other 11 for the first lesson at Evening Prayer." Another rubrical direction also occurs: "It is ordered that the Letanie shall not be omitted the seventeenth day of November, though it fall upon Monday, Thursday, or Saturday." The following prayer, from the service, will be read with interest:—

"O God, most mercifull Father, who as upon this day, placing thy servant our Sovereigne and gracious Queene Elizabeth in the kingdom, didest deliver thy people of England from danger of warre and oppression, both of bodie by tyrannie, and of conscience by superstition, restoring peace and true religion, with libertie both of bodies and mindes, and hast continued the same thy blessings, without all deserte one our part, nowe by the space of these twentie years:* we who are in memorie of these thy great benefits assembled here together most humbly beseeche thy fatherly goodnesse to graunt us grace, that we may, in worde, deede, and heart, shewe ourselves thankful and obedient unto thee for the same: and that our Queene, through thy grace, may, in all honour, goodness and godliness, long and many years reigne over us, and we obey and enjoy her with the continuance of thy great blessings, which thou hast, by her thy minister, poured upon us: This we beseech thee to grant unto us for thy deare sonne Jesus Christe's sake, our Lord and Saviour, Amen."

Appended to the service are *seventeen* stanzas in rhyme, which may be seen also in Strype.

This service was undoubtedly used during the reign of Elizabeth. In the reign of Charles I. a service was prepared for his accession, and published in the year 1626. In 1640 it was also sanctioned by Convocation, so that the original service had the highest ecclesiastical authority. The canons of 1640 were, however, set aside by Act of Parliament subsequent to the Restoration; but, notwithstanding this interposition on the part of the civil legislature, we may regard the old service as having received the sanction of the Church. At the Restoration, certain portions of it were adopted in the service for the *twenty-ninth of May*; but on the accession of James II., his Majesty ordered some of the bishops to prepare a form for the occasion. It was singular that James, who had long before avowed himself a member of the Church of Rome, should have taken so much interest in the matter as to desire a special service for any occasion. He may, however, have imagined that such a course would propitiate some

* "Increase this number, according to the yeares of her Majesties reign."

of the members of the Anglican Church, which he intended to supplant as soon as circumstances permitted. The old service was, therefore, submitted to a revision, and, after many alterations, was set forth by royal authority in 1685. It was used during the short reign of King James; but, on William's accession, it was laid aside—the reason may have been, that so much of the altered service for the *fifth of November* related to William's arrival. We have already noticed the alterations in that service. Thus the three services only were retained during this reign; but, when Anne ascended the throne, the Accession Service was again revived. The usual process was adopted: King James's service was revised, and then set forth by the Queen's authority. To the three preceding services, the old order, as it stood in the time of Charles II., James II., and King William, was appended; and the *Accession Service* was accompanied by a distinct order in the following terms:—

“ Anne R.

“ Our will and pleasure is, that this form of prayer, with thanksgiving, for the first day of August, be forthwith printed and published, and be used yearly, on the said day, in all cathedral and collegiate churches and chapels, in all chapels of colleges and halls within both our universities, and of our colleges of Eton and Winchester, and in all parish churches and chapels within our kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed.

“ Given at our Court at St. James's, the seventh day of February, 170 $\frac{1}{2}$, in the second year of our reign.

“ By her Majesty's command,

“ NOTTINGHAM.”

It has been the custom, on the accession of the sovereign, to issue the order for the use of these special services; for, unless such were the case, they would not possess any authority—at least, in their present form. The question of the sovereign's power to appoint special services we shall discuss presently; we merely state here, in order to elucidate our narrative, that the order continues in force only during the life of the sovereign, so that, at the accession of a king or queen, it must necessarily be renewed. On the accession of George I. and George II. the separate orders were issued, namely, one for the three services for the *fifth of November*, the *thirtieth of January*, and the *twenty-ninth of May*, and another for the *Day of the Accession*; but, on the accession of George III., one order only was used for the *four services*, and this practice has since been continued.

We believe that the preceding narrative embraces all the particulars connected with the history of the *four services*; and

our readers will be able to trace the various changes to which they have been subjected since their original introduction. One question now only remains—namely, their authority. We have already alluded to this point; but in the present day, when so many and such opposite opinions are entertained on the subject, we feel constrained to enter upon it more fully. We are among those who wish to see the Convocation of the Anglican Church revived. And were the Church permitted to speak through this authorized channel, we are quite sure that she would confirm the use of the present services. It will be seen from the preceding narrative, that the Church has sanctioned the observance of the four days, and that she set forth certain services suitable to the occasions. For instance, the old service for the Accession was sanctioned by Convocation in 1640, and the other three in 1661; and the main portions of all these forms are still retained in our present services. Still it is a fact, that our present forms, or rather the forms in their present state, have not received the sanction of the Church through her Convocation; and every Churchman must admit that it would be desirable to supply this deficiency, which can only be done by permitting the synod of the Anglican Church to assemble and transact business. Some persons make a good deal of Acts of Parliament, and object to the four services, on the ground that they have not received a Parliamentary sanction. With such a view, however, we cannot coincide; for, though we must submit to Acts of Parliament when they are enacted, yet we are by no means anxious to see the civil authority interfering in matters ecclesiastical: and, in our opinion, an Act of Convocation is, or ought to be, equally binding on Churchmen, and especially on the clergy. In considering this subject, therefore, we leave the Parliamentary authority quite out of the question; in other words, we should not consider that a Parliamentary sanction of the present services would render them a whit more obligatory on the clergy than they are at present. The legislature might indeed compel the clergy to use them, but we conceive that they are still under the obligation to do so; for, in the absence of Convocational sanction, we consider that they possess sufficient authority to render their use obligatory. We have confessed that we are advocates for the revival of Convocation, and that we are anxious for a full ecclesiastical sanction; yet, in the absence of that authority—which, under our present circumstances, cannot be obtained—we are satisfied that the authority which they actually possess is sufficient to confirm their use.

Having stated our view on the question of the Convocational and the Parliamentary authority, we now proceed to adduce our reasons for the belief that the sanction of the crown is sufficient to render the use of the services obligatory. We have already alluded to the case of Johnson, of Cranbrook, and we have shown that the judgment of the ecclesiastical courts has never been pronounced. We have also stated our conviction, that, were the case brought before them, the ecclesiastical courts would decide in favour of the services; and that any clergyman would be exposed to censure for not using them at the appointed seasons. But our readers will desire to know our reasons for such an opinion, and these reasons we now proceed to state.

In the *first* place, we notice the question of the supremacy of the crown. The sovereign is supreme as well in ecclesiastical as in civil matters; and the question is, does the supremacy involve the power of appointing special services for particular occasions? If it does not, then, we ask, on what authority do the forms of prayer which are occasionally issued by the Privy Council rest? During the present reign even, we have had several. What was their authority? They were prepared by the archbishop: but they were set forth by command of the crown. Could their use be enforced on the clergy? And on what grounds? We apprehend that a clergyman, if cited to appear in the ecclesiastical courts, would be subject to punishment for not using them. If this opinion be correct, then it will follow that the use of the four *special services* is obligatory on the same ground, for they possess precisely the same authority. On the ground of the supremacy, therefore, we are of opinion that the crown has the power to appoint services for special occasions. We are aware of another question connected with this point—namely, that, in the case of the prayers which are still occasionally put forth, they are merely additions to the daily service; whereas, the special forms for the four days actually take the place of a considerable portion of the daily prayers. We are not prepared to decide this question; but our opinion is, that the ecclesiastical courts, on the ground of the royal supremacy, would decide that the services must be used, to the exclusion of those portions of the daily prayers which are ordered to be omitted.

Then, *secondly*, the following rubric appears to be of great importance in the consideration of this question. It is the rubric after the Nicene creed:—“And nothing shall be proclaimed or published in the church, during the time of divine service, but by the minister; nor by him anything but what is prescribed in the rules of this book, or enjoined by the

Queen, or by the ordinary of the place." It would seem that this rubric recognizes certain powers in the crown to command the reading and publication of something in the church. Whatever the power may be, it must be by virtue of the supremacy. The Queen is supreme ordinary; and if in some cases the ordinary has power to resolve doubts and to settle points of dispute, surely the crown possesses the same, if not greater authority.

To us then it appears certain, that the use of the *four special services* is obligatory on the clergy. We take the ground of the *supremacy*, and that of the *rubric* after the *Nicene creed*; and we might add the *practice* from the period of the Reformation to the present moment; and we are convinced that on these grounds the ecclesiastical courts would enforce the use of the services in question. Were a clergyman to refuse to use either of the services, the ordinary might proceed against him. The case would be removed into the Court of Arches, and the ordinary would, in our opinion, be supported, and the clergyman censured.

It strikes us as very singular, that some persons, who question the right of the crown to appoint special services, should use as an argument the fact, that the daily service is enjoined by Act of Parliament, and that consequently the royal authority cannot enjoin another service to be used in its stead. We say that such an argument from certain persons is singular, since these very individuals denounce the interference of Parliament in other cases.

But the Act of Parliament made in the twenty-fourth year of George II. enjoined the use of an altered calendar; and in this calendar the days are alluded to as "certain days for which particular services are appointed." It has been argued by some persons, that the services alluded to in the Act were those of 1662, and not the present forms. We cannot concur in this opinion; for though the question is not fully cleared up by the terms of the Act, yet we cannot imagine that the legislature, in the time of George II., could possibly have intended the services in their original form. Nor do we apprehend that an ecclesiastical court would consider that the present services were not intended. It is clear, therefore, that those persons who are so anxious for a Parliamentary sanction, have what they wish in the Act of George II., which certainly approves indirectly of the services which were then in use, namely, our present *forms*.

Mr. Percival seems to imagine that the present services ought not to be appended to the Book of Common Prayer, and that the royal and university printers might be called to ac-

count for their conduct. He says, "A further question may be raised, namely, whether the printers to the crown and the universities are not liable to be called to account for appending the four services last mentioned to the Common Prayer, instead of the three more duly authorized ones." By whom, however, could the printers be called to account? In the civil courts they would be justified on the authority of the Act of Geo. II., to say nothing of the supremacy; and in the ecclesiastical courts the power of the crown would be undoubtedly maintained.

In the time of Charles II., a special service was appointed to be used on the second of September, the anniversary of the day on which the great fire of London commenced in 1666. It may have continued in use in the succeeding reign, though whether such were the case we cannot determine. However, at the end of some of the Prayer Books of the time of Charles II. a special service for the occasion may still be found under the following title:—"Forms of Prayer to be used yearly on the Second of September, for the dreadful fire of London." Its observance was also enjoined by Act of Parliament as a day of fasting and humiliation for ever, to deprecate the wrath of God from the nation, and from the city of London in particular. The service in question was, we believe, authorized in the usual way, but we are unable to ascertain when its use was discontinued. Probably it was laid aside on the accession of James II. to whom any memorial of the fire must have been unacceptable, inasmuch as it was commonly attributed to the machinations of some members of the Church of Rome, though no such allusion is to be found in the service. At all events, we have not seen the *form* in any English Prayer Book later than the reign of Charles II., but it is to be found in several copies, of various dates, of the Prayer Book in French. This circumstance may, however, be accounted for. The first French edition was printed from a copy containing this particular *form*, and this first book served as a copy for the subsequent editions.

We cannot but believe that these notices of our special services will prove acceptable to the great majority of our readers. Churchmen in general, and even vast numbers of the clergy, as various letters in the public papers during the present year have testified, are profoundly ignorant of the subject. Some have argued against their use altogether, while others have viewed them as part of the Book of Common Prayer, simply because they are bound up in the same volume. Our aim has been to place the whole question in a clear light, and we are greatly mistaken if we have not been successful in our object.

ART. VII.—*A Brief History of the Church in Upper Canada.*
By WILLIAM BETTRIDGE, B. D., Rector of Woodstock, Upper
Canada. London: Painter.

ON the 24th of August, a day which will be long remembered in the annals of the Colonial Church, in the ancient Abbey of Westminster, five prelates were set apart to their high and sacred office by the imposition of hands. By those who were present on that occasion the scene will not soon be forgotten. The service, the place, and the recollection that the newly-appointed bishops were about to proceed, in order to exercise their office, to far distant lands, combined to excite feelings in the breasts of the spectators which are not likely to be renewed, for it is not probable that the present generation will witness a similar spectacle. From the period of the Reformation to the present time there has been but one instance of the consecration, at one time, of so large a number of bishops in the Anglican Church. On several occasions four have been consecrated together, but on one occasion only did the number exceed four. That one instance was remarkable, and the recent occasion was also remarkable; and as there are some points of similarity between the two, we shall, before we proceed to the particulars of the latter, enter upon a few details respecting the former. The period in question was that of the Restoration. Soon after that event *seven* bishops were publicly set apart to their office in Westminster Abbey. And to us, who were present on the recent occasion, it was gratifying to reflect that a similar scene had been transacted in that venerable fabric *one hundred and eighty-two years* before. We recalled to mind the aged Juxon, who from infirmities could not be present in person, though he was with them in spirit, and we could not but mark the striking similarity between the two cases in the absence of the archbishop from serious illness. On both occasions the primate was prevented from attending, and on each there was a strong feeling of sympathy in the assembled multitude for the absent archbishop. We are sure that on the recent occasion there were none who did not sincerely regret the cause of that absence.

But let us gather up a few particulars respecting the circumstances of 1660, and then we may consider those connected with the recent consecrations. When Charles II. was restored, few of the bishops survived. The Church, in consequence of the confusions of the previous twenty years, had been in a state of depression. The bishops were driven into exile, the clergy were imprisoned or sequestered, the churches were in many cases despoiled, the ordinances of religion neglected, and swarms of

sects spread themselves over the land, so that at the Restoration few only of the bishops were alive. Still the good Providence of God so ordered it, that more than a sufficient number survived to continue the succession. This is a remarkable fact. No bishop had been consecrated for nearly twenty years, yet nine still survived at the Restoration. As soon, therefore, as Charles II. was seated on the throne, measures were adopted to fill the sees which had become vacant by death, as a necessary step towards the restoration of the government and discipline of the Anglican Church. On Advent Sunday, therefore, in the year 1660, *seven* prelates were publicly consecrated in Westminster Abbey. On that occasion, Sancroft, who was subsequently raised to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, was appointed to preach the consecration sermon. It was published immediately after; and, as it is a production of considerable interest, we do not hesitate to give some further account of it. The title is as follows:—

“A Sermon preached in St. Peter’s, Westminster, on the First Sunday in Advent, at the Consecration of the Right Reverend Fathers in God:

*“John, Lord Bishop of Durham,
“William, Lord Bishop of St. David’s,
“Benjamin, Lord Bishop of Peterborough,
“Hugh, Lord Bishop of Landaff,
“Richard, Lord Bishop of Carlisle,
“Brian, Lord Bishop of Chester,
and*

“John, Lord Bishop of Exeter.

“By W. S., D.D.

“Apoc. l., 20. Septem Stellæ Angeli Sunt Septem Ecclesiarum.

*“London. Printed by T. Roycroft, for Robert Beaumont, at the
———, in Little Britain, 1660.”*

The custom at that time was not always to use the *bidding prayer* before the naming of the text, as is the case in the present day, but after the sermon had been commenced. Thus Sancroft stated the plan of his sermon, and then called upon the people to pray. The prayer itself, as constructed by Sancroft, is remarkable. We are sure that all sound Churchmen will concur in the following extract:—

“And in these and all other our supplications, let us always remember to pray for Christ’s Holy Catholic Church, and for the whole congregation of Christian people, dispersed through the whole world; that it would please Almighty God to purge out of it all schism, error, heresie, and to unite all Christians in one holy bond of faith and charity; that so at length the happy day may dawn upon us, in which all that do confess His holy name may agree in the truth of His holy word, and live in unity and godly love.”

When Sancroft preached in 1660, the breaches which had been made in the Church were about to be restored. On the 24th of August, 1842, five bishops were consecrated to extend the Church in our colonial possessions. In 1660, the Church was arising from a state of depression—in the present case she is about to extend herself in distant lands. We shall subjoin an extract or two from Sancroft's sermon, because we regard them as peculiarly applicable to the recent consecrations. The text was most appropriate: "*For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee.*" (Titus i., v. 5). On the words "I left thee," we have the following most admirable remarks:—

"*I left thee.* I, the apostle of the Lord Jesus Christ, left thee: there's the source and the stream, the original and the derivation of all. 'Twas from our Lord by his apostle: I did it, his commissioner. And, therefore, first not a suffragan of St. Peter, as some of the Romish partizans would fain have it, who, to serve the over-high pretences of that court, are not content to dogmatize that St. Peter was the prince and sovereign of the apostles, and his very successors superior to the apostles that survived him; and that they being once all dead, there was never since any power in the Church, but in succession to him, and by derivation from him: dare yet higher and strange confidence pronounce that the apostles themselves were all ordained by St. Peter, and he alone by Christ; and that when the *Holy Ghost* said, *Separate me Barnabas and Saul, for the work whereunto I have called them,* they were thereupon sent up to Jerusalem to be ordained by St. Peter."

We have given this passage for its admirable reasoning against the Church of Rome; but we subjoin another, because it is as applicable to the recent consecrations as it was to the state of the Church in 1660. It is on the clause, "*To supply what was wanting.*"

"*To supply what was wanting*—and then the *nerve* and *emphasis* of the *verb* will lie in the preposition, *ἐπιδιορθοῦν*. To do something *additionally*, and by way of *supplement*, to what was done before, but was not sufficient to fill up vacancies and defects that were left, which probably were not a few, in Crete especially, a Church so lately founded, and in which St. Paul stayed so short a time. Neither let any Church, though of longer continuance, flatter and sooth up itself, with *Laodicea*, as if it *needed nothing*. The *ship* of the Church is never so perfectly *rigged*, but something may be added. 'Tis seldom or never but some pin or other is lacking even in God's *Tabernacle*, while it sojourns here below. Just as in the *material* church, 'tis scarce known but either the roof is open, or the pavement uneven, the windows broken, or some part or other of the wall mouldering and dropping away. So in the *spiritual*, either the *light* is not good, or the *walking* is not answerable; 'tis well if the *foundation* stands firm, and sinks not, but the

superstruction most commonly wants something that must be supplied. And therefore methinks the inference is strong : there is need of a bishop in every church, that must learn his *office* in his *name*, and look about him, and, like a wise master-builder, have a careful eye, ever awake, upon all parts, to see what is *wanting* and to *supply* it."

This passage is well suited to the peculiar circumstances in which the newly-consecrated bishops are placed. At the period of the Restoration many things were wanting in the Church at home ; and how many are now wanting in the Church in the colonies ? In many of our colonies the clergy have been left altogether without episcopal superintendence and control. Now, however, a remedy is, to a considerable extent, supplied. *Five* prelates are gone forth to the colonies to make up the deficiencies which have so long existed, and ere long our Colonial Church will, we trust, assume a consistent form under the rule of her bishops.

Addressing the bishops elect, Sancroft added :—

" Reverend Fathers, this is your Crete : adorn it as you can. The province is hard, and the task weighty, and formidable even to an angel's shoulders. Titus was not left behind in Crete to take his ease, or to sleep out the storm which soon overtook St. Paul at sea. As in Crete new founded, so in England new restored, there must needs be many things *wanting*, and much *amiss*, not so easily to be *supplied as amended*."

In 1661, four bishops were consecrated in the same venerable edifice, that they might introduce episcopacy into Scotland.* The Presbyterians forthwith disclaimed episcopacy, and protested against the intrusion. Religious rancour grew more inveterate ; and the end of Archbishop Sharpe, one of the new prelates, needs not to be repeated here.

On the present occasion we hope violence has been done to the conscience of no man, and that no violent consequences will ensue. Episcopacy is no longer thrust upon those who are unwilling to receive it ; it is earnestly desired by many, and accepted without jealousy by many more ; and we pray that the burning tropic, the exile, the ocean, and the stranger, may prove more tender of the welfare of the bishops, departing to distant regions of the globe, than party enmity and religious difference were to men who were set over the Church in a portion of Great Britain.

To those who bear in mind the acrimony and virulence with which Archbishop Secker and the advocates of colonial episcopacy were assailed before the revolution in North America, the

* " Burnet's Own Times," vol. i. p. 140.

consecration of five bishops for distant colonies must afford no light evidence of renewed vigour and elasticity in the religious principles of the country. All the obloquy that a coarse opposition could devise—all the bad motives that malignant passion could impute—and all the contumely that ridicule without reason and effrontery to supply the place of right could invent, seem to have been lavished upon those who proposed, as the archbishop himself did, a mere ecclesiastical jurisdiction and spiritual ministration, which is necessary to complete the orders and give efficacy to the services of the Church.

The colonists opposed the measure; Mr. Walpole shrank from supporting it; the clergy were lukewarm in its adoption; and Dr. Sherlock, then Bishop of London, was alarmed at the opposition offered to it. Archbishop Secker did not venture to take high ground and assert the right which toleration must of itself admit to a full exercise of all the offices of the ministry. After his death others took up his mantle, but, like him, they smote the waters in vain. On the other side, Dr. Mayhew, a Congregational minister of Boston, and other Dissenters in England as well as America, contended that bishops would be clothed with a power prejudicial to other communions, and in conflict with the principles on which the colonies were settled. Political differences with the mother country lent their aid to confirm suspicions and irritate religious jealousies, until, for some years before the Revolution, it would have been difficult to obtain any considerable concurrence of the colonists in measures to introduce a bishop of the parent Church. At the commencement of the war in 1775 there were not more than eighty clergymen in the provinces to the northward and eastward of Maryland; and, with the exception of those resident in Boston, Newport, New York, and Philadelphia, almost all were deriving their subsistence from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In Virginia and Maryland they were more numerous, and religious establishments had been legally constituted. But, though the ministers of an episcopal ordination, few used their influence to obtain episcopacy. In 1771, at a meeting of twelve, four protested against a petition for the appointment of a bishop in Virginia, and received the thanks of the House of Burgesses for their resistance to the project. There were nearly one hundred clergymen in the province, and, in a larger convention, they had already rejected the proposal.

When a rupture with the mother country became inevitable, the clergy generally proved true to their allegiance, and ceased to officiate as soon as they were forbidden to use the prayers for their king in the liturgy. Throughout the state of Pennsyl-

vania there remained at this period but one resident parochial clergyman. Had the energies of those who removed been united under bishops, who would have represented their sentiments among the wealthier inhabitants with the weight their social position affords, the influence of their loyalty might have been more powerfully diffused, and a new bond of attachment formed to Great Britain. But the government of that day does not seem to have known the state of the distant people they governed, and therefore did not duly appreciate the political importance of establishing a prelacy in British America; or, to adopt the sentiments of the late father of episcopacy in the United States, the venerable Bishop White, himself the first consecrated, and who, in 1836, had borne a part in consecrating all his coadjutors—they were more anxious to conciliate the Dissenting interest than to make “a party for the mother country in the colonies.”

The Bishop of London was nominally the diocesan: but, besides the obstacles that distance interposed to the exercise of his jurisdiction, there were civil institutions that obstructed it. Interference, except in the single matter of ordination, was generally held to be an encroachment upon the authority of the local government. Mr. Edminston having been admitted to holy orders by the Bishop of London, exhibited to Lord Baltimore, the then proprietary, a license of that prelate to preach in Maryland: and the dissatisfaction of the lay nobleman was unequivocally expressed. He would not endure that other authority than his own should designate a minister of religion to officiate in his province.

The history of ecclesiastical misrule or rather of lay misrule, in ecclesiastical affairs, presented by one colony, is an index to the viciousness of the principle as it affected others. In Jamaica the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was vested, first in the Bishop of London, and afterwards in commissaries of the king, as supreme head of the Establishment. But the address of the Assembly to George the Third, in 1797, to which the appointment of commissaries ensued, prayed his Majesty to confer on the chief civil magistrate the administration also of ecclesiastical discipline. To the comprehensive views and constitutional opinion of Lord Stowell, then Sir William Scott, we are indebted for the refusal of that prayer. In his judgment,

“The proposed delegation of the power of ecclesiastical regimen over the body of the Clergy in the Island of Jamaica into the hands of the governor, appeared liable to objections of no inconsiderable weight.” And he would not “expose the body of the Clergy to the hazard of considerable alterations in the nature of their functions, or

subject them to a possible system of rules unknown to the general law, in which their duties and rights are ascertained in that parent Church of which they are members, wherever it is established in any part of his Majesty's dominions."

Yet the nomination of commissaries rested virtually with the governor. Preferment was entirely at his disposal, and, to say the least, benefices were supposed to be conferred for political as well as spiritual or ecclesiastical services. The magistracy and parochial vestries throughout the island obtained a share in the administration of discipline; and bodies of men, elected for civil purposes, who maintained every variety of creed and opinion, and needed much more that the influence of religious teaching should be enhanced upon themselves than that the ministers of the Gospel should be amenable to their judgment; Roman Catholics, and sectaries, and deists were invested, nevertheless, with a powerful control over the parochial Clergy. To their credit be it said, they felt awkward and embarrassed in the exercise of such a jurisdiction, and at length willingly resigned it into the proper hands. But in the meantime the clergyman was exposed to the temptation of representing other characters than that of the pastor of a parish. He could not obtain his stipend without the certificate of certain members of the vestry, and the inducement was a strong one to conform his duties to the caprice of those who were to attest his discharge of them.

Nor did he escape other results that the foresight of Sir William Scott seems to have apprehended. With the excellent purpose of making a better provision for unwieldy parishes, island curates were appointed, not independent of the rector, yet not subject to him, without a cure of souls, bound to perform certain duties in what was considered the cure of souls of another, yet not empowered to discharge all; an anomaly, of which the mischief was predicted in England when the Act was passed for their appointment, but in which the goodness of the purpose more than counterbalanced the inconvenience of the means. Differences between rector and island curate soon arose which inflicted wounds on a church both were able and anxious to serve: the rector became jealous of rights usurped, or the curate backward to assume duties that were not his own. Returns and registries, and fees, from which a considerable income was then derived, afforded occasion for misunderstanding. Nice questions arose as to liabilities to the common duties of a clergyman, and in parishes forty or fifty miles in extent the feelings of the people were shocked by a refusal of the offices of religion from the minister most near at hand. Conflicting systems and sentiments prevailed in the same cure; and that

unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, which should have been the soul of the Establishment, and invigorated the combined energies of an inadequate ministry, was sacrificed in a collision of rights and privileges, which a distempered constitution admitted, but could not suppress.

It is remarkable that the officers of the local governments have not unfrequently been the most strenuous opposers of Episcopacy. From Barbadoes, Mr. Hooper, a member of council, in an interview with the Bishop of London, assured his Lordship, "if ever a Bishop sets foot on our island, we will toss him into the sea."* And Dr. Sherlock was so affected with this vehemence as to declare that the people of the sugar islands were too hot to be dealt with. When Jamaica and its dependencies were constituted a see in 1824, the House of Assembly lent a zealous assistance to the Bishop in exacting a law to effect improvements; but in the council opposition was encountered from the officers of the crown, and even the governor's secretary obtruded an interference that was uncalled for to obstruct the establishment of a better ecclesiastical discipline. The local government at that time was unwilling to yield its authority or its patronage, as thereby yielding its influence; and its dependents, lay and spiritual, laboured to uphold that power in which their own interests were involved.

From the unwillingness of the Virginian Clergy to accept a Bishop, and from the authority generally, and perhaps necessarily usurped by the civil government in the absence of one, may be inferred how urgent is the need of episcopal superintendence and protection wherever the Church spreads out her arms. The civil magistrates, in colonies especially, are not qualified to administer discipline in spiritual concerns. They may be very good citizens—they may even be able statesmen—but whatever other qualifications they possess, they can rarely be furnished, from the studies and habits of their lives, with an intimate knowledge of the duties or the nature of the pastoral office. They are able merchants, perhaps, or agriculturists, but not good commentators on an article of faith: not good interpreters of a rubric, or good divines to give a direction to a religious opinion. Their anxieties are absorbed in secular pursuits, which tempt them to conform the service of God to that of mammon. Or the party struggles of government may adapt what is most revered in holy things to purposes of mere worldly policy. And so the clergyman is left the hard alternative of incurring the displeasure of those who hold authority over him, or of submit-

* Note to "Critical Commentary on Archbishop Seeker's letter to Mr. Walpole."

ting to be the secular agent of his patrons, in mere mockery of the sacred office that he holds. Where his means of subsistence are derived from local sources, he must, if he has no superior to protect him, succumb to local influence. The Clergy of Virginia, as ministers of an episcopal Church, could hardly have opposed measures to obtain them a Bishop, except they were actuated by the wishes of laymen who controuled them. And those who have known colonies in former years need not to be reminded that the most sure road to approbation and reward was not the regular and strict discharge of duties, but submission to the man of local power, who thrust himself into the seat of command, and dictated alike to flock and pastor. And some unbending servants of the sanctuary have been driven from cures they would have served with fidelity: their strictures have been too severe, or their prescribed course too rigidly observed: their supplies are stopped: and the intrepid minister of the pure word of God might starve in his own church, or beg his way, a vagrant in search of a congregation as faithful as himself, because he would not alter the Gospel to suit the taste of his hearers.

Maryland and Virginia were slave colonies, as they are slave states to this day. In the West Indies, twenty years ago, when there were no bishops, the magistrates and vestrymen were slave owners, if not overseers of slaves. But it by no means followed that they ought to have been overseers of clergymen, or even good members of the Church. Many never accepted religious ministration at all: some because they professed tenets different from those of Churchmen—some because, as there will be in all societies, they were men reckless of religious obligations altogether. They were very inadequate judges of a clergyman's efficiency in the discharge of his duties. And it can create little surprise, that under such a system of Church discipline as prevailed, crowds of adult negroes were together and at once baptised, without other preparation than their masters' order: the holy sacrament was used as a device to remove the incantations of evil spirits and superstitious terrors of Obeah; and the office of initiation into the mystic body of Christ was administered at any time or place at the price of a certain sum in money, rather than on the condition of faith on the part of the adult recipient, or the assurance even that he comprehended the nature of the ordinance.

The remedy for such irregularities (should we not rather say profanations) was the establishment of Episcopacy. The vestryman and civil magistrate was glad to divest himself of responsibilities he knew he was ill qualified to discharge; he readily transferred to the Bishop the superintendence of duties with

which laymen, in a colony at least, are not conversant; and the determination of questions which they do not generally understand. He felt the whole framework of society strengthened when religious obligations were enforced by ministers, and under a discipline altogether distinct from the conflicting interests and partisanship of secular occupations—he felt that the divine authority would not be so much debased by intimate association with that which was human, when a ministry separated from mere worldly pursuits was directed by a superior in some sort separated from worldly pursuits also. He had learned that the great lesson of right and wrong, to be a real bond of union between man and man, must be taught by masters in whom all can alike confide, but who are not dependent upon, or obliged to bend to the dictates of any. He knew that the great principles of general happiness which the Gospel inculcates must form a sort of neutral ground, on which all parties in the State may meet but which no one may take possession of to the prejudice or exclusion of his neighbour.

The Clergy, too, with the exception of a few individuals bound in closer connexion with the old system of government, hailed the arrival of an independent Diocesan with real gratification. Good men looked upon it as the first step towards the establishment of true religion; and many more were not sorry to be rid of a controul that might at any time be exercised for purposes foreign to their profession. The condition of the Church had been too bad to bear the scrutiny of a growing interest in the religious welfare of the people, or to find advocates hardy enough to defend the old system of administering discipline. The duty of the clergyman was more fully prescribed by law, which was administered by an authority independent of his parishioners—an authority equally ready to protect him from unwarranted aggression, as to reprove, advise, or stimulate, in the exercise of his proper functions.

In a Bishop the whole body of the Church, but especially her faithful ministers, found an efficient guardian and protector: he was a man in authority, associating as an equal with those who held the highest powers of government; continually representing the interests of his holy calling where the chief officers of the State were assembled; having the means and opportunity as he was engaged by duty to watch over the charge committed to his special keeping. It was for him to guard the Church against indiscreet or harsh legislation in the colonial legislature: it was for him to hear complaints, and to determine with what discretion or zeal the Clergy discharged their duties: not that local magistrates, smarting under rebuke, or indignant at what

they deemed unseemly opposition, should any longer be judges in their own cause. Under his countenance the services of religion were to be indifferently ministered to all ranks and conditions of men; and the minister no longer trembled under the frown of the rich, or paid a heavy penalty for being deemed the poor man's friend.

The late Bishop of Barbadoes is now in England, having, in common with the Bishop of Jamaica, presided over a diocese in which greater improvements have been effected during his episcopate than the history of the Church has perhaps ever witnessed during a similar period, and under similar circumstances elsewhere. To confirm what is here stated, we might safely appeal to his lordship, and the direction of his energies as a guardian and protector; for there are those lately under his jurisdiction who have experienced the value of his protection, and in spite of an arduous struggle been sustained by him in an exact and scrupulous discharge of duty. The report of Mr. La Trobe, the Government Inspector of Schools in 1838, intimates the result.

“ In Barbadoes, though the Wesleyan and Moravian Missionary Societies, and the Trustees of the Mico Charity support a few excellent schools for the benefit of the labouring classes, the education of these throughout the colony depends mainly upon the instruction given in schools in connexion with the Clergy of the island, stimulated and supported in this good work by the presence and active co-operation of the diocesan.”

Many indeed were separated by the ocean from that immediate countenance and support which was afforded the efficient minister of the Gospel where the Bishop resided. But the new consecrations do much to supply that to the extremities which has already proved of so great avail to the centre of the diocese. In colonies, the power of influential individuals is much more arbitrary than in the mother country. One wealthy inhabitant obtains absolute controul in the affairs of a parish or district, because in that sphere of domination there is not a second of property, or intelligence, or ambition to be his rival. Hence, in the early years of the United States, resolutions of the General Convention were not carried into effect by the Clergy who framed them; but, as Bishop White informs us, “ the stipulation was shrunk back from, because some influential member of a congregation was dissatisfied with some one of the alterations.” In the West Indies the assiduity and perseverance of the Scotch often obtains the first place in local dignity and influence. The Church of England has long received a liberal aid from their good offices, for which she may not be ungrateful. Yet the

Presbyterian estimate of the duties of a pastor is not the most eligible guide for a minister of an Episcopal communion. Where the purposes are the most pure, inconsistencies will creep in if it is adopted: and it was as much the want of a Bishop to determine, as of a disposition to obey what was right, that formerly allowed many irregularities and discrepancies to insinuate themselves into the services of religion.

Where the machinery of government is incomplete, and can hardly penetrate into secluded districts of the country, or the civil organization of society is disturbed by violence, and the intervention of dangerous emergencies, the protection afforded to the Church by a Bishop in constant intercourse with those who represent the different departments of administration, is incalculable. In questions affecting spiritual interests, they naturally consult the spiritual superior. Each defers to the judgment of his colleague in that of which his colleague is the appointed judge. Each is disposed to show the courtesy he receives, not to the individual alone, but to those also in whom the individual feels an interest. When an unhappy rebellion was devastating a British colony, some years ago, ministers of religion, in more than one instance, were implicated in offences against the military discipline that prevailed, by having communicated with members of their flocks who joined the rebel ranks. Over the minister of the Church of England who had committed an offence, in itself so venial, but in its consequences at that moment so terrible, the commander-in-chief of the forces, being on the spot, at once threw the shield of his protection from his consideration for the diocesan with whom he was accustomed to act at the seat of government. But in such peril were some ministers of other Christian denominations, as to be driven to appeal to the Bishop of the Church for his intercession on their behalf; and the rapidity with which a military tribunal proceeded to pass and execute its sentence, hardly gave time for his representations to reach their destination, and aid in relieving some Moravians from their danger. Happily they were relieved, and the influence of the chief minister of our own communion was extended in its most grateful exercise to the protection of the servants of other communions in the Christian family, as well as to those of his own.

This is indeed an extreme case. But it is a case that may have occurred more than once in North America, the East and West Indies, or the Cape of Good Hope within the last twelve years; and it indicates the efficacy and value of Colonial Episcopacy. It is the more frequent recurrence of such emergencies that renders the necessity of Episcopal superinten-

dence more urgent in the colonies than in the mother country. The same blessings may be looked for as the result of spiritual ministrations peculiar to the office in Great Britain and her dependencies—the same improvements may be anticipated from the ordinary exercise of jurisdiction. And in these points strangers to the colonies can duly appreciate, and well describe the obligation of establishing new sees. But it is in circumstances peculiarly colonial that those who have served in the colonies will recognise the value of colonial Bishops. It is in the authority they obtain, the confidence they inspire, the consistency they impart to the teaching of the Clergy; the moral influence their high and sacred office invests them with; and the renewed esteem in which spiritual ministrations are held under their supervision. It is because the Church and religion itself wants weight in these unsettled communities, and lessons of Christianity do not migrate in full force with men who learned them at home, but, like waves sent forth on the surface of smooth waters, grow faint and more faint as they increase the distance from the source of motion. It is in the circumstances of a society ill-organised, an education of all classes generally incompetent, an administration of justice irregular or difficult, a framework of ecclesiastical discipline not only incomplete but misunderstood—it is in those shocks, to which the Church, like every other portion of the community, is more frequently exposed; and in that tendency to deterioration to which every thing in the world is liable, but which often marches with such rapid strides in colonial institutions of every kind. In proportion as there is greater scope for usurpation, and greater liability to abuse, there is also greater need of a jurisdiction that can defend, as well as correct and restrain. Episcopacy has been established in India, and though inadequate to the exercise of a just influence throughout those vast regions, it has made perceptible the blessing of a Christian Church, instituted after the model which the apostles sanctioned by their example. Bishop's College was its early fruit, and promises to be a lasting monument of its care. And there are spiritual adversaries in that country that call for all the energies of the army of the faithful, arrayed under leaders who combine and direct efforts to pull down the strongholds of superstition and idolatry. There are yet abominations as revolting to humanity, as any the history of Paganism records; the modern Moloch and sacrifice of human victims, with all the ghastly atrocities of savage fanaticism. Orissa, long since the witness of wholesale massacres of Juggernaut, is yet in her unexplored jungles, and the dark recesses of her forests the nursing mother of religious murders

that make one shudder at the recital ; and we tremble at the long proximity of such fearful crime unchecked and almost unknown to our countrymen, who dwell at its right hand.

Romanism has long indeed set an example to Protestants, and to this our English Church in particular, of the duty that we owe alike to strangers and to distant brethren. She has long planted her prelacy in every region of the globe : in the East throughout her vast missions of the Levant and India ; in the West, from Hudson's Bay, through Canada, Louisiana, Mexico, California, the Antilles ; and all the States of South America, to Paraquay in the interior, and to either extremity of the land. A Jesuit missionary claims to have first suggested the proximity of the Eastern to the Western continent.* He met in Tartary a Huron whom he had known in Canada, and divined a discovery which long after constituted the glory of Bhering and Cook.

In Lower Canada, not only was Episcopacy established before the British obtained possession, but the King of France made provision for the Bishop who had ceased to be a subject of the French crown, as if to put us all to shame, who had never supplied the complete orders of our Church to a possession beyond the seas. At this day, when new dioceses are created to acknowledge and repair former errors, Romish Bishops are penetrating the distant forests and the snow-roofed huts of the Esquimaux, while we scarce supply episcopal ministrations to the cities and cultivated plains inhabited by our own countrymen ! In the summer of 1836, the writer of this article met a Roman Catholic Bishop on the St. Lawrence, waiting for the spring, because the winter would arrest his course, if he then attempted to reach the distant goal of his northern destination.

Every one at all acquainted with our history is well aware of the sad state of things in England previous to the Restoration. So in our colonies there is much to be supplied—many things to be set in order—discipline to be administered, and government to be exercised. The newly-consecrated Bishops will go forth to plant and raise up the Church in distant parts : but other dioceses must be created—the number of Bishops must be increased—and the various dependencies of the British empire must be placed under Episcopal superintendence and controul.

The recent consecration of the five Bishops has led to the extension of the Episcopal Church of England by the addition of four new sees to its constituency, (the diocese of Barbadoes being divided into three sees, and two new sees being created),

* *Genie du Christianisme.*

viz., the sees of Antigua, Guna, Gibraltar, and Tasmania, (Van Dieman's Land); the see of Barbadoes, in its present state, being the fifth see. In consequence of the indisposition of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the consecration of the colonial prelates was by commission entrusted to the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Rochester, by whom the ceremony was performed. The service was commenced by the morning prayer for the day, according to the rubric. The prayers were chanted by the Rev. Mr. Lupton; the lessons were read by the Rev. Mr. Waters; and the litany and communion by the Bishop of London. The sermon was preached by Dr. Coleridge, the late Bishop of Barbadoes, who chose for his text the very appropriate fifth and sixth verses of the 43d of Isaiah:—

“Fear not, for I am with thee; I will bring thy seed from the east, and gather thee from the west.

“I will say to the north give up, and to the south keep not back. Bring my sons from far and my daughters from the end of the earth.”

The sermon was most admirably suited to the occasion. To give an abstract would occupy too much space; but it is not necessary, since an outline has been given in many of the daily and weekly papers. One part, however, we cannot but notice; namely, the address to the Bishops elect. The Right Reverend Prelate turned round in the pulpit towards the Bishops elect, who were sitting on the north side of the altar, and addressed them in a strain which produced a most powerful effect, not only on the individuals to whom he spoke, but also on the majority of the congregation. We shall never forget the solemn tones, and the earnest and impressive manner of the Right Reverend Preacher; and while the admonitions and exhortations addressed to the Bishops elect were calculated to afford consolation to them in prospect of their arduous work in distant lands, they could not at the same time fail to produce in the breasts of the congregation assembled the deepest sympathy in the welfare and proceedings of the prelates about to be consecrated, and to excite them to earnest prayer for the Church in our colonies.

After the sermon the ceremony of the consecration was performed, the Bishops being presented by the Bishop of Chichester and the late Bishop of Barbadoes in the following order:—Dr. Parry, Bishop of Barbadoes; Dr. Tomlinson, Bishop of Gibraltar; Dr. Nixon, Bishop of Van Dieman's Land; Dr. Davis, Bishop of Antigua; Dr. Austin, Bishop of Guiana. We were much impressed by the solemn manner in which the five prelates who assisted in the consecration, laid their hands on the

head of each of the Bishops elect ; as also with the manner in which the following words were repeated by the Bishop of London :

“ Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. And remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is given thee by this imposition of our hands ; for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power and love and soberness.”

The ceremony having been concluded, the Sacrament was administered to a great number of communicants ; the contributions at the offertory amounting to 113*l*. The introductory voluntary was from the overture to Esther ; the voluntary after the sermon from Spor ; and the concluding voluntary from Hayden. The *Te Deum jubilate* from Nares, and the *Veni Creator*, Attwood. Nothing could surpass the devotional and dignified effect of this very sacred ceremony, and it is a matter of congratulation to the Church of England particularly, and to the whole Christian community generally, that so efficient a step has been made for the propagation of that faith in which all who profess and call themselves Christians repose their hopes of salvation and happiness. We certainly envy not that man his feelings who could have witnessed the spectacle without being impressed with a deep sense of the importance of the Episcopal office, as well as with the remarkable propriety of the consecration service of the Anglican Church.

We cannot but notice one remarkable feature in the history of our colonial Church. It is this, namely, that notwithstanding the discountenance of the Anglican Church by the ministry during the ten years domination of the Whigs, the interests of the Church in the colonies have so forced themselves upon public attention, that even the Whigs were under the necessity of taking the subject into consideration, and of devising means for increasing the number of Bishops. This is a remarkable fact. A few years since, it was scarcely possible for any member to obtain a patient hearing in the House of Commons on such a subject, but latterly the question has been discussed, session after session, and even the Whigs have been constrained to act against their inclinations. It is singular, too, that the interests of the colonial Church have advanced, though there has been a combination on the part of Papists, Radicals, Dissenters, and Infidels, to arrest the progress of that feeling which now so happily prevails. The Whigs in office discountenanced the Church both at home and abroad : many of the supporters of the Whig ministry, in both Houses of Parliament, openly opposed every mea-

sure in which the Church's welfare was concerned; and the whole tribe of factious demagogues strained every nerve to throw down the Anglican Church altogether. Still she has flourished—and flourished more, too, during the ten years of the dominion of the Whigs than during almost any previous ten years of her history. And at the present moment the attachment of the great mass of the people to the Church of their fathers is so strong that no efforts of her enemies are likely to abate it.

ART. VIII.—*The State of Popery and Jesuitism in England from the Reformation to the Period of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill in 1839.* By THOMAS LATHBURY, A.M. London: Parker.

2. *England under the Popish Yoke.* By the Rev. C. E. ARMSTRONG. London: Painter. 1842.

3. *Dissent and its Inconsistencies.* By the Rev. A. B. EVANS, A.M. London: Painter.

NATIONS, like individuals, have their periods of youth, manhood, and old age. Feeble in their origin, enduring for a time, perhaps, under the protection of some stronger neighbour, they afterwards play a distinguished part on the theatre of the world's history, and send out numerous colonies and off-shoots, the proofs of a stronger existence; and then they fall away into the decrepitude of a premature old age. Thus Rome, from the smallest beginnings, obtained the highest place among the kingdoms of the earth, and made to herself a party in every state of the day, whether monarchical or republican, favorable to her interests; until, oppressed by the weight of her own glory, and weakened by the too great extension of her manifold dependencies, she suddenly sank into insignificance, and scarcely escaped the erasure of her name from the catalogue of nations. Such has been the fate and history of other nations, both in ancient and modern times; and the experience of the past may teach that such may again be the future destinies of some other of the empires of the earth. In these latter days, however, the student of history, who is guided by the Word of Inspiration, and who believes in the providence of a God controlling and directing the affairs of mankind to the accomplishment of the purposes of His will, will have other tokens whereby he will estimate the probable fall or elevation, the prosperity or decline of a State, than those which would have been present to the mind of the historiographers of earlier days. He will not consider only

the number of the colonies, the strength of the armies, the successes of the fleets, the wisdom of the councillors, the greatness of the dominion. He will know that on every Christian state certain great privileges are conferred, and that the bestowal of these privileges entails certain great duties and serious responsibilities. The careful discharge of these duties, the active sense of these responsibilities, will be considered by him in his calculation of the probable duration or fall of a Christian State. Though enemies oppose, dangers threaten, and difficulties surround it, the due fulfilment of these duties will ensure to a State stability and continuance; while a contempt or disregard of these principles, however apparently strong and flourishing the State may be, will lead to weakness, discomfiture, and misfortune.

Impressed with a conviction of these truths, we proceed to consider two important periods in the history of the English nation, and to contrast the prospects of the Church and the condition of the kingdom of England in the years 1662 and 1842. A hundred and eighty years—a short period in the history of a nation—is long enough, amidst the mutabilities and vicissitudes, the changes and chances, to which nations are subject, to impair or to develop their energies, and to test the weakness or strength of the constitution under which they are governed. This interval has been big with events of the most momentous interest to this Church and kingdom. The kingdom of England, unimpaired by the follies of the second Charles—the bigotry of the second James—the phlegmatic indifference of William—the indecision of Anne, or the foreign partialities of the Georges—still retains her pre-eminence among nations. Uninfluenced by the smiles or the threatenings of the great Louis—unscathed by the two invasions of the armies of the Pretender, by the revolts of the American colonies, or by the revolutionary fury which, under the guidance of a military despot, convulsed every other throne in the world—the kingdom of England, successful alike over foreign aggression and internal troubles, has, during the last century and a half, achieved for herself new triumphs and discovered fresh sources of stability in the extension of her influence, the propagation of her language, the formation of new colonies, and the opening of new sources of wealth.

The Church of England, recovered from the attacks entailed on her by the innovations of the Puritans, and casting off the mantle of formalism and the bandage of that moral philosophy which for a time enveloped her, through her hatred of those who made the profession of spirituality a pretext of crime, still continues as the teacher of the people, and as a true witness to the faith, in the presence of all other Churches. Unsubdued by

the disaffection of the last Stuart king—unaltered by the dignified secession of the nonjurors—by the wild impetuosities of Methodism—or the occasional murmurs of discontent raised within her own pale—the Church of England, firm in her steadfast adherence to the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, bears on the even tenor of her way, and, unhurt amidst the waves and storms which assail her, still sanctifies the institutions of the State, and appeals to the religious sympathies of the people, as she seeks their amelioration and improvement. With this concise outline of the intermediate history of the Church and kingdom of England, we will proceed to investigate more closely the comparison, we desire to enquire into. We will consider more narrowly the exact position of England, both in Church and State, at the two great periods of her history—1662 and 1842.

Emerging from a state of dissolution—the monarch exiled, the nobles proscribed, the whole civil and ecclesiastical polity subverted—the kingdom of England, in 1662, was weak and unsettled. The people, too grateful for the restoration of Charles, and for the removal of the oppressions of the usurper, were inclined to yield to the exactions of the crown; while the unfriendly connection of England with other neighbouring States made her position critical and alarming. Blest, in 1842, with a peace prolonged through thirty years, with the enjoyment of an undisputed and uninterrupted succession, and with every prospect of the continuance of that succession in the direct line, the institutions of the State are repaired and the grievances of the people redressed, rather by deliberate and well-considered legislation, than by an appeal to arms or the wilful resistance of authority. Her colonies extending to every region—her fleets navigating every sea—her arms crowned with success—her name a tower of strength—and her flag a protection to her subjects in all lands, never was the realm of England more influential, nor the power of England more a terror to the nations, than at the present moment. At the one period there was weakness, instability, and fear: at the other there is a consciousness of strength, resolution, and irresistibleness.

We desire, however, more particularly to contrast the prospects of the Church of England in these two periods of her history. The three great divisions into which, as regards her ecclesiastical institutions, the people of this land have ever been divided, are the Romanist, the Puritan, and those in external communion with the Church of England. These three parties, existing in the days of Charles II., had; as now, their hopes and fears, their plans and counsels, their friends and enemies. They each desired to obtain the protection of the sovereign, the favour

of the senate, and the affection of the people. We will consider their relative position, power, and chances of success in this day, as contrasted with the situation they held respectively at the time of the restoration of the kingdom.

The Puritans commenced during the days of the Marian persecution. Their contact with foreign churches gave them a distaste for the Prayer Book of the Church of England, and a love for the peculiarities of the foreign reformers. Restored during the reign of Elizabeth, they disseminated their opinions, and, under the pretext of greater purity, unfortunately introduced among the people, the divisions and disputes which disgraced the progress of the German and Swiss reformation. The incipient breach in the unity of the English Church was secretly fostered by the Pope. Father Heath and Faithful Cummin, Dominican friars, and other emissaries of Rome, were encouraged to assume the garb and characters of Puritan preachers; and too true was the boast of Parsons, the Jesuit, as he knelt in the confessional at St. Peter's, "that they had planted such a thorn in the side of the Church of England that she would never recover from the smart of it." Thus, aided however by the subtle influence of Rome, the party daily gained strength. Encouraged by Archbishop Abbot, and persecuted by Laud, condemned by Elizabeth and restrained by James I., the Puritans continued to progress till they were powerful enough to dethrone the king, to subvert the Church, and for twelve years to direct the destinies of the nation.

The Puritans, though weakened by divisions among themselves, and offensive through the remembrance of their cruelties to many among the people, still retained, on the restoration of the kingdom, the highest influence and consideration. The chief benefices and livings were in their hands—the pulpits of the larger towns were almost entirely filled with their partisans; their preachers were men remarkable for their learning, zeal, and talents, while they conciliated the affection of their flock and the respect of their opponents, by their piety and eloquence.

The day of retribution, however, has arrived; and it may be expected that those who had helped to subvert the monarchy, should, on the restoration of the monarch, be visited with punishment and disfavour. The king, on the contrary, acts in a spirit of reconciliation and promises liberty of conscience—the ecclesiastical rulers incline to forgiveness and to compromise—the Parliament alone, mindful of the arbitrary enforcements of the Directory, are more vindictive than the hierarchy of the day. No arbitrary ejections, as allowed by Cromwell, are resorted to. Every attempt is made, by advice of the king and the con-

sent of the Church, to effect conciliation and union. Permission to retain their benefices is offered to the ministers, if they will conform to the rubrics of the Prayer Book, and submit to the re-established episcopacy; while to Baxter, Calamy, Reynolds, and others, bishoprics are offered to induce them to acquiescence. All these efforts failed; and in 1662 the Act of Uniformity passed, by which, on the twenty-fourth day of August, two thousand ministers are ejected from their livings, and removed from the superintendence of their congregations. Then was there danger, forsooth, to the Church of England; when so large a body of men, eminent for their learning, and piety, and high station, agreed to renounce her communion, and, confident in the affection of their followers, sought to perpetuate a schism, and to declare hostility against her.

The providence of God guarded her through these dangers, as it will continue to protect her. The descendents of these men still pursue their opposition and resistance. Weak among themselves by their innumerable divisions, they conduct their opposition more from the instigation of political hatred, than from the motive of religious principle. Forward on every occasion of political excitement, and ready to support the cause of the disloyal and disaffected, they alienate the affections of the poor and shock the scruples of the mild and gentle. With a few leaders eminent for learning and for piety, who are ashamed of the rudenesses of their brethren, they have no strong hold on the affections, and no great power in directing the actions of their followers: and the Church, which was uninjured by the condemnation of such men as Howe, Baxter, and Calamy, who, though mistaken, were eminent for learning, piety, and zeal, will not have much to fear from the unconstrained abuse of Binney—the rude intolerance of Eustace Giles—or-even the less open opposition of the more decent leaders of Dissent. A more earnest desire for union—a more prevalent conviction of the guilt of schism, has sprung up in the nation: and many who were estranged are led to return into the Church to seek under its guidance peace, union, and stability.

The exact date of the separation of the Romanists from the Church must be assigned to the year 1572. The different regulations enjoined as to the omission or insertion of certain articles in the creeds, the alteration of the liturgy, and the changes in the public services under the respective reigns of Henry VIII. or Edward VI., were acquiesced in by the *whole* nation: by the hierarchy and commonalty of the realm; by the Parliament and Convocation; by the King and People. There was under neither of these monarchs a change in the Church of England.

The Church remained the same : her bishops, priests, and deacons united with the king, nobles, and people in giving up certain doctrines and superstitions not sanctioned by holy Scripture, and not observed in the earlier and purer ages of Christianity ; yet the same bishops remained to ordain—the same priests to administer—the same deacons to assist in the service—the same people to worship, remained after as before the renunciation of Popish errors. As the Romanists consented to receive the ancient liturgies, and still worshipped in the Church of England with the rest of the people, during the governments of Henry and Edward : so also, though they much regretted the changes, did they acquiesce in the arrangements and alterations of the national services effected under the influence of Elizabeth. A learned historian of the present day (Mr. Lathbury) has proved, in a work lately published from the memorials of Strype, by the speeches of Chief Justice Coke and other well authenticated documents of the day, that for eleven years after the accession of Elizabeth the Romanists frequented the parish churches, knelt at the altars, and joined in the creeds, liturgies, and services of the Church of England, restored as it now is, to the inculcation of Catholic verities, and to the teaching of a faith free alike from novelty and superstition. It is a fact, indeed, not admitting of denial, that for these eleven years the Romanists joined the Reformed Anglican Church ; and that they then only renounced their allegiance to her, when Pius V., having in vain endeavoured, by cajolery and intimidation, to effect a reconciliation and compromise with the queen, at last issued his bull, excommunicating her as an heretic, and depriving her of her throne. Some bishops and priests were sent by Pius into England on this occasion, who commenced that schism in the Anglican Church, which has ever been perpetuated in the secession of a certain number of the followers of the Pope from the pale of her communion. The consequences of this bull were manifested not only in the separation of the Romanists from the Anglican Church, but in the sending forth of the Invincible Armada in the exciting, the restlessness of Mary Queen of Scotland, in the constant succession of conspiracies, cabals, and threatenings, and in the frequent attempts at assassination which ever annoyed and molested Elizabeth during the remainder of her reign. All these calamities, arising either from foreign armies or from internal treason, are clearly to be traced to the counsels and interference of the emissaries of the Church of Rome. The same policy dictated that “horrible and wicked enterprise,” which, on the accession of James I., was intended to have been executed against the king and the whole state of

England, for the subversion of the government and religion then established, and which, it was hoped, would replace a Popish prince on the throne, and reintroduce, for the approval of the people, the ancient additions to the faith. The letter, yet extant, of Sir Everard Digby, the confessions of the various actors in the plot, the presence of Garnet, the Jesuit confessor, at the various meetings of the conspirators—all remain as evidence, and as undeniable testimony to there being no want of charity, but only a strict adherence to the truth, in attributing this cruel plot to the counsels and designs of the followers of the Church of Rome. This same hatred to the Church of England appeared among the Romanists during the reign of James and Charles I., until at the death of the latter martyred monarch, certain Jesuits were present before the scaffold, arrayed in the garb and wearing the dress of the soldiers of the usurper ! During the next twelve years, this party, dreading the violence of the rulers of the democracy, and entertaining some hopes of making a convert of the youthful king, offered him assistance at various times during his exile, and assured him of their loyalty and affection, and joined with the rest of his rejoicing subjects to forward and promote his restoration to the throne and dominion of his father. Charles II., secretly inclining to the peculiarities of the faith of Rome, surrounded for the most part, during his residence at Breda, by councillors favourable to Rome, and grateful to his Popish subjects for their assistance in promoting his return, assured the leaders of this party of his sympathy, and of his desire to remove or to lighten the penalties to which they were exposed. He held private consultations with the chief leaders of this party, and hoped, under a pretence of conciliating the affections and of respecting the scruples of the Nonconformists, that he might cause certain enactments regarding toleration to be passed, by which, in reality, the Romanists would be most benefitted. He desired, according to his declaration sent from his place of exile, liberty of conscience for all ; but he would willingly have foregone all care for the liberty of the Puritans, if he had not held to this pretext, as the looked-for instrument of favour and encouragement to the Romanists. Many of the Scottish chieftains had assisted General Monk in effecting the restoration of Charles, and these men it was advisable to conciliate. The king could not by any means so easily effect this as by a care for their religion. How splendid were the prospects of the Romanists at this day ! A king, warm in his gratitude by a recollection of services received from them, and himself attached (at least in private) to the peculiarities of their creed—a Parliament zealous

lous and earnest in their loyalty, and manifesting their loyalty by an unbounded submission to the wishes and commands of the sovereign—a people led away from the immediate remembrance of the cruelties exercised by the members of their Church during the reign of Mary, by a contemplation of the excesses of other opposite religionists—how must they have hoped to have obtained, at this time at least, the first step towards the regaining of their power and influence, and ultimate triumph and restoration! Vain, however, were the wishes of the king and the counsels of their partisans. The Parliament refused to relax any law or to remit any penalty; and the Romanist, like the Puritan, was refused admittance to the counsels and denied all share in directing the destinies of the State. This party, strong enough in a few years to induce a king to exert openly his authority in their favour, and powerful enough at the beginning of the eighteenth century to support with two armies the interests of a pretender, and at its close to combine with a neighbouring foreign nation in its wish to invade England, is still ceaseless in its exertions and unremitting in its efforts to recover its influence, place, and power in this kingdom. Its partisans boast of the day not being far distant when in the chief church of the metropolis, or in the Abbey of St. Peter's, the mass shall again supersede the Prayer Book. They make use of every opportunity, in the circulation of tracts, the institution of guilds and institutes, the erection of churches, chapels, and school-rooms, to promote the accomplishment of their boast. They reform their bishoprics, multiply their vicars apostolic, and concentrate on England the funds of foreign countries and the monies of the Propagandist Societies, in hopes of again bringing the once Island of the Saints into communion with the successor of St. Peter. They have succeeded, by a long system of terror and agitation, in wresting from a government (on which must ever rest the stain of inconsistency) privileges which give them an equality of power with all other members of the State. They have exerted that power, in contradiction, as some argue, of their parliamentary oath, for the extinction of bishoprics, and the curtailment of the United Church of England and Ireland—and yet they still continue to complain and to remonstrate! Discontented with every concession, they still rise in their demands, and ask, as the only condition of peace, the prostration of the Established Church, or the dismemberment of the empire. Unsatisfied with the privileges yielded to them, and unmindful of obligations, they incur to themselves hatred and dislike, and awake prejudice and suspicion. Unfavoured by the partialities of the Sovereign,

alienating her good-will by incipient treason, (for what is an attempt to dismember her empire but incipient treason?) rather than obtaining her esteem by quiet obedience to the law, or by services rendered to her person—narrowly watched by a Parliament, many members of which distrust their every act, and doubt even their every profession of patriotism—disliked by a people, against whose recorded opinion their disabilities were removed—opposed by a clergy who, as they are taught day by day to look for less and less protection from the State, learn day by day to investigate the true principles and the great doctrines to which in earlier days the teaching of the Church was confined—they will find their hopes of ultimate success to be less nearer their accomplishment than in the days of the second Charles. They may blazon abroad the increase of their congregations and the multiplication of their churches; but we know that the advance of the population beyond the provision for their spiritual wants may account for this; and we believe that while in crowded masses many, hitherto totally uncared for, may be prevailed upon, in preference to entire ignorance, to attend their services; yet that the Church is putting forth her energies, making efforts in correspondence to the wants of her people, and is multiplying in more than a proportion to either Romanist or Puritan in every province of the land. We hail these exertions as signs of strength and as tokens of victory. Though the contest may continue, and the battle wax fiercer, yet will the result be, as it has ever been, an increase of strength, and power, and reputation of the Church of England, which is the best witness to the truth, the best defender of Catholicity, now, under God's blessing, existing on the earth.

The Church of England has been opposed ever since the period of her Reformation, as in the present day, by the Puritan and the Romanist. The one desires to obtain more perfect spirituality—the other a more correct discipline: both of them would find in this Church the union of all that they desire. Here is the spirituality that can be obtained consistently with due decency and order—here is all the discipline that can be enforced, without a loss of that for which discipline is appointed—the promotion of true religion and devotion. Though still engaged in conflict, collision, and controversy, and protesting (a proof of her Catholicity) against every description of error, the prospects of the Church of England are less clouded now than in the time of the restoration of King Charles. At that day, the Romanist, strong in hope, from the undisguised sympathies of the king, was, by the force of circumstances, found amidst the most loyal and devoted of his subjects. At the present day, the majority

of that party is found in the ranks of the disloyal and disaffected. At that day, the Nonconformist, who had lately been able to bring a king to the scaffold, retained some of his former power. He might number amongst its supporters many influential families, the patrons of their ejected ministers, who rallied round its standard men of undeniable zeal, talents, and reputation. At the present day, scarcely one noble family is the patron of Dissent; while its chief teachers are more eminent for the vehemence of their politics than for a disinterested zeal in behalf of the religious interests of their followers. Emerging from a state of proscription, weak as a man in the first use of the limbs which for a long time have been bandaged and unexercised, the Church of England had at that time, in an hour most unlooked-for, and for which she was little prepared, amidst opposition, enmities, and misrepresentations—amidst the zeal of too warm partisans and the half-doubtful support of pretended friends, not only to guard against the machinations of foes, but to resettle the bulwarks of her faith, her creeds, her liturgies, and her services, and to reconsider the principles and reorganize the framework of her institutions. At the present period, strong in the consciousness of having outlived, through a century and a half, every attack made upon her—recommending herself, by the orthodoxy of her principles, by the quiet exercise of her apostolic authority, by the decency of her external ministrations, the fervour of her praises, and by the purity of her prayers, to the sense of the thoughtful, the devotions of the pious, and the admiration of those who would avoid both superstition and excitement—the Church of England, in each succeeding year, attains a higher position and more extensive influence, as she evidences herself to be more alive to the mighty purposes entrusted to her, and to be more worthy, therefore, of the protection of the Queen, the support of the Parliament, and the affection of the people. At that day, she was necessitated to consecrate five bishops to the vacated sees of her own land: at this day, she sends out her chief ecclesiastical rulers, and the blessings of the word, sacraments, and ministry, not only to colonies of her own expatriated countrymen, but to the more distant regions of the heathen world. At that day, 1662, on the festival of St. Bartholomew, she deemed it right, for her own safety, to consent to the expulsion of two thousand ministers from her benefices and communion: at this day, in 1842, on the same festival (a high day, and ever to be remembered in the annals of her history), in the presence of a portion of her hierarchy, with all the solemnity worthy of the great occasion, all fear of her stability being thrown aside, she gives a proof of her quickened vitality, in sending

forth, at one time, five prelates to her colonies, to build up in other climes Churches as counterparts of herself, and to perpetuate, amidst generations yet unborn, her polity and institutions.

In contrasting, then, the prospects of the Church of England at these two important periods of her history, there is much cause for thankfulness and congratulation. The care of a gracious Providence, which has hitherto preserved her, will continue to defend her. The solemnity, which has hitherto caused such an universal interest in the nation, will be the precursor of other celebrations of the same nature. The Church of England, gathering to herself the renewed affections of the reflecting—the increased allegiance of the people—the more frequent donations of the wealthy—the enlarged sympathies of the great council of the nation—and capable, in her ordinances, liturgies, and institutions, of fostering and directing that thirst of Catholic verities, that desire for the guidance of an authoritative voice in religious opinions, and that increased spirit of reverential enquiry in matters of faith springing up in the better portion of the nation—the Church of England will go on conquering and to conquer. She will, in spite of the united resistance of her enemies, continue as the sanctifier of the State, the best defender of the liberties, the best teacher of the people. “Her foundations are upon the holy hills. The Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob.”

ART. X.—*Robert Browning's Poems* : 1. *Paracelsus*. 2. *Sordello*. 3. *Pippa Passes*. 4. *King Victor and King Charles*. 5. *Strafford: a Tragedy*.

THE career of the author of “*Paracelsus*,” extending at present over not much more than half the period of Mr. Tennyson, whose poems are noticed in another article, presents different features, some of which appear more fortunate and some less. His reception was comparatively good; we may say very good. Several of those periodicals, in which the critics seem disposed to regard poetry of a superior kind as a thing to be respected and studied, hailed the appearance of Mr. Robert Browning with all the honours which can reasonably be expected to be awarded to a new comer, who is moreover alive. In more than one quarter the young poet was fairly crowned. The less intelligent class of critics spoke of him with praise; guarding their expressions with an eye to retreat, if necessary, at any future time, made various extracts, and set him to grow. The rest

did what is usual. Now, this reception was, all things considered, very good and promising; the poet had no enemies banded together to hunt and hoot him down, and he had admirers among the best class of critics. Here was a fine table-land whereon to build a reputation, and to make visible to all men those new fabrics of loveliness and intellectual glory which were manifestly germinating in his brain. Mr. Browning's next production was a tragedy, which, "marvellous to relate," he got acted immediately—an event quite unprecedented on the modern stage, except with those two or three dramatic authors who have previously passed through the customary delays preceding representation. It succeeded, as the saying is, but was not very attractive, and being printed "as acted" did not advance the poet's reputation. After this, Mr. Browning went to Italy, where he appears to have felt himself far too happy for the work that was before him; his spiritual existence drinking in draughts too deep and potent of the divine air, and all the intense associations of the scenes in which he dwelt, and dreamed, and revelled, to suffer him to apply a steady strength, to master his own impulses, and to subdue the throng of elementary materials, so as to compress them into one definite design, suited to the general understandings of mankind.

After a silence of four years, the poet published "*Sordello*," which has proved, and will inevitably continue to prove, the richest puzzle to all lovers of poetry which was ever given to the world. Never was extraordinary wealth squandered in so extraordinary a manner by any prodigal son of Apollo. Its reception, if not already known to the reader, may be guessed without much difficulty; but the poem has certainly never been fairly estimated. The last publications of Mr. Browning are in a dramatic form and spirit; they were issued at intervals, and we trust will continue—the series bearing the title of "*Bells and Pomegranates*." The public has treated them hitherto, we believe, with less neglect than is usual with dramatic productions which have not been substantiated to the understanding by stage representation, although it is still to be feared that the title of the series has not induced any anticipative sympathy.

It will be requisite to offer a few remarks on each of the foregoing works separately, assisted and illustrated with an occasional extract.

"*Paracelsus*" is evidently the work of a young poet of premature powers—of one who sought to project his imagination beyond the bounds of his future, as well as present, experience, and whose intellect had resolved to master all the results thus obtained. We say the powers were premature, simply because

such a design could only be conceived by the most vigorous energies of a spirit just issuing forth with "blazing wings," too full of strength and too far of sight to believe in the ordinary laws and boundaries of mortality. It is the effort of a mind that wilfully forgets, and resolves to set aside its corporeal conditions. Even its possible failure is airily alluded to at the outset, and treated in the same way, *not merely as no sort of reason* for hesitating to make the attempt to gain "forbidden knowledge," but as a result which is solely referable to the cause of its own aspirations and impulses.

"What though
 It be so? If indeed the strong desire
 Eclipse the aim in me? If splendour break
 Upon the outset of my path alone,
 And duskest shade succeed? What fairer seal
 Shall I require to my authentic mission
 Than this fierce energy? This instinct striving
 Because its nature is to strive? Enticed
 By the security of no broad course—
 Where error is not, but success is sure.
 How know I else such glorious fate my own,
 But in the restless irresistible force
 That works within me? Is it for human will
 To institute such impulses? Still less
 To disregard their promptings? What should I
 Do, kept among you all; your loves, your cares,
 Your life—all to be mine? Be sure that God
 Ne'er dooms to waste the strength he deigns impart,
 Ask the gier-eagle why she stoops at once
 Into the vast and unexplored abyss!
 What full-grown power informs her from the first,
 Why she not marvels, strenuously beating
 The silent boundless regions of the sky!"

Paracelsus, pp. 18, 19.

We should hasten to observe that we intend to deal exclusively with the poet's creation, and not to trouble ourselves with the Paracelsus of history. The higher destinies of man, which are conceived by the Paracelsus we are contemplating, as attainable on earth, are thus sublimely intimated:—

"The wide East, where old Wisdom sprung;
 The bright South, where she dwelt; the populous North,
 All are pass'd o'er—it lights on me. 'Tis time
 New hopes should animate the world—new light
 Should dawn from new revealings to a race
 Weigh'd down so long, forgotten so long; so shall
 The heaven reserv'd for us at last, receive

No creatures whom unwonted splendours blind,
But ardent to confront the unclouded blaze,
Whose beams not seldom lit their pilgrimage;
Not seldom glorified their life below."

Paracelsus, p. 20.

With these noble aspirations and objects, Paracelsus commences his career for the attainment of a knowledge of the mysteries of nature; but not unwarned. Michael, the betrothed of his friend Festus, says to him:—

"Stay with us, Aureole! cast those hopes away,
And stay with us; an angel warns me, too.
Man should be humble: you are very proud:
And God dethroned, has doleful plagues for such!
Warns me to have in dread no quick repulse,
No slow defeat, but a complete success!
You will find all you seek, and perish so!"

Paracelsus, pp. 34, 35.

This Promethean character pervades the poem throughout; in the main design, as well as the varied aspirations and struggles to attain knowledge, and power, and happiness for mankind. But at the same time there is an intense craving after the forbidden secrets of creation, and eternity, and power, which place "Paracelsus" in the same class as "Faust," and in close affinity with all those works, the object of which is an attempt to penetrate the mysteries of existence—the infinity within us and without us. Need it be said, that the result is in all the same?—and the baffled magic—the sublime occult—the impassioned poetry—all display the same ashes which were once wings. The form, the mode, the impetus and course of thought and emotion, admit, however, of certain varieties, and "Paracelsus" is an original work. The form in which the poem appears is that of a dialogue, and there is no attempt to render this in any way dramatic. The poet's intention is philosophical throughout; nevertheless, the chief speaker frequently becomes dramatic in himself, and in the effect upon the reader, by the intensity of those thoughts and emotions which he displays with strong individuality, though the theme always deals in generalizations and universalities. It would scarcely be correct to say, that Paracelsus was not a substantive character, and solely an abstraction: there can be no doubt, however, that the latter is in far the greater proportion. He is the abstraction of a class—a comparatively very small one, it is true—the poetical embodiment of that class, which, having a thirst for obtaining the deepest knowledge, and indulging the most subtle speculations, physical and metaphysical, has also a yearning to see the results of all that can be discovered em-

ployed towards elevating and advancing the condition of humanity. It is therefore apparent that the aim of this work was of the highest kind; and we admit that it has been accomplished, in so far as such a design can well be: for since the object of all such abstractions as Paracelsus must necessarily fail, individually and practically, the true end obtained is that of refining and elevating others, by the contemplation of such efforts, and giving a sort of polarity to the vague impulses of mankind towards the lofty and the beneficent. It also endeavours to sound the depths of existence for hidden treasures of being. The poet says there are—

“—— Two points in the adventure of a diver:
 One—when a beggar, he preparesto plunge;
 One—when a prince, he rises with his pearl!
 Festus, I plunge!”

The boldness and vividness of this picture needs no comment.

Living a long life—dreaming a lofty dream—working and suffering, Paracelsus now lies dead before us! Behold an epitome of the course he ran! Paracelsus aspires. He has a glorious vision for the discovery of hidden knowledge never as yet revealed to man. He believes that if he constantly seeks it, and works for it, he shall attain it; and that, were it not possible, these “vast longings” would not be “sent to direct us.” He “stands at first, where all aspire at last,” and pursues the ever-fleeting “secret of the world,” of man and our ultimate destiny. He searches at home and abroad; but, chief of all, he searches within himself, believing that there is “an inmost centre in us all, where truth abides in fulness;” and that to *know*,

“Rather consists in opening out a way
 Whence the imprisoned splendour may dart forth,
 Than in effecting entry for a light
 Supposed to be without.”

Filled with the divine portion of truth, which he mistakes for the whole, Paracelsus pursues his labours, “serene amidst the echoes, beams, and glooms,” yet struggling onward with impassioned will, and subduing his life “to the one purpose whereto he has ordained it,” till at length he “attains”—But what?—Imperfect knowledge! He finds that knowledge without love is intellect without heart, and a bitter, as it must ever be a certain, disappointment. Paracelsus looks around him, and renews his labours.

“This life of mine
 Must be lived out, and a grave thoroughly earned.”

He becomes a miraculous physician—professor of medicine at Basil; and his cures, his doctrines, and his fame are noised abroad in the world. But he is not satisfied: he feels the poverty of such reputation, when compared with what he would do for the human race. Again Paracelsus aspires. What his object now is in this part of the poem is not so clear; but knowledge, and love, and disappointed efforts, and fresh struggles and apprehensions, are all at work, while Paracelsus is at the same time full of anguish at the persecution which now hunts him from place to place, as an impostor and a quack. His feelings often display strong signs of over-tasked powers, and impel his mind along the borders of delirium and madness. He looks back upon the past, where “the heaving sea is black behind;” and in the miseries and horrors of the present, he feels at times that “there is a hand groping amid the darkness to catch us.”

The closing scene is near. Paracelsus finally “attains.” And what?—Purified feelings, and a clear knowledge of what may, and may *not* be. He is on the brink of the grave, and of eternity; a sublime fire is before his path, a constant music is in his ears, and a melting into “bliss for evermore.” True to his ruling passion, he pauses a moment to speculate on his momentous state—the awful threshold on which he stands—for a last chance of discovering “some further cause for this peculiar mood;” but it “has somehow slipt away” from him. He stands in “his naked spirit so majestical,” and full, once more, of ennobling hopes, looks forward to the time when man shall commence the infancy of a higher state of being. Then, with one last sigh over the “waste and wear” of faculties “displayed in vain, but born to prosper in some better sphere,” the old heart-broken philosopher closes his eyes in death. His awe-stricken friend, standing mute for hours over the pale clay, at length slowly murmurs—

“And this was Paracelsus!”

That a composition intended for the stage, which was the next production of Mr. Browning, should be very different from an epic or psychological poem, will excite no surprise; but that it should contain so few incidental touches of that peculiar genius which he had previously displayed, is a curious circumstance to remark. Paracelsus was an ebullition of the poet's powers. The tragedy of “Strafford” is a remarkable instance of the suppression of them. It was a strange mistake, with regard to the tragic principle, which needs the highest consummation of poetry and passion, so that each shall be either or both; whereas “Strafford” was a piece of passionate action with the bones of poetry. It was a maimed thing, all over patches and

dashes, with the light showing through its ribs, and the wind whistling through its arms and legs; while in its head and echoing in its heart, was sung its passion for a king. It was printed "as acted." What it might have been originally is impossible to say, but we have some difficulty in conceiving how it could have been put together with so many disjointed pieces in the first instance. The number of dashes and gaps of omission made its pages often resemble a Canadian field in winter, after a considerable thoroughfare of snow-shoes. It appeared, however, to please Mr. Macready, who no doubt instituted many of these asthmatic erasures and abrupt intervals, and it was played by him appropriately during several nights.

But it is ever the "trick of genius" to do something which we do not expect; and turning to the series, issued under the pretty and most unsatisfactory title of "Bells and Pomegranates," we discover Mr. Browning to possess the finest dramatic genius. "King Victor and King Charles" is a complete tragedy. It appears in the form of two main divisions, each of which is also divided into two parts, yet presenting one entire and perfectly united drama. It is properly a tragedy in four acts, with the interval of about a twelvemonth between the second and third. The characters are drawn with a fine and masterly hand, and the scenes in which they appear are full of nice shades and gradations, and subtle casuistries of the passions, and are not only dramatic in an intellectual sense, but would be so to the feeling and to the eye, if duly represented. It is another proof, among the many already existing, that the unacted drama is incomparably superior to the melodramatic plays and farces adopted by managers. "Plighted Troth" was an eminent example.

The action in "King Victor and King Charles" is so finely interwoven, though so very clear to the understanding, and its scenes are so thoroughly dependent upon each other, even for ordinary effect, that extracts can do no justice to its artistic structure. We shall, therefore, offer one only, which will best bear to be insulated. The old king, *Victor*, having abdicated in favour of his son *Charles*, in order to avoid a political crisis which his despotic and fraudulent policy has brought about, wishes to resume his crown after that crisis has passed over favourably. *King Charles* is warned by the crafty minister, *D'Ormea*, that *Victor* intends to return, but will not believe it.

Cha. [*taking it.*] The papers also! * * * They prove
My father, still a month within the year
Since he so solemnly consigned it me,
Means to resume his crown? They shall prove that,
Or my best dungeon.....

D'O. Even my Chamberri !
'Tis vacant, I surmise, by this. ✓

Cha. You prove
Your words or pay their forfeit, sir. Go there !
Polyxena, one chance to rend the veil
Thickening and blackening 'twixt us two. Do say
You'll see the falsehood of the charges proved !
Do say, at least, you wish to see them proved
False charges—my heart's love of other times !

Pol. Ah, Charles !

Cha. [to D'Ormea.] Precede me, sir !

D'O. And I'm at length
A martyr for the truth ! No end, they say,
Of miracles. My conscious innocence !

[As they go out, enter, by the middle door—at which he pauses—
VICTOR.

Vic. Sure I heard voices ? No ! Well, I do best
To make at once for this, the heart o' the place.
The old room ! Nothing changed !—So near my scat,
D'Ormea ? [Pushing away the stool which is by the King's chair.

I want that meeting over first,
I know not why. Tush, D'Ormea won't be slow
To hearten me, the supple knave ! That burst
Of spite so eased him ! He'll inform me.....

What ?

Why come I hither ? All's in rough—let all
Remain rough ; there's full time to draw back—nay,
There's nought to draw back from as yet ; whereas
If reason should be to arrest a course
Of error—reason good to interpose
And save, as I have saved so many times,
My house—admonish my son's giddy youth—
Relieve him of a weight that proves too much—
Now is the time—or now or never. 'Faith,
This kind of step is pitiful—not due
To Charles, this stealing back—hither because
He's from his capital ! Oh, Victor—Victor—
But thus it is : the age of crafty men
Is loathsome—youth contrives to carry off
Dissimulation—we may intersperse
Extenuating passages of strength,
Ardour, vivacity, and wit—may turn
E'en guile into a voluntary grace—
But one's old age, when graces drop away
And leaves guile the pure staple of our lives—
Ah, loathsome !

* * * * *

Re-enter CHARLES, with papers.

Cha. Just as I thought ! A miserable falsehood

Of hirelings discontented with their pay,
 And longing for enfranchisement! A few
 Testy expressions of old age, that thinks
 To keep alive its dignity o'er slaves
 By means that suit their natures!

[*Tearing them.*] Thus they shake
 My faith in Victor! [*Turning, he discovers* VICTOR.

Vic. [*after a pause.*] Not at Evian, Charles?
 What's this? Why do you run to close the doors?
 No welcome for your father?

Cha. [*aside.*] Not his voice!
 What would I give for one imperious tone
 Of the old sort! That's gone for ever.

Vic. Must
 I ask once more.....

Cha. No—I concede it, sir!
 You are returned for.....true, your health declines—
 True, Chamberri's a bleak unkindly spot—
 You'd choose one fitter for your final lodge—
 Veneria—or Moncagliè—ay, that's close,
 And I concede it.

Vic. I received advices
 Of the conclusion of the Spanish matter
 Dated from Evian baths.

Cha. And you forbore
 To visit me at Evian, satisfied
 The work I had to do would fully task
 The little wit I have, and that your presence
 Would only disconcert me—

Vic. Charles?

Cha. —Me—set
 For ever in a foreign course to yours,
 And.....

Sir, this way of wile were good to catch,
 But I have not the sleight of it. The truth!
 Though I sink under it! What brings you here?

Vic. Not hope of this reception, certainly,
 From one who'd scarce assume a stranger mode
 Of speech did I return to bring about
 Some awfulest calamity.

Cha. —You mean,
 Did you require your crown again: Oh yes,
 I should speak otherwise! But turn not that
 To jesting! Sir, the truth! Your health declines?
 Is aught deficient in your equipage?
 Wisely you seek myself to make complaint,
 And foil the malice of the world, which seizes
 On petty discontents; but I shall care
 That not a soul knows of this visit. Speak?

Vic. [*aside.*] Here is the grateful, much-professing son!

We cannot afford space for extracts from the desultory dramatic scenes entitled "Pippa Passes," but there is one among them which for profound tragic emotion surpasses anything of a like nature in the modern acted drama, and is worthy of the highest names of any period. We allude to the scene between *Ottima* and her paramour *Sebald*, who has murdered her husband. The characters appear to waver, and become untrue to themselves; but this is rather because too much is condensed into a narrow space, and some of the suggestions require more clearness, some outlines a better marking out, and some of the emotions to be more supported by palpable objects. Had this been done (which would certainly have needed two acts, perhaps five), the character of *Ottima* might have ranked with those of *Lady Macbeth*, the *Duchess of Malfi*, and *Vittoria Corombona*, yet unlike to any of them. It should be observed, however, that the scenes of "Pippa Passes" are severally and collectively intended to illustrate an *idea*, not a dramatic unity of action, and this idea we take to be that of—the influence of a pure and beautiful nature suddenly, though unconsciously, acting upon the fierce passions, wavering virtues, doubtful courses, vicious lives, and almost unredeemable characters, which are seen abroad in the world.

To that somewhat extensive class of readers who are of opinion that poetry, so far from being a thing to study, should be so plain, that "all who run may read," and who take up the works of Mr. Browning with that view, we should premise that they might just as well run another way. In "Paracelsus," the difficulties were in the quantity and quality of thought; in "Sordello" there is the additional difficulty of an impracticable style. In proportion to the depth or novelty of a thought, the poet has chosen to render the vehicle difficult in which it is conveyed—sometimes by its erudite elaboration of parenthesis within parenthesis, and question upon query—sometimes by its levity, jaunting indifference, and apparent contempt of everything—sometimes it has an interminable period, or one the right end of which you cannot find; a knotted serpent, which either has no discoverable tail, or has several, the ends of which are in the mouths of other serpents, or else flanking in the air—sometimes it has a series of the shortest possible periods, viz., of one word, or of two or three words. And amidst all this there is at frequent intervals a regular hail-stone shower of proper names—names of men and women, and places, and idealities, with which only one general reader in about a thousand can be expected to be familiar, and with the whole of which the style of the poet seems courteously to

assume that all his readers are upon the most familiar terms possible. Under these circumstances, it can be no wonder that such of the miscellaneous public as take up a poem by way of a little *relaxation* shrunk back in hopeless dismay; nor that the more numerous class of daily and weekly critics, whose judgments are, from the very nature of their position, compelled in most cases to be as hasty as their hands, which "write against time," should have been glad to dismiss "Sordello" in an angry paragraph. In a few instances the critics appeared to have read a portion of it; in the great majority of instances it was not read at all, which fact was evident in the notice, and in several instances was boldly declared by the irate critic as a task beyond his sublunary powers. And this no doubt was true.

We do not, however, enter upon the task of giving some analytical account, with an attempt at a synthetical estimate of "Sordello," merely because everybody else has "given it up"—but rather because everybody else has given it up at first sight. Nevertheless, we must apprise our readers that we are by no means about to inflict a long essay upon their patience, nor to adopt any rigidly systematic and elaborate process, but simply to lay before them several extracts, with a passing comment, and then to offer a few opinions on the whole.

"Who will, may hear Sordello's story told:
His story? Who believes me shall behold
The man, pursue his fortunes to the end
Like me; for as the friendless people's friend
Spied from his hill-top once, despite the din
And dust of multitudes, Pentapolin
Named o'the Naked Arm, I single out
Sordello, compassed murkily about
With ravage of six long sad hundred years:
Only believe me. Ye believe?

Appears

Verona.....Never, I should warn you first,
Of my own choice had this, if not the worst
Yet not the best expedient, served to tell
A story I could body forth so well
By making speak, myself kept out of view,
The very man as he was wont to do,
And leaving you to say the rest for him:
Since, though I might be proud to see the dim
Abysmal Past divide its hateful surge,
Letting of all men this one man emerge
Because it pleased me, yet, that moment past,
I should delight in watching, first to last,
His progress as you watch it, not a whit
More in the secret than yourselves who sit

Fresh chapleted to listen : but it seems
 Your setters-forth of unexampled themes,
 Makers of quite new men, producing them
 Had best chalk broadly on each vesture's hem
 The wearer's quality, or take his stand
 Motley on back and pointing-pole in hand
 Beside them ; so for once I face ye, friends,
 Summoned together from the world's four ends,
 Dropped down from Heaven or cast up from Hell,
 To hear the story I propose to tell."

Sordello, pp. 1, 2.

The intervolved style in which this poem is written is fairly represented in the above extract, which is a good average specimen. The historical ground-plan of the work is laid down after the following fashion :—

“ The Second Friederich wore
 The purple, and the Third Honorius filled
 The holy chair * * * * *
 * * * * *
 Envoys apprised Verona that her prince
 Count Richard of Saint Boniface, joined since
 A year with Azzo, Este's Lord, to thrust
 Taurello Salinguerra, prime in trust
 With Ecelin Romano, from his seat.
 Ferrara—had stumbled on a peril unaware.
 * * * * * Every day
 Strengthens the Pontiff ; Ecelin, they say,
 Dozes at Oliero, with dry lips
 Telling upon his perished finger tips
 How many ancestors are to depose
 E'er he be Satan's Viceroy when the doze
 Deposits him in hell ; so Guelfs rebuilt
 Their houses ; not a drop of blood was spilt
 When Cino Bocchimpane chanced to meet
 Buccio Virtù ; God's wafer, and the street
 Is narrow. Tutti Santi, think, a swarm
 With Ghibellins, and yet he took no harm.
 This could not last. Off Salinguerra went
 To Padua, Podestà," &c.

Sordello, pp. 4, 5, 7.

It is true that the intermediate lines we have omitted, solely for the sake of brevity, would better connect the historical matter intended to be communicated, but we doubt if their insertion would not have a still more confusing effect upon the reader's mind, owing to the various parenthetical interpolations and digressions. After several precursory snatches of questions, and snaps of answers, we find that—

“ Six hundred years ago !
 When the new Hohenstaufen dropped the mask,
 Flung John of Brienne's favour from his casque,
 Forswore crusading, had no mind to leave
 Saint Peter's proxy leisure to retrieve
 Losses to Otho and to Barbaross,
 Or make the Alps less easy to recross ;
 And thus confirming Pope Honorius' fear,
 Was excommunicate that very year.
 The tripled-bearded Teuton come to life !
 Groaned the Great League ; and, arming for the strife,
 Wide Lombardy, on tiptoe to begin,
 Took up, as it was Guelf or Ghibellin,
 Its cry ; what cry ?

The Emperor to come !” &c.
Sordello, pp. 9, 10.

Or, The Pope, for us the People, who begun
 The People, carries on the People thus,
 To keep that Kaiser off and dwell with us !
 See you ?

Or say, Two Principles that live
 Each fitly by its Representative :
 Hill-cat...who called him so, our gracefulest
 Adventurer ? the ambiguous stranger-guest
 Of Lombardy (sleek but that ruffling fur,
 Those talons to their sheath !) whose velvet purr
 Soothes jealous neighbours when a Saxon scout
Arpo or Yoland, is it ? one without
 A country or a name, presumes to couch
 Beside their noblest ; until men avouch
 That of all Houses in the Trivisan
 Conrad descries no fitter, rear or van,
 Than Ecelo ! They laughed as they enrolled
 That name at Milan on the page of gold
 For Godego, Ramon, Marostica,
 Cartiglion, Bassano, Loria,
 And every sheep-cote on the Suabian's fief !
 No laughter when his son, the Lombard chief
 Forsooth, as Barbarossa's path was bent
 To Italy along the Vale of Trent,
 Welcomed him at Roncaglia !

Sordello, pp. 11, 12.

The general reader may perhaps by this time have conjectured, that there was once a “ Sordello,” who actually figured among his fellow-men upon the face of the earth. A troubadour of that name flourished about the thirteenth century, concerning whom various different accounts are extant. He may be found in the old Chronicle, by Rolandin, but a far more

satisfactory reference may be made to the Latin treatise on the language of Italy, written by Dante; by which it appears that Sordello excelled in poetry and in various dialects, and that he greatly assisted in founding the language of the Italians. His birth-place is uncertain. Dante meets Sordello at the entrance into Purgatory (Canto vi.), who is calling to Virgil, and claiming to be of the same native place, *viz.*, Mantua. Dante gives Sordello the face and look of a lion. He is thought to have been of noble blood—to have been a warrior as well as poet and linguist, and to have come to a violent end. Other accounts relate a certain amour as the chief event of his life. Nostradamus (*Vies des plus celebres Poetes Provencaux*), tells us that his verses were dedicated to philosophical subjects, and not to love. But many poems attributed to Sordello tend to show the contrary. Adding to the vague or conflicting historical accounts whatever fictions were agreeable to his fancy, the poet has thus successfully succeeded in bewildering himself and his readers, amidst the elaborate webs of all manner of real and ideal events and biographies. Whether to the purpose of his psychologically digressive narrative, or merely as an association suggested (to himself) by the last remark he has made, he never lets you off. Speaking of “Adelaide,” and “the Kaiser’s gold,” and “Monk Hilary,” who is on his knees—

“ Now, sworn to kneel and pray till God shall please
Exact a punishment for many things
You know and some you never knew ; *which brings*
To memory, Azzo’s sister Beatrix
And Richard’s Giglia are my Alberic’s
And Ecelin’s betrothed ; the Count himself
Must get my Palma : Ghibellin and Guelf
Mean to embrace each other. So began
Romano’s missive to his fighting-man
Taurello on the Tuscan’s death, away
With Friedrich, sworn to sail from Naples’ bay
Next month for Syria.”

Sordello, p. 81.

Intending to say several things in token of admiration, amidst all the off-hand severities of contemporaries that have been vented upon Sordello, we have nevertheless thought it right to lay some of its heaviest faults before our readers, at the outset. Having done this unsparingly, the far more pleasant, even though the far more arduous task remains. We offer the following, as our opinions and impressions of the work, regarding it as a whole :—

The poem of “Sordello” is an attempt to carry out the impossible design in which the author’s previous hero, “Paracelsus,”

had so admirably failed. It is as though the poet, having created a giant, whose inevitable fall in the attempt to scale the heavens had been so fully explained, was resolved himself to follow in the same tract with all the experience and power thus derived; and, moreover, with the consciousness of being the real and vital essence which had called that idealism into existence, and less likely, therefore, to "go off" into fine air, not being amenable to the same laws. Sordello takes up the asbestos lamp from the inmost chamber of the tomb of Paracelsus, and issues forth with it into the world, being already far on the way towards the outlet which leads to other worlds, or states of being, and perhaps to the borders of infinity. Paracelsus, while dying, came to the conviction that men were already beginning "to pass their nature's bounds;" that a fine instinct guided them beyond the power of mere knowledge or experience, and that they were—

—— "all ambitious, upwards tending,
Like plants in mines, which never saw the sun,
But dream of him and guess where he may be,
And do their best to climb and get to him."

He had, moreover, a sentient perception, "beyond the comprehension of our narrow thought, but somehow felt and known in every shift and change of the spirit within—of what God is, of what we are, and what life is." Now, we should reply to Paracelsus, and to all who, like him, have suffered their imaginative sensibilities to reason them into such notions, that they *deceive themselves*, although the truth is *in* them. Full, however, of this sublime deception, Sordello tunes his harp, and works through all the complicated chords and mazes of harmony with indefatigable zeal, from the first note to the end. In the last book of "Sordello" we find him almost using the same expressions as in the last book of "Paracelsus." Here we learn that his truth—

"Lighted his old life's every shift and change,
Effort with counter-effort; nor the range
Of each looked wrong except wherein it checked
Some other—which of these could he suspect
Prying into them by the sudden blaze?
The real way seemed made up of all the ways—
Mood after mood of the one mind in him;
Tokens of the existence, bright or dim,
Of a transcendent all-embracing sense
Demanding only outward influence,
A soul, in Palma's phrase, above his soul,
Power to uplift his power," &c.

Sordello, pp. 217, 218.

Exactly so: he only wants that very thing which has been denied to mortality since the beginning of things. Despairing of this, and doubting whether any external power in nature be adequate to forward his desire, Sordello finally moots the question of whether he may be ordained a prouder fate—"a law to his own sphere?" Sordello dies, and the whole amount of his transcendental discoveries may be summed up in the poet's question—

"What has Sordello found?"

To which no reply is given.

Such is the most simplified account we can give of the main object of the poem of "Sordello," carved out from the confused "story," and broken, mazy, dancing sort of narrative no-outline, which has occasioned so much trouble, if not despair, to his most patient and pains-taking admirers. Some have thought that the general purport of the poem was to show that mere material things and matters of fact were a mistaken object of life, only leading to disappointment and sorrow; and that in the ideal world alone, true contentment, satisfaction, and happiness were to be found; others have contended, on the contrary, that it is intended to display the impossibility of attaining to a knowledge of the essences of things, that a life passed amidst idealisms is one of inutility and sorrow, and that the true object of man should be to discover and attain the best realities. But a third view suggests itself to us, through the medium of an amusing dispute we recently heard, as to the name of a character in *Pippa Passes*. It is that of a not very euphonious personage, called *Bluphocks*. But how to pronounce this was the question? Should it be pronounced Blup-hocks, Bluff-ox, or Blue-fox? Probably not one of these would be the one intended. In like manner we should say that we think Sordello is not devoted to either of the above purposes exclusively, but comprising both, displays the hopes and the despairs, the value and the inutility of both, when followed with the devotion of the whole being. The selection is left to the reader's individual nature, in such proportions as may accord with that nature.

As to the poetry of "Sordello," apart from all these disquisitions, we think it not devoid of beauties. We should offer as one instance (we cannot extract it on account of its length) the matchless description of the poetical mind of the noblest order, as typified in "Sordello," from the bottom of page 20 to the top of page 25. Of the childhood of Sordello, the following beautiful description is given:—

"Beyond the glades
On the fir forest's border, and the rim

Of the low range of mountain, was for him
 No other world : but that appeared his own
 To wander through at pleasure and alone.

* * * * *

The maple-chamber, and the little nooks
 And nests, and breezy parapet that looks
 Over the woods to Mantua; there he strolled.
 Some foreign women-servants, very old,
 Tended and crept about him—all his clue
 To the world's business and embroiled ado
 Distant a dozen hill-tops at the most.
 And first a simple sense of life engrossed
 Sordello in his drowsy Paradise ;
 The day's adventures for the day suffice—
 Its constant tribute of perceptions strange
 With sleep and stir in healthy interchange
 Suffice, and leave him for the next at ease
 Like the great palmer-worm that strips the trees,
 Eats the life out of every luscious plant,
 And, when September finds them sere or scant,
 Puts forth two wondrous winglets, alters quite,
 And hies him after unforeseen delight."

Sordello, pp. 26, 27, 28.

The complex working of the youthful mind of the poet is illustrated in a very happy manner:

" Thus thrall reached thrall ;
 He o'er-festooning every interval
 As the adventurous spider, making light
 Of distance, shoots her threads from depth to height,
 From barbican to battlement ; so flung
 Fantasies forth and in their centre swung
 Our architect : the breezy morning fresh
 Above, and merry ; all his waving mesh
 Laughing with lucid dew-drops, rainbow-edged.
 This world of ours by tacit pact is pledged
 To laying such a spangled fabric low,
 Whether by gradual brush or gallant blow."

Sordello, pp. 29.

Here is a piece of equally fine and fearful painting :—

" 'Twas a dim long narrow place at best ;
 Midway a sole grate showed the fiery West
 As shows its corpse the world's end some split tomb—
 A gloom, a rift of fire, another gloom
 Faced Palma—but at length Taurello set
 Her free ; the grating held one ragged jet
 Of fierce gold fire : he lifted her within
 The hollow underneath—

Sordello, p. 211.

At page 69, which contains several passages highly illustrative of some of our previous remarks on the philosophy of *Sordello*, the following image of beauty suddenly springs to light —

“A few adhering rivets loosed, up springs
The angel, sparkles off his mail.”

Sordello, p. 69.

The simple matter-of-fact beauty of the following must be apparent to the reader :

“In Mantua-territory half is slough,
Half pine-tree forest ; maples, scarlet-oaks
Breed o'er the river beds ; even Mincio chokes
With sand the summer through ; but 'tis morass
In winter up to Mantua walls.”

Sordello, p. 17.

We regret that we cannot quote the whole of page 39, for its pastoral loveliness. A few lines from the opening of book ii. is all that we can now afford space to extract.

“The woods were long austere with snow : at last
Pink leaflets budded on the beech, and fast
Larches, scattered through pine-tree solitudes,
Brightened, ‘as in the slumb’rous heart o’ the woods
Our buried year, a witch, grew young again
To placid incantations, and that stain
About were from her caldron, green smoke blent
With those black pines.’”

Sordello, p. 44.

Containing, as it does, so many passages of the finest poetry, no manner of doubt can exist but that “*Sordello*” has been hitherto treated with great injustice. It has been condemned in terms that would lead any one to suppose there was nothing intelligible throughout the whole poem. We have shown its defects in detail, and we have also shown that it has some of the highest beauties. The style, the manner, the broken measure, the recondite form ; these have constituted still greater difficulties than even the recondite matter of which it treats—though the latter only were quite enough to “settle” or “unsettle” an ordinary reader.

The poem of “*Sordello*” is a beautiful globe, which, rolling on its way to its fit place among the sister spheres, met with some accident which gave it such a jar that a multitude of things half slipt into each other's places. It is a modern hieroglyphic, and should be carved on stone for the use of schools and colleges. Professors of poetry should decypher and comment upon

a few lines every morning before breakfast, and young students should be *ground* upon it. It is a fine mental exercise, whatever may be said or thought to the contrary. The flowing familiar style sometimes reminds us of Shelley's "Julian and Maddalo" with a touch of Keat's "Endymion," broken up into numerous pit-falls, whether mines of thought or quirks of fancy; but there are also other occasions when it becomes spiral, and of sustained inspiration, not unlike certain parts of the "Prometheus Unbound" put into rhyme; yet is it no imitation of any other poet. Certain portions also remind us of the suggestive, voluble, disconnected, philosophical jargon of Shakspeare's fools, and with all the meaning which they often have for those who can find it. The poem is thick-sown throughout with suggestions and glances of history, biography, of dark plots, tapestried chambers, eyes behind the arras, clapping doors, dreadful galleries, and deeds in the dark, over which there suddenly bursts a light from on high, and looking up you find a starry shower, as from some remote rocket, descending in silent brilliancy upon the dazzled page. Each book is full of gems set in puzzles. It is like what the most romantic admirers of Goethe insist upon "making out" that he intended in his simplest fables. It is the poetical portion of three epics, shaken together in a sack and emptied over the hand of the intoxicated reader. It is a perfect storehouse of Italian scenery and exotic fruits, plants, and flowers; so much so, that by the force of contrast it brings to mind the half-dozen flowers and pastoral common-places of nearly all our other modern English poets, till the recollection of the sing-song repetitions makes one almost shout with laughter. It is pure Italian in all its materials. There is not one drop of British ink in the whole composition. Nay, there is no ink in it, for it is all written in Tuscan grape juice, embrowned by the sun. It abounds in things addressed to a second sight, and we are often required to *see double* in order to apprehend its meaning. The poet may be considered the Columbus of an impossible discovery, as worthy divine pleasantly observe to us. It is a promised land, spotted all over with disappointments, and yet most truly a land of promise, if ever so rich and rare a chaos can be developed into form and order by revision, and its southern fulness of tumultuous heart and scattered vineyards be ever reduced to given proportion, and wrought into a shape that will fit the average mental vision and harmonize with the more equable pulsations of mankind. If this may not be done; if the genius that inspired and sustained this marvellous Song cannot be "constrained by masterie," and the impulse towards new creations be too strong to enable the poet to return to bygone

labours, which have been cast upon the bleak rocks of public neglect, then would we revert to the dream-song of Paracelsus, in which he describes a throng of devout islanders, who have brought their gods in loaded rafts, intending to erect a shrine for each:—

“ Then we awoke with sudden start
From our deep dream, and found too late
How bare the rock, how desolate,
Which had received our precious freight ;
Yet we called out ‘ Depart !
Our gifts, once given, must here abide ;
Our work is done ; we have no heart
To mar our work,’ we cried.”

ART. XI.—*Financial Statement of Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, made on March 11, 1842.*

2. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, September, 1842.
3. *Fraser's Magazine*, September, 1842.
4. *The Quarterly Review*, No. 140. (September, 1842).
5. *A Letter from Sir Richard Vyvyan, Bart., M.P., to his Constituents.*

WHAT is the State of the Country? is a question which wise and patriotic men—men who love their nation—desire its improvement and seek its prosperity, are constantly putting to themselves and to each other. The love of change, for the sake of change, is one of the most contemptible of human weaknesses, and he who estimates in its true light the influence of national reputation and strength, on social and individual being, will be foremost to deprecate all changes which do not hold forth positive and indubitable good, as he will likewise enquire with calmness and anxiety into the workings of new measures, both of a declaratory and remedial character. The ten years' night-mare of the Whig-Radicals has been removed from us; we can now breathe freely, and hope for better times. We are no longer, as a nation, bound and fettered with the chains of the most unprincipled and ruinous alliance ever entered into by public men—we mean the alliance of Lords Melbourne and Palmerston with Daniel O'Connell and Thomas Duncombe. Parties are once more taking their places. Truth and error are no longer so cloaked and hooded as to render each equally undiscoverable. The Radicals have Mr. Hume for *their* Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Whigs still rally round the “unfortunate” Mr. Baring; whilst all the Conservatives are

well satisfied with the upright, conscientious, and religious Mr. Goulburn. We have no longer wolves' hearts with lambs' heads, but the greater parties in the nation are gradually, but still clearly, settling down in their ordinary classifications, both within and without the Houses of Parliament. The dishonesty of unprincipled alliances and heartless combinations is admitted by all but the Whigs, and there seems to be a rapid return to that wholesome and purifying state of vigorous and well-principled opposition which is alike beneficial to the character of Parliament and to the reputation and solid improvement of the country.

In proportion as these changes are becoming developed, those who watch the progress of society are naturally anxious that they should be made profitable to all classes, and that there should not merely be a change of men, but that the foreign and domestic policy of the Government should be manly, explicit, enlightened, and decided.

The *Journal des Debats*, in a recent article of very considerable ability, has examined with a calm and discerning mind, and with much better taste than the majority of its French contemporaries, the state of parties in Great Britain, and the prospects of the country. It has done us the honour of noticing the observations we made on the duties of a Conservative Ministry in our last number, and it has thought it perceived in such observations, as well as in sundry pamphlets which have of late appeared, a dissatisfaction on the part of "the Church" with the Government of this country, and a very general feeling of disappointment on the part of those who constitute its noble, powerful, and most enlightened aristocracy. The *Journal des Debats* is a well-reasoned and philosophical journal; it looks at the philosophy of facts, as well as at abstract reasonings on men and Governments; and it is far better informed as to the nature and bearings of our Constitution than any other continental print. In the opinion of some, this may be considered as but faint praise, since the ignorance evinced by the majority of European periodicals, of our Government, policy, and condition, is as general as it is deeply to be regretted. The *Debats* represents the Court, the Aristocracy, and all that is Conservative—we wish we could add Protestant—in France. It is admirably written; it has fought the battle of order with liberty, and of peace and the triumph of the laws in times most difficult, and when Jesuits threatened its destruction, and amidst the missiles and blasphemies of Republican assailants. This respectable and respected print looks on Great Britain as a rapidly declining country. It is of opinion that it has relied far too much on its manufactures.

that it has trusted too much to the results of its machinery : that it has hoped to manufacture for the world : that it has lost sight of the fact that rivals must arise to contest with it, inch by inch, all its material advantages : that its greatness alone, has of course brought forth and brought forward able, zealous, watchful competitors ; and that it has lost sight of the fact, that, when the vastly increased, and constantly and rapidly increasing, population of a country has to be provided for in times of peace and ordinary health and prosperity, it will be most difficult to make this provision unless home and foreign colonization to a great extent shall be resorted to, or unless war with its sweeping character shall remove and extinguish by fell swoops whole masses of human beings. “ Your population increases too rapidly for your means of employment (is the argument of the *Debats*), especially as with that increase the means of employing the new population in manufactures is diminished, by reason of the great improvements in the manufactories of Europe and America.” The *Debats* has no other remedy to propose than either, first, emigration or colonization ; or, secondly, war. These are indeed two strong and powerful remedies, but we do more than doubt their efficacy, for we feel satisfied that alone they would be wholly inadequate. That emigration, on a large, national, well digested, and governmental scale, would effect vast good we feel quite confident ; but there are other evils to be met than those which these might address themselves to, since *present* help is required, which emigration would not be able with sufficient rapidity to cope with ; and even a long and desperate war would not provide for the excess of population which would again display itself as soon as that war should be terminated.

There is one topic in the *Debats* to which we shall allude, especially as an organ of the hereditary aristocracy of this mighty empire has spoken in distinct terms on the same subject—we mean the divisions existing among the aristocracy.

“ It were silly and childish to deny (says the *Morning Post*) that considerable difference of opinion exists, just now among Conservatives, as to the amount of tangible benefit which has accrued to the cause of the constitution and of the people from the accession to office of the present Ministers. Many wise and trusted members of the great national party have been disappointed and alarmed by some of the measures brought forward by Sir Robert Peel. The progress of more than one of these measures we ourselves watched with grief, and the painful feeling was far from being diminished when we heard them defended by the enunciation of principles of the most latitudinarian cast—principles that, if acted up to, would, in our judgment, go to the utter subversion of wholesome order in this kingdom.”

The *Morning Post*, in making this declaration, has betrayed no secret, but has only placed in black and white that which has during the last three months been repeatedly asserted in public and private circles by those who do not hesitate very frequently to converse on the real "State of the Country." Ministers and their agents, the Court and its hangers-on, or the Premier himself and the members of his family, have been told frequently during the period we have just mentioned, "that the Conservatives, as a party, were far from being satisfied with the results of the last session, as well as far from united as to the measures which hereafter it will be necessary to adopt." When the Conservatives converse or write on the state of embarrassment, disgrace, and difficulty, into which eleven years of weak and foolish rule have brought the fiscal department of the public service, all are of one mind as to the necessity of a firm and able hand to restore the finances from the wasting atrophy under which they were withering away. All are likewise willing, nay, anxious to admit and own that Sir Robert Peel was pre-eminently adapted at the precise moment to stand in the gap, to grapple with the difficulty, and boldly to assert and maintain that an end must be put to a ruinous and destructive delay. It is not to the Income Tax that the *Post* or its party is opposed, but, to use its own words, "to a system of innovations, to oppose and discountenance which the present Ministers were expressly placed in power." The section (and it is unquestionably a large one) of the Conservative party, whose opinions and feelings have been forcibly but accurately described by the *Post*, state, that though the Income Tax has its grave and numerous faults, it is not this tax that has led to the evident subsiding of enthusiasm amongst many of the most honest supporters of the Ministry. They say that the dangerous features of the new Tariff, and the still more dangerous doctrines advanced in its defence, are the points to which they look with sorrow and dismay; and for which much explanation is still owing by the men who took office under the oft-uttered pledge of protection for native industry.

With this portion of the charges brought against the Conservative Government of Sir Robert Peel we can have no difficulty or hesitation to grapple. We have already declared in former numbers our opinions with respect to *the new Tariff*, and we see no reason for changing the conclusion at which we then arrived. But it is one thing to introduce a good measure, and another thing to support it with bad arguments. The Melbourne-O'Connell faction had the right to taunt Sir Robert with his former declarations, as the *Globe* and other Whig jour-

nals have not failed to exclaim, "What you are now doing is our work; you found it all, *in principle*, prepared to your hands."

The *Journal des Debats*, taking hold of these facts and reasonings, arrives at a conclusion, which appears from its truth to be perfectly irresistible—that the Conservatives of Great Britain, as a political party, are divided; that the reasons given by the Government for the adoption of Whig measures, are anything but satisfactory; and that this division must operate prejudicially to the country, in its present critical and most difficult position. That many excuses and apologies for Sir Robert Peel can be made by his friends, as well as by himself, arising out of the very difficult position in which he was placed on his arrival at office, by a hostile court, an empty treasury, and by ruinous and unsuccessful wars to meet and provide against, we are not disposed to dispute. And that those who cannot coincide in his views, or support all his policy, should exercise more of forbearance and evenness of temper, we would be the first to proclaim. But it is not, therefore, the less true, *that the Conservative party is divided*; that a large fraction of it has been much disappointed; and that if, from any unforeseen and untoward events, a general election should take place within any moderate time from the present moment, very many of the members of the House of Commons, who were elected to support what were believed to be the policy and intentions of the present Cabinet, would either not be re-elected, or would be returned with especial instructions to oppose any further concessions to reform, to the principles of free trade, or to attacks on Church or State. Indeed, the present Houses of Parliament, such as they are to-day, would not, we are convinced, listen to any more measures of an agitating or changing character. The majorities, in both Houses, feel that we have changed quite enough; that we have altered much more than was necessary; that even our opponents express their surprise at the concessions made to them, and are so well satisfied with their past conduct, as to predict that they have already the fulcrum and can move the world. We say, then, to the Government of which Sir Robert Peel is the head do not attempt further to conciliate your foes by irritating your friends. Do not, for example, postpone CHURCH EXTENSION to gratify the Dissenters; and do not listen to the REBELLION OF THE CHURCH-HATERS against Church-rates to please those whose motto is "Down with Church Establishments." Make no further concessions to the cuckoo cry of "Reform the Church." The Church wants not reformation, but extension. The Church moralizes the State by connexion with it: and the State, in its turn, must rely, more than it has yet done, on the wisdom of the Church. But it must

do more than this : it must give to the Church all its aid ; it must boldly proclaim the indissoluble connexion which exists between them : and it must not fear the jealousy of the Romanists on the one hand, nor the slander of Dissenters on the other. In one word, there must be no concealment with regard to the support which the State is resolved to give to the Church ; and Dissenters must be told, whether Protestant or Roman, " To this point ye may proceed, but no farther." But no farther ! Yes, that is the word ; and they must be made to feel and understand that agitation will be useless, and conflict will be vain, against the uncompromising, decisive, well-convinced, and well-founded decisions of a Conservative and Protestant Government, backed in those decisions by a majority bound together, in spite of all, by one common feeling, viz., a resolution not to submit to any further encroachments.

There is a maxim, or rather a dogma, which has gained currency in the world, and, we regret to state, amongst the more immediate friends of our present Premier, " that society must always be progressing, and that what is termed inaction is impossible." This elastic sentiment may be elongated to the extent of embracing the opinions of the most rabid Radicalism, and therefore it is we oppose it. The well-being of society is not associated with endless alterations and ever new and notable debates as to proposed improvements. It is not true that society advances in proportion as novelties are presented to that society for adoption or rejection. It is not true that man improves in proportion as man discusses old principles, and substitutes for them new ones. It is not true that novelties and progress are synonymous. Society improves not by the constant engrafting of new slips and branches on the old tree, but by the watering, the digging around, the manuring of the old and venerable stem. A government is not always to be providing new schemes to attract the wonderment of the populace and the applause of the inconsiderate. As the human mind is not strengthened by the constant undertaking of the study of new branches of science and of learning, but requires time to mature its past acquisitions, even as preparatory to new subjects for consideration and scrutiny ; so society must have its long, deep-breathing times, its periods of healthful repose, its calm and dignified attitude of observation, and not be ever and anon exposed to dashing theories, to whirling and dizzying projects, and to crude and undigested schemes and propositions. We say, then, to Sir Robert Peel, we have had enough of change ; now secure to us some years for reflection, observation, and experience ; and give a distinct and decisive negative to all that shall tend to re-agitate the public mind and prevent the good which you hope to accomplish

by the measures you have taken for the relief of the manufacturers and other classes of the community. Meet the cry of the Corn Law Repeal League by the previous question. Meet the Radical politician for the "Repeal of the Union," for "the Ballot," for "Universal Suffrage," for "the doing away with the Ecclesiastical Courts," and for "the abolition of Church-rates," by the previous question. Say to those who periodically agitate the country to its very centre by their false and dangerous theories, "There is no chance for you of success. We are determined to restore to society the reign of peace, order, and the laws. We have a powerful, an almost omnipotent party, in this respect, to back us. We have been placed in office to support and defend these principles; and we will discuss no more theories until the country shall have settled down to a state of calmness and confidence." Upon such principles as these the union of all the sections of the Conservative party may be effected; and whilst some of the results of past concessions may long continue matters of regret, they will only be referred to as matters of history, and will serve but as illustrations of the truism, that even the most honourable, exalted, and powerful minds are but feeble, and are exposed to the temptations which assail our poor humanity.

But how can we preserve this "state of equanimity, observation, and inaction," some will enquire, "seeing that a vast and mighty revolt of the working classes is not yet wholly put down, and that '*remedies*' are demanded for existing evils, by even the most Conservative portions of our press and population?" This question leads us to the subject of the recent RIOTS throughout the mining and manufacturing districts, and to these we now propose directing our attention. We observe that our old friend *Blackwood*, in discussing this affair of the riots, remarks, that "the Corn League traitors" (meaning, of course, the *Anti-Corn Law League* traitors) *have* "done their worst; and the executive power will now show them the impotence of that '*worst*' towards any one, the very least, of those objects which it proclaims." This is all very well as discountenancing and discouraging revolt, the which it is likewise our duty to do, as public writers on the side of Conservatism and the laws. And we most assuredly likewise agree with our same contemporary, when he says, "If it had become inevitable that sooner or later such a conflict must be weathered—if it was past all deprecation that such an experiment must be fought through—then we rejoice that the explosion has happened at this particular time; at a time when Parliament is not sitting, *from one chamber of which issues for ever a voice of encouragement to sedi-*

tion—that voice, having now no *privilege* to protect its accursed counsels, is seasonably gagged; at a time when the country is disengaged from foreign wars; but, above all, at a time when the *universal* revival of prosperous auguries has stripped the insurrection of any specious alliance, which else it might have assumed, with real distress—has alienated from the insurgents a dangerous sympathy—and has forced them to become odious in the eyes of good citizens, by tempting them into tyranny the foulest over their fellow-labourers, and into mutinous ingratitude towards Providence in the midst of a harvest the most splendid on record.”

There is another passage in the introductory matter to the article on the riots in *Blackwood's Magazine* for September to which we must direct the attention of our readers. The writer enquires—

“Is it really come to this, that every order among us—first, midst, and last—are to live under the uplifted rod of colliers and weavers; to be threatened in perpetuity with the ‘five points of the Charter;’ and, if standing conspiracies go for anything, to hold every atom of our freedom, of our civil rights, and of our property, on the sufferance of one sole class, and that the very lowest (except paupers) and the most desperately ignorant amongst us? We know the claims of our country: for our own parts, we carry these claims almost to an extravagant height. But, rather than submit to an indignity and a risk like that which for years back has been offered to the majesty of these ancient nations—the atrocious menace from a knot of delegates begrimed with soot and varnish, that they, even they, will put an end to our whole polity and civil existence, by placing us all (not their own class, but every class amongst us) under some vile scribbler’s pamphlet entitled ‘a Charter’ and ‘five points,’ as a supreme law for Great Britain;—who would not rather choose to migrate into a land of forests, having yet but few blessings of civilization diffused over its surface?”

We respond to the patriotic declarations of our contemporary by a most hearty “Amen.” And if Sir Robert Peel and his coadjutors had done nothing else than this, viz., neither dread nor flatter Chartism or the Chartists—neither ally themselves with, nor beard nor insult their political opponents—neither desire, invite, and urge men to excesses, in order to find in such violence a plea (and excuse) for extra-parliamentary measures; nor yet, on the other hand, have the smallest fear—except for the sufferers from their own follies—at the approach of broad, plain, naked, insolent, daring insurrection; but meet it with the laws, with the police, with the soldiery, with the constitution, all well understood and energetically applied;—we say, if the Government of Sir Robert Peel had no other claims to our confidence than the conduct displayed during the recent,

and still not wholly subdued, riots, those claims would have been indisputable, and we should have been bound to feel most truly grateful and confiding.

But when our contemporary says, "that the feature and characteristic of this vast *confluent* tumult was the most formidable, by its example and its tendencies, of any that has ever existed in any region of the earth;" we do most unhesitatingly dispute "*that it says so advisedly*," for we maintain that it gives far too much importance to the plans of the most addle-headed, obscure, illiterate, and only half-determined blockheads, without any system or organized results, we have ever had the misfortune to watch or to examine. The middling classes have stood far, far aloof from this characterless and wishy-washy movement. The thinking and vigorous portion of the working classes have asked "*cui bono?*" of the movement-makers at every stage of their absurdities. The higher classes have neither succumbed nor trembled, but have stood forward manfully, and at points of the greatest personal danger, to brave the hurling missiles of the unprincipled and cowardly. The clergy and the magistrates have confronted the ignorant and the deluded—the nobles have remained at their castles—the tenantry have defended their princely benefactors. Anarchy has only half reared its head, even in its own chosen districts—skulking away from manly, right-principled debate, instead of contending for the "five points," as men would do, if convinced that they were omnipotent for good, and for the salvation of the State. Those who have professed at public-houses, and in cider and beer cellars, to approve their excellency and their adequacy to remove all evils, have not dared to hazard even one honest and sincere discussion. We cannot then look upon these "riots" with so grave an eye as our contemporary *Blackwood*. We cannot dignify them with the falsely-applied adjectives of being the "most formidable tumult, by its example and its tendencies, of any that has ever existed in any region of the earth;" for if we hazarded a definition, it would, on the contrary, be something like the following—that it was the least formidable, and the most besotted and innocuous attempt to do evil, ever yet attempted by a mad, insignificant, and fallen faction.

"But there are grievances (says a Bolton workman). Mr. Ainsworth has not redressed them—Dr. Bowring is not disposed to probe them." To be sure not. And why? Because the doctor's masters, the wealthier portions of his constituents, are the oppressors! We know there are grievances, and they have been thus quaintly, but accurately stated:—

“ The reduction of the workman’s wages.

“ Unjust and unreasonable abatements in prices.

“ Unhealthy and disagreeable dwellings forced upon the workmen.

“ Exorbitant rents charged for them.

“ Apprentices meanly and avariciously employed to do the work of regular journeymen.

“ Wages curtailed by not paying up to the list almost unaprimously agreed to ; and thus the masters are convicted of the most unprincipled meanness and trickery.”

These are grievances—the grievances of the Lancashire weavers and spinners—and which we will neither deny nor attempt to palliate. They are grievances which must be remedied, and to prevent the removal of which, such creatures as Acland and Thompson have been employed by the Dissenting conspirators of Manchester and the Crown and Anchor, in order to “ throw dust into the eyes” of the labouring classes, by insisting on the old, worn-out, but revived falsehood, “ that England can manufacture for the whole world, and should take cheap corn in exchange for the wares of Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, and Manchester.” This has been the trick of the “ League” to accuse the landholders and landowners of being the “ *causes*” of the very evils they, by their tyranny and oppression over the workmen, have themselves brought about.

Blackwood has brought a serious charge against the manufacturers of the “ League” conspiracy, which we regret to say is not too strongly, or by any means maliciously or untruly stated. It is the truth, and nothing more than the truth. He says :—

“ Many of the master manufacturers of really large and conspicuous properties have shown themselves base enough to abjure the natural creed and principles of their own order. Some, as mere traitors to principle, in gratification of their own vanity, and as a solitary means of gaining a distinction, have professed themselves Chartists ; more, perhaps, have done this as mere simpletons, accustomed to view everything printed in a book as somehow imaginary, and never meant to be realized. But there are cases before us more flagrant than this. There are men, both in and out of the House of Commons, who, under the notion of a ‘ capital row,’ or a ‘ famous lark,’ would cry, ‘ Go it !’ to any possible insurrection.”

We believe it. On our consciences we believe it. We hope that these are few in number, but we know they exist, and bear the undeserved name of “ patriots.” This conduct is wholly inexcusable when there is no want of any natural organ in the political system for expressing the popular voice through a legitimate channel. “ With the rise of representative government

(says *Blackwood*) all excuse ceases for appeals by direct insurrection." "But (replies the Lancashire mob) the House of Commons will not receive or discuss our petitions." No! we rejoin, and you yourselves make it impossible that they should. You say, at intervals, "your honourable House," and you call yourselves "petitioners," but you describe the House as in act and deed the most infamous of confederacies, combined for purposes of oppression—swindlers; though still, by courtesy, *all honourable men*; and their enactments, for fifty years back, as one series of efforts to help themselves and their connexions, at any cost or sacrifice, on the part of what you denominate the people. Such petitions, you know in your hearts, were never meant or shaped to be received; and you had ensured before-hand that they should be rejected.

But our contemporary is greatly alarmed at these riots, because there has evidently existed an understanding between the rioters in various districts to make simultaneous movements, which yet originated not in any one set or understood class of grievances. Now this is precisely the very reason why we pour contempt on those riots which have been the result either of mere imitation or of a spirit of guilty agitation without cause, and of shameless violence without justifiable or attenuating circumstances. The very reasons given by *Blackwood* as demonstrative of the "gravity" of the riotous movements in many districts, we are disposed to offer as proofs of their comparatively little importance. He mentions, first, the fact, that just before the explosion, the festal news burst forth as genially as a Swedish vernal season, of the revival of trade. Granted. But what does that prove? That in the majority of the riots there was an organized insurrection, without a justifiable cause. Such disturbances are always of short duration. It is not unjustifiable riots which alarm us, but well-motived insurrection. Second, *Blackwood* accuses the boroughreeves and chief magistrates, when Anti-Corn-law Leaguers, of having winked at the preparatory arrangements and movements of the rioters, instead of having put them down by vigorous measures. But here again we arrive at a different conclusion, from the same premises, to that of our contemporary. The very fact that the *Leaguers*, though magistrates and boroughreeves, were unable to excite the middling classes, or the really respectable portions of the workmen to revolt, proves to us the baseless, ricketty, uncertain, and even harmless results of the late demonstrations. And, thirdly, our contemporary looks with dismay on these recent disturbances, because those who professed to rise in the name of liberty and justice "began by robbing whole districts; plundering from bakers and sellers of other

provisions; and levying from casual passengers money, under bodily fear, on the Queen's high-road." In our judgments these very facts stamp them with stolidity, with imbecility, with a total want of tact and of principle—we mean simply the principle of union and resolution to do something or other, either good or bad, the whole of the proceedings of the rioters. There was compulsion to do wrong, but to accomplish no end—there was anarchy, but without profit—there was not even defined and concerted malice; for the Leaguers themselves were rich who urged on their assassins—and yet they had to provide against the glaive being applied to their own bosoms. We know they attacked mansions, but a stout dog could frighten them away; and the reading of the *Riot Act* so alarmed them that they injured each other by their precipitate retreats.

The last consideration of our contemporary in the course of his able but truly "*Carlyle-ian*" view of this matter of the riots, confirms us yet more strongly in our opinions on this subject. He adduces some arithmetical facts which are consoling and curious. Every 40,000 "turn-outs" will require 1,000*l.* *per day* to feed them, and the like sum for their families; so that in one fortnight 28,000*l.* will be requisite merely to supply them with necessaries. But instead of 40,000 insurgents, we are told there are 200,000. Granted. Then for one fortnight only the sum of 140,000*l.* must be contributed by "the makers of manufactured goods *for all the world*" to keep 200,000 workmen and their families in a state of—inaction! This is indeed a firm natural curb-chain upon the riotous body.

There is one passage, however, in the article of our contemporary, which we must extract, expressing, as it does, in powerful language, our mitigated feelings of triumph, and our sympathies for the working classes in spite of their errors:—

"If we feel at any moment inclined to exalt in such a barrier (as the sums necessary to be supplied by the Leaguers to keep up a spirit of merely silent and inactive revolt) existing to the progress of a riotous mob, it is when we reflect on the certainty with which an idle mob transmigrates into one of a cruel and sanguinary character, fearful even to themselves, as parts bearing a separate interest from the whole; but still more, when we represent to ourselves this mob—not as contending for undoubted rights, or natural equities, on the model of all scriptural justice, but insolently declaring that they will abrogate the whole constitution, laws, and polity of these kingdoms at one blow; will impose upon us all a new constitution, out of which are to emanate such future laws as may be suitable to such a beginning—then, indeed, our hearts grow sterner in contemplating their matchless insolence and criminal folly."

The *real* aggressors in those riots will, we fear, escape. The contributors of the "secret service money" are known, but we tremble lest they should not be brought to severe and condign punishment. It is not the excited workman, who, in a moment of phrenzy or drunkenness, hurls a stone at a policeman or a soldier, who is the criminal, though there can be offered no excuse for his foul aggression; but he is the real traitor—he the real assassin—who writes a cheque upon his banker for one hundred pounds and forwards it to "*the League*" against the land, the agriculture, the gentry, the soil, the hereditary nobility and aristocracy of the country. Let these men be dragged from their retreats, and be made to feel that laws will reach the wealthy, as well as the poor and the needy.

We now turn to the considerations which are brought before us by *Fraser's* able article "*on the first Session of Sir Robert Peel's Parliament, and its probable results.*" We cannot hope to arrive at any correct opinion "on the State of the Country" without looking back to the first Session of Parliament, and the measures adopted by it since the Conservatives have arrived at office. Not that we are about to admit that all the hopes we entertained have been realised, or that we are disposed to deny that some serious disappointments have not actually occurred. But this we maintain, that we have got rid of the system of abundance of promises, with very little performance; and of the "amazing flourishes of trumpets, without any correspondent pageant on the stage." *Fraser* says, with great truth—

"The Ministers (*i. e.*, the Melbourne and Palmerston Whig-Radical Combinations) periodically brought forward measures which they either withdrew entirely, or lost; or else they were content to carry them after they had been pared down and altered so as to suit the views of the Opposition."

In fact, they always reminded us of the man who was so intent on borrowing five pounds that he was perfectly indifferent to bad chances, insults, and opposition, and who maintained that the end justified the means, provided always he obtained at the last a note of the Bank of England for the sum in question. When he sallied forth on his borrowing errand the wind blew a hurricane and the rain descended in torrents, his umbrella was turned inside out, and his hat was precipitated into the river. "Never mind (he exclaimed), I shall excite more of compassion. Who will not pity a man drenched to the skin, and hatless and umbrellaless in such weather as this? I will proceed." He did so. He forgot the bad impression he would make on the servants of the individual to whom he was about to apply for the loan, and eager only for success, deprived himself of the very means

of influence. He thought of taking a hired carriage, but he argued that this would look like extravagance, not remembering that his abject state would resemble the most doleful poverty. So he reached the street-door of his much-desired patron, but the servants declared he was not at home; and, dripping and drenched, he watched for hours the return of the wealthy merchant. He did not arrive. Again the importunate man knocked and rung, but all in vain. The servants were more distant and repulsive than before. The carriage drew up. It was not to bring home the sought-for capitalist, but to take him out to dinner. Undaunted by past domestic repulses, he approached their rich and imperious master. "He had no time to spare—he was too late already." And moneyless, hatless, and umbrellaless, the poor begging-man returned to his lodgings. Indignity after indignity, insult upon insult, repulse added to repulse, followed; but *finis coronat opus*—that is to say, the five-pound note was at last obtained; and the crawling, cringing beggar, who, if he had employed the hours and days spent in his mendicancy, had devoted them to honest labour, and to useful occupation, might have earned the same sum without owing to any but himself the comforts it procured, was satisfied with the simple act of *possession*, and gloried in the fact of success. He had sacrificed that independence and dignity which should be far dearer to a man than any pecuniary results, however satisfactory; and the only reward for his fall was the possession of the five pounds sterling. So the Whig-Radicals were undismayed by the most disgraceful and ignominious defeats—unintimidated by rebuffs, contumely, scorn, and derision—and were abundantly satisfied, if at the termination of each Parliamentary session they could exclaim, "*the Appropriation Bill is passed*, and we are in office till at least next February or March." Since the times of Sir Robert Walpole, the shifting, scheming, truckling, bullying system had never been resorted to with so much success, and had never been carried on with meanness so unprincipled and disgraceful. "The budget of 1841, which they played off in *articulo mortis*, was (says *Fraser*) the most insane, as well as the most wicked, of all their pranks;" and as the country was sick of agitation, the mountebanks at last were miserably mistaken.

"In the annals of political strife (observes our last named contemporary) there has never occurred so entire and irretrievable a defeat as that which the Whigs have sustained. As a party, they are fairly extinct in the nation. We have Repealers, we have Radicals, we have Chartists, we have Republicans in abundance; but, with the exception of the contemptible knot which constituted the late Ad-

ministration, and their creatures and dependents, more contemptible still, such a thing as a Whig is not now to be found from the Land's end to John o'Groat's house."

Thus the Whigs, as a party, are ruined for ever; but that ruin does not necessarily imply either the honour, wisdom, or success of Sir Robert Peel and his coadjutors. It is undoubtedly essential to remember that "Reform has become the law of the land; and that to think, under the new order of things, of conducting public business as it used to be conducted thirty years ago would be madness." We admit this; but this is where we think Sir Robert Peel has failed. In his anxiety to show to a furious and disappointed minority that he does not seek to interfere with the *principle* of the Reform Bill he has gone the length of admitting, what have been hypocritically called its "consequences." We will briefly explain our meaning: The Whigs and Whig-Radicals maintain that the necessary "consequences" of the Reform Bill will be great and fundamental changes in all our legislation. This we deny. In a country like ours, so full of virtue, morality, enlightened patriotism, proper attachment to wealth, comfort, and rational enjoyments; and in a country like ours, where the people (we speak of the mass) are essentially Conservative, we do not despair of beholding the triumph of those principles. We see, therefore, no reason why old formidable majorities should not be restored—why the Tory leaders in both Houses should not proclaim their decision, "To this point we will go, and no further;" and we are satisfied that a Government so acting would find the whole nation prepared to go along with it, and declare in no doubtful whisper, but with a voice of thunder, "the Reform Bill was a *final measure*, and it has no other *consequences* connected with it than those which are always sure to result from the adoption of a new system of electoral capacities leading to the collision of mind, and to the suggestion of plans for gradual improvement." We think that *Fraser* is disposed to exaggerate the difficulty of Conservatism; and we think, and feel strongly, that the country is imbued with these principles, and prepared not to repeal the Reform Bill, but to render nugatory its democracy, by the election of a still larger Conservative majority than even that which during last session supported some of the unpopular measures of Sir Robert Peel.

These measures disappointed the agricultural interests: and the motion for a committee on the Corn Laws led to the resignation of the Duke of Buckingham, whilst "Lord John Russell raised a pæan; the League were cock-a-whoop, and the farmers and

country-gentlemen stood aghast." We fully concur with *Fraser* when he says—

"Of the circumstances under which this important measure was carried we need not pause to speak, for they must be fresh in the recollection of our readers. The agricultural party bore themselves like thorough patriots, as they are. They felt, or fancied, that, to a certain extent, their interests had been sacrificed; yet, knowing that the motives of their great leader were true, they gave him their hearty support. What a contrast did their self-denial present to the blustering of the League delegates—aye, and to the paltry and peevish opposition of the members of the late Cabinet. And, by and by, when he went further into the whole state of public affairs, when, in a speech more full of power than any to which in modern times the House has listened, he explained the extent of the national embarrassments, and the nature of his own plan for meeting them, then was his triumph, or, which is the same thing, the triumph of Conservatism, complete. Whatever of self-conceit or of false hopes might have heretofore sustained the defeated faction died away on the instant; and the heart of every honest man in the three kingdoms told him that the country was safe."

This is an eloquent and noble tribute to the character of Sir Robert Peel, as a statesman; but it must not be forgotten that some of the measures he has brought forward have excited anxiety and disappointment on the part of a portion of the Conservative body, and have led to "a division in the camp," which can alone be healed by a determination on the part of the Government not to listen to new demands for "the consequences" of the Reform Bill, but to take its stand now, and oppose with a resolute and undeviating energy all attempts at further encroachment, on our admirable but mixed constitution.

The *Income Tax* and the *Tariff* we have no intention again to discuss. The great feature in the financial plan of the Premier is this, that it removes the burthen of taxation from the poor, and lays it, almost exclusively, on the wealthier classes. When the new *Tariff* shall be in full operation, the working classes will obtain the necessaries of life at much inferior prices than at present, and even at the moment we are writing those prices have greatly come down.

"This is only the beginning of concessions (cries the rough-shod agent of 'the League'); we *must* have a *free trade* in corn; all impediments to the free trade system will be removed, the aristocracy will be defeated, class legislation will be knocked on the head, and *our* principles will triumph."

It is useless to conceal from ourselves, or from each other, the fact, that these are the predictions of our opponents; and if we

did not feel that the men who now govern us would, by their policy and measures, give the lie to these false prophets, we should have heavy hearts and restless minds. No—there will be an end to what are cantingly called “concessions to the spirit of the times,” and Sir Robert and his coadjutors will stand firm upon fixed and immutable principles. We cannot as yet say with *Fraser*, “we believe Sir Robert Peel *has* saved the country,” though we are willing to hope and to believe that he *will* do so. And this leads us finally to an *aperçu* of the defence of the Government which has made its appearance in the pages of the *Quarterly*.

The *Quarterly Review*, just published, contains a document of some importance—a Conservative manifesto on the subject of Sir Robert Peel’s financial measures. Of this manifesto the *Times* has said, that it “whips to the best of its power the unhappy Sir Richard Vyvyan for his attempt at ‘mutiny;’ and panegyricizes, rather too broadly for our taste, the genius and measures of Sir Robert Peel.” Why the *Times* should apply the word “unhappy” to Sir Richard Vyvyan we know not, since if virtue, patriotism, manly and noble political conduct, and true and unaffected religion, will render man happy, few can be less “unhappy” than the gentleman in question. We look on him as one of the ornaments of his country, and as one of the benefactors of mankind.

That the panegyrics of the *Quarterly* are too broad and unguarded, we fully admit, especially as it is notorious that, on many points of first-rate magnitude, the conductors and supporters of that periodical have long differed with the Premier. Extreme praise, like extreme censure, will always injure the cause it is intended to serve; and when the reviewer of Sir Richard Vyvyan’s pamphlet talks of that gentleman *submitting* to a “degrading thralldom,” he evinces an ignorance of the character of the man of whom he writes which is quite unpardonable. We have not, and cannot applaud the whole of the pamphlet of Sir Richard, but his motives are as pure as his conduct is manly.

The *Quarterly* has, however, collected some facts, in the form of tables, which are very valuable, as bearing upon “The State of the Country.” It appears, from these tables, that from the end of last April to the beginning of September, a period of eighteen weeks, that the price of corn rose during the first fourteen weeks with striking regularity from 59s. 1d. to 64s. 7d. per quarter; and then, when the harvest was gathered, fell during the next four weeks to 61s. 10d. Causing, in all this time, a difference of only 5s. 6d., and that not by any sudden and injurious

fall, but by a gradual rise of 4*d.*, 5*d.*, or 6*d.* per week; the duty on foreign corn varying proportionately from 13*s.* to 8*s.* per qr. It is also a curious and important fact, that at these rates of duty, 2,457,931 quarters of wheat have been entered for home consumption, paying an average duty of 8*s.* 4*d.*, and thus adding in five months to the revenue no less a sum than 974,024*l.*

But other facts, not less striking, are yet untold. And we narrate these with pleasure to our agricultural friends, because they, above all other men, will rejoice at the success of every Conservative measure, even though individually it should be to their detriment.

It appears, then, that in the fourteen years which have preceded the present, we have, on an average, imported about one million of quarters of wheat each year, which have paid an average duty of 5*s.* 7*d.* per quarter, or yielding an annual revenue of 300,000*l.* This *annual* importation and revenue was considerably less than one half of the corn brought into this country during the last five months, and the annual revenue less than one-third of what has been produced by Sir Robert Peel's corn measure of last session, during the portion of the present year just mentioned; or in yet plainer terms, the quantity of wheat imported in the four months which have succeeded the enactment of Sir Robert Peel's bill has exceeded the whole importations of any one of these fourteen years, with the exception only of 1839, and even has nearly equalled that, since the former amounts to 2,457,931 quarters, and the latter to 2,702,848 quarters. Furthermore, these importations have taken place in the teeth of a very satisfactory home harvest, and with an average price of corn at 62*s.* 1*d.* the quarter.

Undoubtedly the *Times* is right when it says that the excitement consequent on the sudden opening of the corn trade will account for some considerable increase in the imports; and that it is probable that many entries have been thrown upon these four months which would have taken place in the earlier part of the year, but for the expectation of a favourable change. Yet after making every allowance for the points thus indicated by our contemporary, they are insufficient to account for the very great difference which has existed between the last and any preceding four months, and cannot explain the fact that importations joined to a most favourable harvest have not together reduced the price of corn so low as its former average, since from 1828 to the passing of the new Corn Bill, the average was 59*s.*; and during the last four months the average has been 62*s.* 1*d.* per quarter.

The present Government must then have the merit, not only of being anxious to supply, but of having supplied plenty of corn to the market. Let then our farmers be less anxious, since it has been shown that their prosperity is far less dependent on artificial protection than they have hitherto believed. And let those who denounce all restriction, as a tax on the bread of the poor man, remember that he is mistaken in charging the evil under which he suffers upon this portion of our fiscal policy. The *Quarterly* observes, that the measure thus passed has united advantages hitherto treated as incompatible, having raised the revenue and given abundance of provisions to the people, as well as steadiness to the averages, without interfering with the prosperity of the farmer.

Thus far, well. But when our contemporary contends, in the spirit of the schoolboy, “if one quince so much improves the flavour of an apple pie, how excellent an *apple pie would be if made wholly of quinces*” that, inasmuch as the experiment which has been made has answered so well, it can hardly be unsafe to carry on this system, “at least until the plenty which it is to accomplish begins to affect the market;” we confess we tremble at the progress which we discern that the principle of a love of change is effecting in these “go-a-head times,” and we tremble lest the Conservative Ministry of 1842 should become the Free-trade Cabinet of 1843. And we do not say this hastily or without reason; for when we find in the columns of the *Times* such language as the following, we think our apprehensions are not wholly unfounded:—

“Lastly, the new scale bore a kind of approximation to a fixed duty. The variations were compressed within narrower limits, and the differences were in themselves smaller and more regular. The result has been a vast increase in the revenue, and a more steady and sound state of the market. Here, too, we would venture to suggest that the result is not only satisfactory, but encouraging. *Success invites progress*; advantages which have been gained by the present, might surely be doubled by a more extensive Reform. And such we hope, before long, will be the opinion of the Conservative leaders.”

And again:—

“We owe to Sir Robert Peel thanks for what he has done—but we shall still hope to be more in his debt before we have done with him. There has never been any reason given for his stopping where he has done. The scale has slid once, there is no visible reason why it may not absolutely collapse. Duties have diminished once—we look to see them waste away yet a little more. And we will venture to predict, that whatever Review, under those circumstances, undertakes a justification of the Premier’s policy, will appeal to a no less striking display of success than has been done by the *Quarterly*.”

Against such language, and such provisions as these, we must protest with all the energy of an enlightened but most hearty conviction. When are we to have repose? When is something or other relative to the price of food to be regarded as the permanent law of the land? When are not only land-owners and land-cultivators, but the public generally, to be treated with fairness? When are we to settle down to something like fixed laws and fixed principles? We have no objection upon earth to regard the present law, and the present sliding scale, as well as the present Tariff, as final; but we do hope that after such recent and radical changes in the fundamental laws of the country, no more *experiments* will be made to distract, disserve, and disturb all the stable interests of the country.

But it is time to look at the bearings of all these questions on the general subject before us—THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY! We have noticed the opinions of our contemporaries with respect, and, we hope, with fairness;—we shall now proceed to state our own.

Is the State of the Country satisfactory? By no means. Have the late disturbances, and the present indications of discontent and unhappiness, been produced SOLELY by “Anti-Corn-Law-League agitators, or by a spirit of imitation? Certainly not! Can it be said that the country is in a state of prosperity, and that its vast interests are thriving and satisfactory? No, indeed;—and he who should make such an assertion would display most intolerable ignorance. From a variety of causes, to which we shall very briefly refer, the country is at this time in a state of almost unparalleled depression. Agriculture, manufactures, trade, commerce, are all greatly suffering, and the amount of misery among the poor is indeed fearful. This is so strongly felt by those who watch the movements of society, that the proprietor of the *Atlas* newspaper has, with a generosity and patriotism which honor both his head and heart, stepped forward to offer a premium of 100*l.* to the author of the best Prize Essay on the causes of and the remedies for the present distress throughout the country. We mention this fact as demonstrating how patient, how notorious, how indubitable are the proofs, the evidences, of existing, deep-laid, and general distress; and the other fact—that such men as Professor Wilson, Sir David Brewster, and Thomas Carlyle, are to be among the distinguished adjudicators of the premium so liberally offered, is not less conclusive as to the feeling of those who are at the very summit of intellectual society. We say, then, that the State of the Country is *not* satisfactory; that the whole head is sick, and the whole heart is faint; but that the head may be restored to its

wanted calmness and ease, and that the functions of the heart may be set right again by a wise, prudent, and national Government.

We have had bad harvests, and a succession of them. We have a population increasing too rapidly, and doubling itself with frightful velocity. We have had a Government whose *foreign* policy for ten years tended to shut out manufactures from the dominions of old established and most important allies. We have had large expenses to incur and support during a period of professed peace. We have a national debt whose interest is appalling, but yet which must be paid even at any sacrifice, unless it could be redeemed. We have had an extravagant and unbusiness-like Administration, which left the nation in debt without making any compensation in return, either by glorious conquests or by the formation of new and important alliances. We are engaged in a war in INDIA which can only entail disgrace and defeat. We have offended and injured the CHINESE—first committing a mighty wrong, and then we have gone to war with them—not to prove that we were right, but to increase the original misdoing! We are weighed down by taxes which must be paid to support our national character, and have now an Income-tax added thereto, as a retribution for having tolerated so long a Government whose folly and madness have rendered its imposition necessary. We have a system of *competition* established throughout the land which is based on an undervaluing of human labour, and on the underselling of the skill and industry of others, even to the very point of actual bankruptcy. We have hoped to keep out of the world's market all other manufacturers, and though we have embarked the very machinery from our shores with which other countries desired to imitate us, we have absurdly thought, or acted as if we thought, that those foreign nations would not seek to rival us, but would continue to accept from us our varied merchandize, and that they would do so—for ever! We have neglected the agricultural interests of the country. We have not encouraged emigration or colonization to our own British colonies. We have not looked, as we ought to have done, to our extensive waste lands at home. We have encouraged the migration of large bodies of the agricultural poor from the agricultural districts to the manufacturing counties, without being able permanently to provide them, when there, with the means of existence. We have, by the New Poor Law system, detached the hearts of the poor from the parishes in which they were born; and by the cruelty of the workhouse system have destroyed that love of independence which used to be at once the birthright and the charm of every

Englishman. We have driven tens of thousands of the labouring classes by this means to live upon begging; and our agricultural districts in England are now degraded by an increasing and appalling system of mendicancy. We have encouraged, by our joint stock banking system, the spirit of speculation in our trading and manufacturing districts, and have helped forward the maddest schemes of trading and commercial impostors. We have neglected important occasions for making new and valuable commercial alliances, and have heaped favours upon those who have laboured to injure our foreign trade. We have devoted the twelve past years to profitless political discussions, and to worse than idle schemes of political adventureship. We have neglected the real and staple interests of the country, in order to embark in the theories, not of practical, but of visionary government.

And who should wonder that with such causes as these perpetually at work against our natural progress and improvement that the course we have pursued has been retrograde? Retrograde indeed it has been; but yet we will not despair. We began to take courage when the House of Commons affirmed its want of confidence in Whig-Radicalism: we were then convinced that the Queen would no longer allow herself to be imposed upon by political jobbers. Our confidence gained ground when men of moderate and Conservative principles were called on by the Crown to counsel it: and when the elections confirmed by a most triumphant majority the decisions of Parliament and of the Queen, we felt as well as exclaimed—“*the country will right itself!*”

We think so still; though “the first Session of Sir Robert Peel’s Parliament” has not delighted us as much as it has done *Fraser*; and though we still raise our voice and cry, “Beware of the spirit of change, and of concession!”

But although we have confidence both in the Government and in the country, we do not shut our eyes to the difficulties which surround and threaten us. We are engaged in two profitless and expensive wars, and their termination is by no means certain. Thanks to Lord Ashburton, we have, indeed, disposed of our difficulties with America; and we are confident that our own Government will hasten to take advantage of this favourable circumstance for placing our commercial relations with that portion of the world on a satisfactory and permanent basis. Our manufacturing districts are in a most deplorable condition; and whilst we are grateful to “the Giver of every good gift” for our late abundant harvest, yet winter is coming upon us much too rapidly for our needy and famishing poor. We have certainly

great confidence in the patience, temperance, and patriotism of the working classes; but Chartism and Radicalism, Socialism and political Dissenterism, are actively at work, and Popery is raising everywhere her powerful head, and her increasing sway.

As Churchmen and as Christians, we cannot conclude these observations without referring also to the divisions in our own communion. God grant that these divisions may cease! They are only favourable to the spread of error, and serviceable to the cause of Satan. In times like these in which we live, a spirit of moderate, enlightened, Christian Protestant Conservatism, is that which should everywhere be cultivated and enjoined. Our conduct should be firm and unwavering, making no compromise with error, whilst indulging in no feeling of intolerance. The Church must save the State—for the State can never save the Church. Above all, let the spirit of prayer for the Nation, for the Queen, for her Councillors, and for both Houses of Parliament, be more sought for and cultivated. We say to our readers, "*Pray much for your country!*" Our God is a God of mercy, but he will be enquired of by nations as well as by individuals; and it is only in answer to prayer we can hope that our own blessed land will yet become a fruitful and a pleasant one, nurtured by the God of love, and guided and guarded by His parental and almighty power.

Ecclesiastical Report.

EPISCOPAL CHARGES.

Episcopal Charges are important documents at all times, inasmuch as they contain the views and opinions of the heads of the Church on questions relating to the welfare of the Church, so that they cannot but be viewed with interest by the people at large: but in times of public excitement, or times of prevailing error, they are still more important. For many, both among the clergy and the laity, during a period of controversy, wait to hear the decisions of the bishops before they arrive at any conclusion for themselves. On this account an additional weight of importance is attached to the charge of a bishop under certain circumstances. The present season is one of peculiar interest in this respect, for there are two parties now within the pale of the Church, respecting whom it is most desirable that the views of our bishops should be promulgated. The parties to whom we refer are the advocates of "*The Tracts for the Times*" on the

one hand, and their more violent and unreflecting opponents on the other hand. The former are introducing novelties in doctrine and in practice—the latter are desirous of relinquishing customs which the reformers retained on the authority of the general practice of the Catholic church. Both these extremes are equally wrong, and equally to be avoided; the one for its additions, the other for its omissions: and it is always satisfactory to hear a bishop speak on such matters, because many will be influenced: and when a considerable number of bishops deliver their opinions the satisfaction which we feel is still greater. Now such is the case at the present moment. Not one only, but several of our prelates have delivered and published their views on the peculiar opinions of “*The Tracts for the Times*,” and also on the conduct of those clergymen who in their ardour to avoid one extreme fall into the opposite, and in opposing the Tracts mutilate and alter the liturgy, neglect the rubrics of the Church, and cast contempt on that discipline which they have pledged themselves to maintain. This is the case especially with the Bishops of Exeter, and Down and Connor with Dromore, who, while they point out the errors of the Tracts, also mark the inconsistencies and irregularities of those men who affect much precision in matters of doctrine with great looseness in practice.

In the charges to which we have already alluded, and also in several others, published during the present year, the views of the Tracts, on certain points, have been most ably exposed. A considerable number of our prelates have deemed it to be their duty to deliver their protests against certain errors. In the prosecution of this work, they have spoken with much moderation; but the force of argument with which their statements have been supported is so great, that it cannot be withstood by those whose candour is sufficient to lead them to act honestly. The moderation of the charges in question is remarkable, and presents a pleasing contrast to the violence and declamation of some of the opponents of the Tracts. In our opinion, no small portion of the success with which the Tracts have been accompanied is owing to the injudicious attacks of their opponents, who have spoken and acted as if every line abounded in error and heresy. Because the writers were in error on some important points, some persons have argued as if they were also mistaken on every point discussed in the publications designated “*The Tracts for the Times*.” Nothing can be more unreasonable than such a notion; and it has tended more even than any thing in the Tracts themselves to recommend them to public notice. It is in the nature of things that it should be so. Injudicious attacks are productive of two evils: they confirm those who

are in error in their erroneous views; and they usually lead waverers to decide in favour of the party attacked. Calm, temperate, and judicious exposures of error are sure to produce effect; and such are the charges in question, to which may be added those of the Bishops of Winchester and Chester. In these productions a reason is assigned for every censure—argument, not declamation, is their characteristic feature. Our opinion is that the circulation of the Tracts has been promoted by some of their violent opponents; but a check is now interposed. Some persons, who have written much on the subject, though their ignorance of the questions was most profound, may imagine that to them belongs the merit of checking the circulation of the Tracts. We know that instead of good their attacks have done mischief; and if the Tracts are less read than they were, and less depended on—the cause is to be found in the charges of the bishops. Many persons, we are convinced, who were fast verging towards Rome, in consequence of the statements of the Tracts, have been arrested in their career by the proceedings of some members of the Episcopal bench. In their charges it is shewn that no truth, as is alleged by the writers of the Tracts, has been forgotten: all the doctrines of the Gospel are held by the Anglican Church; and all the practices, which are truly Catholic, we mean in the proper sense of the term, are preserved and retained in her ritual. We are, therefore, truly thankful, that our bishops have come forward to denounce views which might have been still more industriously propagated, but for their most timely interference.

But while the errors of the Tracts are censured in the charges in question, in two of them, namely, in those of the Bishops of Exeter, and Down and Connor, the obliquities and irregularities of another class among the clergy are most properly condemned. We refer to those inconsistent Churchmen who so far depart from their vows and their oaths, as to mutilate or abridge those services to which they have solemnly sworn and pledged themselves to conform. There are persons who will allow of any attacks against the Tracts, however unjust; but they cannot endure that a word should be uttered against a man who substitutes one lesson for another, who omits portions of the services, and who is guilty of many irregularities contrary to his solemn engagements. In the opinion of some persons, these are matter of indifference; and yet these very individuals would make the writers of "The Tracts" offenders, respecting points of order and discipline, in which they are perfectly correct. These gentlemen are extremely sensitive, when the charge of inconsistency is fastened upon

them; but they are always most eager to fix the charge of heresy upon others. The charges of the Bishops of Exeter, and Down and Connor, therefore, are disliked by this party, though they cannot deny that "The Tracts for the Times" are ably confuted in some particulars. Both the right reverend prelates have pointed out the utter destitution of principle in the men who, for the sake of station and property in the Church, can violate their solemn pledges, by curtailing and mutilating the services.

The advocates of the Tracts will feel the censures of such men as the Bishops of Exeter, and Down and Connor, much more than those of the party to whom we have alluded, which are characterised by nothing so much as by ignorance of the points in debate between the writers of the Tracts and those who adhere closely to the principles of the Anglican Church, as settled by the reformers. On this point we quote the following passage from the charge of Bishop Mant:—

"But I am confident, my reverend brethren, that you also will concur with me in opinion, that those who are not acquainted with the productions by actual perusal, are not the proper persons rightly to estimate their character; that many of those who have assumed the office of judges, are not qualified for discharging it; that general, indiscriminate, intemperate, violent abuse, is not the language fit for a discussion of their merits or demerits; that if erroneous sentiments be avowed in them, whilst we condemn the error, respect is due to the religious attainments, the high moral excellence, the learning, and the conscientious efforts, conscientious doubtless, however misdirected, of the writers from whom these compositions proceed; and that, in particular, it is an act of grievous injury to a distinguished individual, to brand the opinions in question and the maintainers of them with appellations derived from his name; appellations which, in point of fact, are not correctly attributed, the fitness of which he has distinctly disclaimed, and the imposition of which he feels to be injurious to himself, however the discredit may properly attach to such as employ the appellations rather than to him. Necessarily as my subject will lead me to speak with disapprobation of some of the views and practices of those our brethren, I hold myself bound to speak thus respectfully of their persons."

This passage has our most hearty approbation: it is just what ought to proceed from a Christian bishop. We are aware that some intemperate opponents of the Tracts have plainly declared that the censures contained in the charges of Dr. Philpots and Dr. Mant are entirely neutralized by the terms of respect for the persons and character of the writers. That the parties in question should put forth such an assertion, is not at all surprising, since nothing will do for these men, that

does not square exactly with their own narrow and selfish views; but we know well, that the censures of such men as these two distinguished prelates will produce a greater effect than volumes of abuse from the school to which we have alluded. Many, we feel assured, will now relinquish the views which they may have been disposed to adopt. The spread of the errors of the Tracts will be checked, but this result must not be attributed to the intemperate attacks of certain writers of questionable churchmanship, but to the calm, temperate, and dignified exposures of their errors by our bishops.

With respect to the continuance of the peculiar errors of the Tracts, we concur in opinion with the Bishop of Hereford, who, in alluding to the subject, says:—

“ If such deviations from the truth have been of late propounded, we cannot believe that, fenced round about as our Zion is, with testimonies so directly opposite, they can spread very widely, or have any long continuance. And as history informs us of a time when similar errors were broached, and resisted, and by the good Providence of God were overruled and dispersed, we would fain persuade ourselves of a like happy result in this our day.”

The parties who apprehend so much danger from the Tracts must always have something to talk about, and the more recent the circumstance the better for their purpose. Hence, it comes to pass, that all their abuse is for the present directed against the Tracts. In a short time they will discover that some new error is spreading when the Tracts will be forgotten.

LAY BAPTISM.

We cannot say we are surprised at the decision of the Privy Council in the case of Escot and Mastin, for after that of the Court of Arches, it was scarcely to be expected that the council would rescind the judgment pronounced by Sir H. Jenner Fust. At the same time we must repeat, that we are surprised at the decision in the Court of Arches. We shall, however, examine some of the arguments contained in the judgment pronounced by Lord Brougham. It may appear presumptuous in us to question the soundness of the learned Lord's decision, but we cannot but conceive that he has altogether lost sight of the main point in the whole case, namely: Did the Church, when she allowed, as we admit she did, of the validity of *Lay Baptism*, ever contemplate baptism performed without any necessity by a person in a state of separation? This is the great question, yet it is not in the slightest degree touched by the learned Lord. It must be as clear as the light, that baptism by persons in a state of separation was never contemplated by the Church when she sanc-

tioned baptism by laymen : for at that time no separation was permitted, so that by whomsoever performed, the rite was regarded as administered by a member of the Church, on which ground its validity was made to depend. How then can it be pleaded, that the Church recognises the validity of baptism by persons in a state of separation ? It would be far better to say if such be the state of the law, *true, the Church has not recognized such baptism, inasmuch as she did not contemplate the performance of the rite in a state of separation ; but the law of the land has annexed the performance of certain duties to the clerical office, which must be complied with by the clergy.* This would be intelligible, and the clergy would know what their position is ; but at present they are placed in a most extraordinary state. They must either perform a service in cases in which it is clear the Church never intended it to be performed, or submit to a prosecution at law, with the costs of the suit. This is a hard case ; and the position is one in which they ought not to be placed.

Throughout the whole of Lord Brougham's judgment, he has treated the case as one of *Lay Baptism* : on no other ground could he treat it ; for it could not be argued, that the Church contemplated baptism by Dissenting teachers. Yet what is the consequence ? It is one for which the Methodist preachers and Dissenting teachers have no reason to thank his Lordship, namely, that they are reduced, by a decision of the House of Lords, to mere laymen, though they have always considered their ministry to be as valid as that of the Church, if not even more so. They must now, if they would make any thing of the decision, by way of triumph over the Church, acknowledge themselves to be mere laymen. There is also another consequence in Lord Brougham's decision, even more important than the other, and one for which the Dissenters have no cause to rejoice. It is this : by Lord Brougham's own argument and admissions, the administration of the rite of baptism was the only ministerial act which the Church allowed to be performed by laymen ; that all other acts, by whomsoever performed, are null and void. Dissenting teachers assume the power of performing all ministerial acts ; consequently, by this decision, which reduces them to laymen, all such acts are condemned as unlawful. This is a legitimate consequence from his Lordship's judgment, and Dissenters must make of it whatever they are able.

But some of his Lordship's arguments require to be noticed. He says : " The statutes of Edward VI. and Elizabeth recognized the right of every person to burial with the Church service, and the 68th caanon enforces this civil statutory right, only ex-

cepting persons excommunicate and impenitent." There can be no doubt on this point; but what has this question to do with the validity of *separatist baptism*? When those statutes were enacted separation was not permitted; so that if Lord Brougham's argument on this point means anything, it is only this, that *baptism* by Dissenters is regarded by those acts as *no baptism*; and that the Church permits the burial service to be performed over persons unbaptized! For this consequence, again, the Dissenters have no cause for thankfulness; yet no other can be deduced from his Lordship's argument.

Again, after spending some time in showing that *lay-baptism*, in cases of necessity, was allowed by the Church prior to 1662, and that the service, as it stands at present, by prescribing certain questions with respect to children privately baptized, virtually admits it, his Lordship concludes this part of his argument thus: "Assuming, then, that there is no minister present, the rubric declares the baptism to be without any doubt lawfully and sufficiently administered, though in private." We know that the Church allows of private baptism, for she has prescribed a special service for the occasion; but we deny that, since 1662, she has in her services recognized, in any way, its validity unless performed by a lawful minister. If the Church intended, as Lord Brougham suggests, to allow of lay baptism, why were the words *lawful minister* introduced? Taking, however, his Lordship's view of the subject, the consequences which we have already pointed out still follow, namely, that baptism by Dissenting ministers, is merely lay-baptism, and that they themselves are only *laymen*. We think, therefore, that they have no great cause to triumph over the clergy; for while they may boast that their *baptism* is recognized, they cannot deny that this very recognition involves their own degradation into *laymen*. The same consequences are involved in the whole of his Lordship's arguments. Thus again: "The position, therefore, being undeniably that, previous to the year 1603, and at the time the 68th canon was made, *lay-baptism*, though discountenanced, and even forbidden, unless in case of necessity, was not valid if performed; and this being the common law—not the law made by statute and rubric, but by statute and rubric plainly recognized and adopted—we are to see if any change was made in that law as it thus stood." His Lordship concludes that no change was made. But his conclusion, even from his own arguments, is very extraordinary. He admits that it was forbidden, *unless in case of necessity*; but he argues that it was deemed valid if once performed. On this ground then we take our stand; for where is the necessity in the present case? It could not be pleaded that the Methodist

preacher in question performed the ceremony, because a lawful minister could not be procured : no necessity was attempted to be pleaded : and when his Lordship adds, that it was *yet valid if performed*, it must be evident that this applies only to cases of necessity—not to baptism performed in a state of separation from the Church. It must never be forgotten that the lay-baptism which the Church recognized was performed by lay members of her own communion, not by those who quitted her pale, and who assumed to themselves the ministerial office. We think, therefore, that his Lordship's argument in the above extract is fatal to his own conclusion.

Again : his Lordship argues, that "*if lay-baptism was valid before the new rubric in 1661, there is nothing in that rubric to invalidate it.*" And he adds, "If it had been the intention of those who framed the rubric to declare lay-baptism ineffectual, some express declaration to that effect would have been introduced." It was not necessary to make any declaration on the subject. The rubric and the canon seem to settle the matter ; and the parties who framed the rubric considered that it was settled, as is evident from the uniform practice of the Church since that period. But Lord Brougham argues, that the old practice was allowed, because there is no express declaration against it. This is a strange mode of arguing. But, be this as it may, for we have said enough on this point before, it is evident that the framers of the rubric did not mean to allow baptism by separatists : and this is the point in dispute. It is not merely a question of *lay-baptism*, but of baptism by persons in a state of separation from the Church. Now, at the period to which Lord Brougham refers, separation was unlawful. The Church did not permit it, or recognize it, neither did the law allow it : consequently such baptism could not then have been contemplated. And if it was not even contemplated, how can it be argued, as the Church has never since put forth any other view, that the baptism performed by a Dissenting minister—a man in a state of actual separation from the Church—can be regarded by the Church as valid ? It is one thing to say that the law compels a clergyman to perform the burial service over an unbaptized child : it is another to say the Church herself commands it. We are, therefore, convinced, that the decision, however agreeable it may be to common law, is not in accordance with the views of the Anglican Church. We have never said that there were no difficulties in the case ; or that the clergy are justified, on legal grounds, to refuse the service in such cases. But we must say that it is not fair to the clergy to tell them that the Church recognizes baptism when performed by persons in actual separation from her communion.

It is certainly high time that the Church should be permitted to speak authoritatively through the only medium by which she can speak, namely—THE CONVOCATION !

LADY HEWLEY'S CHARITY.

It is still a question, who, or what party is legally intitled to the proceeds of Lady Hewley's Charity. The preachers whom she intended to assist are described in her will, as "poor and godly preachers of Christ's Holy Gospel." She was a Presbyterian, and it was her intention to assist Presbyterian ministers. Presbyterianism does not now exist in England, except in connection with the Scottish Church ; and those congregations, which were formerly Presbyterians, became at length Unitarians. The consequence was, that the charity was for years in the hands of Unitarians. Judgment was given against the Unitarians, and it is now confirmed by the House of Lords. The decision is formed on the fact, that Presbyterianism does not now exist, and that the Unitarians had no claim, inasmuch as Unitarianism did not exist as a sect when the bequest was made, and that they do not receive the tenets of Bowles's catechism, which are those of strong Calvinism. It appears, that the Independents now claim the proceeds of the charity, on the ground that they maintain the doctrines which were held by Lady Hewley ; but we cannot understand how their claim can be substantiated. We conceive, that any other sect has as much right to the charity as the Independents. Though they existed as a sect at the period of the bequest, and their case is somewhat different from that of the Unitarians, yet it is clear from the will that she never intended to make them the recipients of her bounty. To allege, therefore, that they maintain the same doctrines is not sufficient ; for on that ground the Baptists would have an equal claim. And there is a part of the will which clearly excludes them from all participation in the charity. She left a portion of the charity for the maintenance of an almshouse : and what was required of those who entered it ? She required that they should be able to repeat "The Lord's prayer, creed, ten commandments, and Mr. Edward Bowles's catechism." This clause is fatal to the claim of the Independents ; for they do not teach the creed and the ten commandments, nor do they use Bowles's catechism. It is not sufficient to say, that if the inmates can repeat what was required, the intentions of the donor are complied with, for she clearly meant that the parties should be those who were regularly taught and instructed in a particular way, and that way is quite opposite to the method of the Independents. The Church

of England would have quite as strong a claim as the Independents. The question, therefore, arises to whom does it belong? We reply that the party to whom the money was bequeathed is extinct; consequently the bequest is void. The law in such cases makes a provision; and we believe, that it will be for the Court of Chancery to decide how the proceeds of the charity are to be applied. It is, however, a great point to have a decision of the Court of Chancery confirmed by the House of Lords, that the Unitarian preachers are not entitled to the designation of "Godly ministers of Christ's Holy Gospel."

THE SCOTTISH VOLUNTARIES IN ENGLAND.

Our readers are aware, that a section of the ministers of the Church of Scotland have made common cause with certain English *voluntaries*, as they choose to term themselves, in a crusade against patronage. Some time since a deputation came from Scotland to London, on which occasion Sir Culling Eardly Smith addressed a letter to the Dissenting teachers on the propriety of giving their pulpits to their Scottish brethren. It may be remarked, that the Dissenters are now acting under Sir Culling's flag. As they make so much of a *baronet*, what would be their joy and ecstasy if they had a *lord* for their leader? It is quite ludicrous to see a body of men make so much of a bit of a title. Such is, however, always the case with Dissenters; and the circumstance shews how much they would be delighted with the patronage and titles of the Anglican Church, if they could possess them. Sir Culling's letter is a curiosity in its way, and contains as much jesuitical craft as would do credit even to a disciple of Loyola. For example he tells his ministers that "*it is considered that the good feeling of the Scottish clergy will prevent them entering upon an abstract defence of establishments while occupying voluntary pulpits.*" This passage furnishes pretty strong evidence of that combination, of which we have often spoken, between all classes of Dissenters with Infidels and Papists, for one common object, namely, the overthrow of the Church. But we admire Sir Culling's *craft*. He assures his brethren that they need not be afraid, on such occasions, that the Scottish clergy will touch on any unpleasant subject. Oh no, by no means. They would take special care not to offend their Dissenting brethren. Really such things are sickening to the soul, and enough to bring religion into contempt. What would these voluntaries say if a body of clergymen were so to disgrace themselves as to suppress a great principle, for the sake of an unholy union with others?

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.

Some *petty* writers in English periodicals make a loud bluster about what they call the *assumptions* of the Bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church. And what is the offence of which the Scottish prelates are guilty? Simply this, that they called themselves "*Bishops of the Reformed Catholic Church in Scotland.*" Surely they have a right to the title. They are canonically ordained bishops. Episcopacy was the primitive government. It was the government in Scotland until after the reformation; and the fact that an Act of Parliament has established Presbytery, does not alter the case in the least, since the character of the Church of Christ cannot be effected by Parliamentary enactments. If then the bishops of the Church of England are bishops of the Reformed Catholic Church in England, so are the bishops of Scotland in that country. Neither they nor we have anything to do with Presbytery. We are not called upon to pass an opinion on the subject, but it is our duty to defend the ancient government of the Church. With those persons who seem to hold that Presbytery, if sanctioned by Parliament, is as good as Episcopacy, we have no sympathy whatever; but on the contrary we look upon such a notion as dangerous and unscriptural. Surely the Scottish bishops might have used their proper title, without being called to account by persons of low principles in England. We have no wish to say a word against the Church of Scotland; on the contrary, we honour the zeal and piety of her ministers; and we admit that she is eminently useful in disseminating the principles of our holy religion; but still we cannot, on that account, consent that the bishops in Scotland should be regarded as intruders, when they are the duly accredited ministers of Christ's flock in that country. And who, it may be asked, are the parties who complain of the use of the title? They are not Presbyterians, but certain loose members of the Church of England, who have no preference for Episcopal government, but who conform simply because it is established by law, and who, were they located in Scotland, would, on the same principle, conform to Presbytery. Verily the opinions of such men are not worth consideration.

THE QUEEN AND THE SCOTTISH CHURCH.

Before her Majesty reached her Scottish dominions, it was stated by some persons, with great satisfaction, that she would be obliged to attend the worship of the Scottish Church. Some English Churchmen even rejoiced in the circumstance. It would have been hard, certainly, if the Queen had not the

liberty to please herself like her subjects. Educated in the Church of England, and conscientiously attached to its discipline and worship, it would have been strange indeed, to have expected her to conform, even for a Sunday, to the Presbyterian worship. But, say some persons, the Queen is as much bound to protect Presbytery in Scotland, as to uphold Episcopacy in England. True, the Queen is pledged to protect the Scottish Church for her Scottish subjects—not for herself, or because she approves of its discipline, but because it is the system adopted by the majority of her subjects. And it would be hard indeed, if the sovereign alone were denied the liberty of choice. Still there are persons who are weak enough to contend, that the Queen is to be an Episcopalian in England, and a Presbyterian in Scotland. We are sure that the Scotch would despise her Majesty, were such the case. She must be one thing or the other: she is a member of the Church of England—she cannot be a member of the Church of Scotland at the same time.

What, then, was the course pursued by her Majesty when in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, on Sunday, the 4th of September? A chapel was fitted up in Dalkeith Palace, and an Episcopal clergyman from Edinburgh officiated on the occasion. This was perfectly natural. The Episcopal Church in Scotland is identical with the Church of England; and her Majesty acted with great judgment in selecting one of its ministers to perform divine service in her presence. We have heard loose Churchmen affirm, that Episcopalians are Dissenters in Scotland, because they reject Presbytery, as if Acts of Parliament could make or unmake Christ's Holy Catholic Church. Dissenters they are not in any sense—certainly not from the Presbyterian Church, for they never belonged to it: nor are they Dissenters from the Church Catholic. Still it is the fashion for some low English Churchmen to speak disparagingly of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, calling its members Dissenters, and to laud Presbytery, simply because it has a Parliamentary sanction. We doubt not that her Majesty's act will be censured by such persons. They will say that she should have countenanced the Presbyterian worship. The Scotch will have too much good sense to put forth such an assertion; and the only parties in England who will complain of her Majesty's conduct in really following the dictates of her own conscience, and in countenancing Episcopacy as she is sworn to do, are certain inconsistent members of the Anglican Church, men who have no conscientious feeling on the subject, but to whom all systems are alike, provided they have a Parliamentary sanction. That

we are correct in our opinion will be evident probably before these pages see the light, though while we are writing, no such notion has, as far as we are aware, been promulgated.

Since writing the above, we find our prediction partly verified. The Queen is censured for not attending the worship of the Presbyterian Church. She is, it is argued, bound to protect it. This we have admitted; but in such a case, protection does not involve a compliance with the views of the Church of Scotland. This would be impossible, unless the Queen is insincere in her attachment to the Church of England, which no one will have the hardihood to maintain. But some of the sensitive people of England, as well as in Scotland, are extremely disconcerted because the Queen did not, when she resolved to attend divine service in the palace, call in some Scottish clergyman to officiate according to the usage of the Scottish Church. They would have forgiven her Majesty for not attending the parish church, if she had countenanced Presbytery in the drawing-room. Now really the Sovereign's liberty is as precious as that of her subjects; and why should she be expected to act differently in Scotland from the course which she pursues in England. Surely the people of Scotland ought to be satisfied with her Majesty's protection, without forcing her Majesty's conscience. It seems, however, that nothing will satisfy some persons but the positive attendance of her Majesty in person on the worship of the Presbyterian Church: consequently some of the editors of newspapers are talking very grandiloquently about the insult which her Majesty has cast upon her good people of Scotland.

But the fact that her Majesty did not attend the Presbyterian worship, is not the only offence of which, in the estimation of certain persons, she stands guilty. No! she commanded the services of a clergyman of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, who performed divine service in her presence at Dalkeith Palace. This circumstance has filled some people with indignation. They talk of the school of Laud, and of a Church which holds his principles; and they look upon this fact as a fearful augury. They say, why, if the worship of the Anglican Church was to be followed in Scotland, was not one of her Majesty's chaplains brought over from England?

The case is, however, a very simple one, and her Majesty pursued a very honest and a very natural course—one which her principles and her own good sense prompted her to take. She is a member of the Anglican Church from principle; and as Sovereign, she is its temporal head and protector. She knew that in Scotland there was a Church regularly constituted and

canonically ordered under bishops, priests, and deacons, exactly as the Church of England; that, in short, the ministers of the one were ministers of the other; and that consequently she could not pursue the course which some recommended, and attend the worship of a Presbyterian Church. Had there been no Episcopal Church in Scotland, and no one of the chaplains had been present, then the case would have been different; but circumstanced as the Queen was she had no alternative. With respect to the outcry about the principles of Laud, we can only say, that the Presbyterians have repudiated the principles of their predecessors, and that it is uncharitable and unchristian in them to impute principles to the Episcopalians. If we are to judge the two Churches by the principles which were prevalent in the time of Charles I. and Charles II., we apprehend that the Presbyterians would fare much worse than their brethren. Are the members of the Scottish Church prepared to subscribe to the opinions of their predecessors on the subject of Episcopacy? If they are, they cannot be surprised that her Majesty did not attend their worship. And as they impute the principles of the age of Laud to the Episcopal Church, we have as much reason to charge the Scottish Church with those of their predecessors of the same age.

What, then, were the principles of Presbyterians of that age? They pledged themselves to the extirpation of Episcopacy. This is one of the principles embodied and sworn to in the *Solemn League and Covenant*. And this document is still subscribed by every minister of the Scottish Church. This fact is unknown to most of the ignorant scribes in England who undertake to write on subjects which they do not understand. We, therefore, quote the clause of the covenant, and we beg our readers to mark the words—“*That we shall, in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that is, Church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissioners, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy).*” This is pretty strong; and every minister of the Scottish Church subscribes this covenant. Now her Majesty is sworn to uphold and support this government, which the Scotch clergy are pledged to endeavour to destroy. Would it not, then, be a hard case to expect her Majesty to attend their worship? or would it have been consistent for her to have done so? It is useless to say that they do not receive the covenant, for they solemnly subscribe it; and, until recent times, the most rabid attacks from the pulpit were common in Scotland. We subjoin as a specimen the title of a sermon, reprinted only in 1742:

“Prelacy an Idol, and Prelates Idolaters : all Prelatists, maintainers of, and compliers with Prelacy, charged with Idolatry, and proven Guilty.” The sermon had been preached long before, and was reprinted in consequence of Whitefield’s visit to Scotland. Thus, in an advertisement to the edition of 1742, which is now lying on our table, we read the following precious passage. “The design of reprinting the same at this time is for the conviction of those in this Church who contrary to our avowed principles, which we are solemnly sworn to, have openly professed themselves to be of the communion of the Church of England ; and also as a seasonable warning to the professors of the reformation in Scotland against the evil and danger of prelacy.” The Church of Scotland has not renounced these principles ; though probably her ministers are ashamed of them. But surely our gracious Queen could not be expected to attend the worship of a Church which denounces that Church of which she is the temporal head and the sworn defender. We should not have given these extracts had not some of the scribes who have undertaken to call in question the propriety of her Majesty’s conduct reflected on the Episcopal Church in Scotland concerning the principles of Laud. If we are to go back to those times, we are quite sure that the Presbyterians, and not the Episcopalians in Scotland, will be losers by the comparison.

CHURCH EXTENSION.

We have now to congratulate our readers on the prospect of the settlement of this very important question ; we allude to the declaration of Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, on Monday the 18th of July last—a declaration which was hailed with gratitude by the friends of the Church and of true religion, from one end of the country to the other. Our readers will remember, that Sir Robert Inglis, who has always taken the lead in this great work, had announced his attention long since of submitting a motion to the House of Commons on the subject during the last session. Many things combined to prevent him from bringing it forward early in the session ; but at length a day was fixed for its discussion. On the 18th of July a member of the opposition asked what Sir Robert Peel intended to do when the question came before the House. The Premier, with that straight-forwardness for which even his enemies must give him credit, replied, without any hesitation, that in case the motion was submitted to the House during the session he should pursue precisely the same course which he had adopted the previous year, namely, *vote for it* ; reserving for himself the liberty of exercising his own judgment on the details of the mea-

sure. But, Sir Robert added, that her Majesty's Government, who were fully impressed with the importance of the subject, intended, if the motion of Sir Robert Inglis were withdrawn, to submit a measure to the House early in the next session. After such an announcement from the Prime Minister, it would have been unwise in Sir Robert Inglis to have persisted in bringing forward his motion, since the end could be so much better attained by leaving the matter in the hands of Government. The motion was therefore withdrawn; for all that the Church requires will be much better accomplished by her Majesty's Ministers.

A great progress then has been made in the cause of Church extension. For many years it was not easy for any man to obtain a hearing in the House of Commons on such a subject; but, by perseverance on the part of the friends of the Church, the case was so completely altered, that even the Whigs were unable to refuse to entertain the question, though of course they did not regard it with approbation. Session after session it was discussed, until it became evident to the House, that the people required some further provision for the supply of their spiritual wants, and that the measure would not be unpopular in the country. We rejoice, therefore, at our altered prospects in this respect; and we hope, ere long, to see a scheme of Church extension adopted, commensurate with the wants of our abounding population.

Of course we cannot speculate on the character of the measure contemplated by the Government. Still enough fell from the Right Hon. Baronet, on the 18th of July, to lead us to conclude, that no partial measure will be adopted, but that it will be suited to the exigences of the country. Means will be provided for erecting churches among those large masses of the people who, especially in the manufacturing districts, are at present altogether deprived of the means of religious worship.

The Whigs, as usual, have begun to raise objections to a grant of money for building churches; and they affect to be very anxious for the welfare of the poor. We cannot, however, give them credit for sincerity. We believe, that the Whigs, with, of course, some exceptions, care as little for the bodies as for the souls of the poor. They talk, however, of the corn-laws, and profess a desire to give bread before they build churches. All this is mere froth, as the conduct of the Whigs has always testified. We are anxious for the bodies of the poor, but we are anxious for their souls also; and we are more concerned for the latter, inasmuch as they are more important than the former. We say, therefore, provide means for religious worship! Let the poor

have the consolations of religion in their poverty ! Let them then have the only support in trouble—the support of the gospel of Christ !

Her Majesty's Government, however, will not be driven from their course by any combination of Papists, Radicals, Whigs, and Dissenters. Sir Robert Peel knows that the mass of the nation is with him on this important subject, and being convinced of this, he will prosecute with vigour the plan which he has in contemplation, until churches are erected wherever they are wanted. We give the Premier credit for being in earnest on this subject ; and we are satisfied that no partial measure will be devised. He will strike at the root of the evil. Like all his measures, it will be conceived with boldness, and executed with vigour ; and, as far as we ourselves are concerned, we are perfectly satisfied in leaving the question entirely in the hands of the Government.

We shall, of course, hear the changes rung on *Voluntaryism*. The Dissenters will proclaim the excellency of the Voluntary principle. Still they do not greatly flourish under it. For many years the principle has had a wide field for action and yet it has done nothing. We know that chapels, which have been erected in districts in which no churches have existed, have been relinquished, because they could not be supported. Where was the Voluntary principle in such cases ? And in other Districts, where chapels have existed, they have been closed whenever churches have been erected. This fact furnishes evidence that the people will attend the church rather than the meeting-house : and it also supplies us with a clue to unravel the mystery of Dissenting opposition. Dissenters perceive that they cannot succeed where churches are planted. Hence their outcry against building churches.

Parliament probably will not have assembled at the appearance of our next number : but we shall wait with patience for their meeting, being assured that the measure will be proposed early in the session. In the mean time we recommend, that the friends of the Church should not relax in their exertions in preparing petitions to Parliament. As soon as the session commences let petitions be forwarded to the two Houses. The hands of the Government will be strengthened by such a course, and having taken the question into their management, they have a right to expect the support of the country.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

WE rejoice to find that the Primate is nearly restored to his usual health. May he be spared yet many years to the Church.

The Archbishop, by his prudence and moderation, has essentially served the Church during a period of great peril. It is our conviction, that if a man of less firmness or of less moderation had been at the head of the Church during the ten years rule of the Whigs, they might have inflicted more *heavy blows and great discouragements* than they did. The character of the Archbishop was an obstacle in their way: his prudence, we are convinced, proved the safety of the Church. The Whigs would have been delighted to have had an excuse for injuring the Church. Archbishop Howley was just the man for the times, and we are grateful for the services which he has rendered to the Church since his elevation to the see of Canterbury. We have been constrained to pay this tribute to his character, and our earnest prayer is that he may long preside over our beloved Church.

There were other topics of considerable interest, on which we had intended to enter: but we have not space in the present number in consequence of the importance of some of the subjects which we have now discussed, and which could not be passed over cursorily. In a future number these matters shall not be forgotten.

General Literature.

Statistics of Dissent in England and Wales. From Dissenting Authorities. Proving the insufficiency of the Voluntary Principle to meet the Spiritual wants of the Nation. London: Painter. 1842.

THIS is an excellent publication, and we recommend it to the perusal of all classes of readers—to the Dissenters themselves, that they may see and feel the nullity of their own arguments; and to all who profess themselves members of the Established Church, that they may see the host of opponents to which that Church is exposed, and feel the necessity of redoubling their zeal in the cause of that religion to which they belong.

In the introduction, after quoting the triumphant language of the Dissenting chief, when supported, or at least encouraged, by the late Whig-Radical Government, which was wholly indifferent to religious creeds, as well as to the progress of Protestant and Evangelical truth," the work before us proceeds to state what the Dissenters require. 1. The separation of the Church from the State. 2. The exclusion of the bishops from the House of

Lords. 3. The abolition of tithes. 4. The suppression of Church-rates. 5. The opening of Church-yards to the prayers, addresses, and sermons of Dissenting teachers of all sects and denominations over the graves of their varied disciples. 6. The creation of a *national* system of education, from which, forsooth, the *national* religion, *national* Church, and *national* clergy are to be excluded. 7. The remission of the duty payable to Government on all foreign timber used in the erection of any Dissenting or sectarian meeting-house. And—8. The opening of the Universities to Dissenters, without any test or qualification.

But who is it that calls for these monstrous concessions? The committee of Dissenters of the three denominations of Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists; the Voluntary Evangelical Church Association; the Congregational Board; the Protestant Society; the Socinian and Arian ministers excluded from the Congregational Union; the United Associate Presbytery; the Church-rate Abolitionist Society; the *Eclectic Review*; the *Congregational Magazine*; the *Patriot*; the *Nonconformist*; and the *Voluntary*. All these are arrayed against the Church; and deep and loud are their reproaches and their threats. And against whom are these reproaches directed? Against men who are faithfully performing their duty as Christian ministers—men who often, in return for a life of mental anxiety and bodily fatigue, receive not that remuneration which is considered due to a skilful mechanic who simply contributes to the convenience or luxurious accommodation of his employers; whereas, the Christian minister, by his preaching and exhortation, prepares the soul for eternity—by his prayers, comforts the afflicted—by his instruction and advice informs and guides the ignorant. But for such labours no fixed remuneration ought to be granted; yet the Scripture saith, “*the labourer is worthy of his hire.*”

And against whom or what are levelled the threatening attacks of Dissent? Against that pure, venerable, and apostolical Church, which has produced some of the best men who grace the annals of our land—men, who in retirement devoted their lives to the study and exposition of the Scriptures, or else gave all their energies to the advancement of religion among the little flock committed to their charge—prelates, who left monuments of their learning and piety in the works which they composed, not in retirement and leisure, but amidst the manifold duties of their diocese; spending their time in works of charity and munificence, while others have submitted to martyrdom in the defence of true religion. And shall a Church like this be overthrown by the unmerited hostility of Dissent? No: let our Christian brethren

be steadfast in their faith and duty, and the God who protected the Church in past ages will protect her still.

Our limits will not allow of copious extracts, but the following passages (pp. 30, 31, 32) are too worthy of attention to be omitted :

“ They (the Dissenters) are *not* satisfied with perfect toleration to teach and preach their various schisms, but they insist that *real* liberty of conscience does not exist whilst a State Church is permitted in this country. With respect to new States, we point to the 750 closed churches and chapels established on the *voluntary* principle in the United States of America ; but with reference to our own country, it is right that all men should know that Dissenters have pledged themselves, by their representatives at their unions, in their journals, at their public meetings, and everywhere, never to rest satisfied until the Church of England shall become a voluntary Church, unconnected with the State, and wholly supported by presents and collections. They go even the length of proclaiming, that all the endowments of the Church should be sacrificed to the State, and should be applied in diminution of the national debt, and in support of a general national system of Dissenting education. When we make use of the term *Dissenting education*, we do so advisedly, for the plan of education they would adopt would *exclude* Church principles, Church influences, Church discipline, Church books, Church prayers, Church creeds, Church catechisms, Church ordinances, and, could leave to the untutored parents of millions of helpless urchins the duty they could *not* perform of instructing their children in *their* views of Christian truth and doctrine. Yet what are *their* views ? They have none.

“ It is greatly to be feared that many thousands of the clergy and laity in this country are not aware of the position taken by modern Dissenters ; that position is one of aggression. They do not say, with the Dissenters of former times, that they respect and reverence the Church, though they cannot conscientiously communicate with her members ; but they say that the Church is a vast public and national evil, which must be rooted up and overthrown, however long and great may be the conflict which the bringing about such a result must necessitate. It is a mistake to suppose that the Dissenters do not desire to apply the principles of voluntaryism to the Church of England as it exists to-day. On the contrary, that is their object ; and what would be the result ? Why, in a very large proportion of the rural parishes of this kingdom, if the principles of voluntaryism were applied to the parish churches, the sums contributed would not, could not, be adequate to the unavoidable expenses of public worship and the administration of the sacraments. Nor would the Dissenters, with their meeting-houses, supply the lack which would then exist, of both preachers and churches. Not only is Dissent now unable to provide, by its voluntary principle, for the spiritual instruction of the nation ; but if by the introduction of the same principle into the Episcopal Church of Great Britain, the spiritual instruction of the nation should

be left wholly to voluntarism, though the Church would lose her ground, Dissent would not be able to occupy her place. The Dissenters of our times are engaged in propagating three capital and disastrous errors—first, that a National and State Church is a great curse to the country; secondly, that there exists no necessity for a State Church, as the instrument of supplying all classes of the people with religious knowledge, and with the sacraments established by the Divine Founder of Christianity; and thirdly, that if the Church of England should be no longer allowed to exist in England as a National and State Church, voluntarism would provide all the religious means which would be required by the whole nation.

“We propose, then, to continue our examination of ‘Dissenting Statistics in England and Wales,’ not merely with the view of showing that the voluntary system has not, and does not, supply the means of public worship to *one-fortieth* portion of the whole population, but also with the intention of demonstrating that but for the existence of a National and State religion, in this country, ‘the people would be without the means of grace, and consequently without a warranted hope of Glory.’”

The statistical account of each county is then laid before the reader; the Dissenting Statistics being originally given in the *Congregational Magazine*, are, of course, officially correct, and in addition to those are given the number of parishes and townships in each county, so that a clearer view of the subject cannot possibly be obtained than by the perusal of this small but deeply interesting work. As a specimen of the Statistics we will give the county of Derby.

“DERBYSHIRE.

“This county has a population of 272,200; has 310 parishes, townships, &c.; covers an area of 1028 square miles; has 52,900 inhabited houses, and has forty-four Congregational meeting-houses. At first sight, it would appear that this was a large number; but by far the majority of the meeting-houses are small, and Dissent is in a by no means rising condition in this county. The man of most note and spirit is James Gawthorne, the minister at Brookside, Derby, who, although a very zealous Dissenter, does not lend himself to low tricks of shuffling, and who has on more than one occasion reprimanded those who did. There are seven of these forty-four meeting-houses without pastors; five are supplied by students; and three are held with others, for the best of all reasons, viz., that alone they do not pay.

“Most of the meeting-houses are small. There are doubtless some exceptions, such as Belper and Derby, but these are not many. Still, however, we will average the seat-room at 400 each chapel; and thus 17,400 persons, out of 272,200, may be accommodated;—deficiency, 254,800. ‘The Derbyshire Congregational Union’ was formed in 1825, and joined the general union in 1834. Mr. Gawthorne ‘keeps matters together’ tolerably well; and the county is divided into four districts, and the districts meet regularly. Still nearly 200 years have elapsed since Dissent installed itself at Chinley; and at the end of 200

years, out of 272,200 souls, Congregationalism only provides for 17,400. Yet this is the system to which it is proposed by Sir Culling Smith to entrust the souls of our whole population. It will not do, Sir Culling !”

We recommend to the attention of those who read the work before us the Statistics of Durham and Essex. Those of Durham need no comment—those of Essex naturally call forth reflection in every thoughtful mind. It appears that there are hot-beds of Dissent, that is to say numerous seminaries for the opponents of the true Church; and the Homerton, Hoxton, Highbury, and Hackney lads are all instructed to “hate the Church of England.” Indeed !!—a worthy Christian-like principle. And in place of the pure tenets of our Church, what are these Dissenters taught? Doctrines the most anti-christian; ideas promulgated by men opposed to the precepts of the Scripture. And such is the blindness of these deluded, and in most cases ignorant sects, that they would sooner unite with Romanism to overthrow our Church, than peaceably profit by her toleration and mildness.

“It were well if the nonconformist of modern times were sometimes to reflect how much of liberty he owes to that Church whose establishment he decries (for where popery reigns, not to conform is heresy), and to be more tender to her who treats him tenderly. It is too much to expect that we should sacrifice points of distinction which we deem important, because he calls them trifling; and be it remarked, if we were to yield all that from various quarters may be asked for, we should have no distinctive marks of a true Church left, but should be fused in the common mass of society at large.”

And this is what the Dissenters are aiming at; they seek to overthrow the Church, in order to introduce and disseminate their own heterodox opinions and absurdities in religious matters; and they would fain effect the separation of Church and State, because *then* democracy would reign triumphant; for to view the matter one moment in a political point of view, no nation was ever yet either morally or politically a great nation which did not possess a state religion. But that is not the ground on which we wish to take our stand—we look to purer and better motives; we would impress on the minds of those who now would deprive us of the inadequate revenues which the rapacity of Henry VIII., and Elizabeth’s jealousy of power have left the Church—we would, we say, impress on their minds, that in refusing support to the Church they deny it to God. It is not to us, the ministers of the Church, that they deny the means of support—it is to the Gospel itself, by depriving us of the means of administering to the spiritual wants of an immense population. Hath

not the Savioar said, "render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's and unto God the things that be God's?" But our modern Dissenters would do neither the one nor the other. However, our cause is in mightier hands than any human power can boast: we trust in Him who hath said, "my Church is founded on a rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

The Beauty of Holiness in the Common Prayer; to which is added a Rationale of Cathedral Worship. By THOMAS BESSE, D.D. A new edition, revised, with Additional Notes, by F. P. Pocock, B. A. Cambridge. Stevenson. 1842.

Who is there who has not felt his devotional feelings excited by the beauty of the Anglican liturgy—whether it rolls its solemn notes through the lofty aisles of our cathedrals, or whether it be simply *said* by the minister and congregation? All Dissenters, as well as Churchmen, have commended it—witness the late Robert Hall and Adam Clarke, though they were not obedient to the voice of the Church Catholic, yet they listened to it with delight. Dr. Besse was one of her obedient sons, and in the eloquent work which is here reprinted, has he well exemplified "The Beauties of Holiness." The Rationale, too, of Cathedral worship, will satisfy any candid enquirer as to the office and use of organs and choirs, and anthems and antiphonal chants, and all those incitements to solemn feeling which our Church so wisely employs.

The Holy Land, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt, and Nubia, from Drawings made on the Spot. By DAVID ROBERTS, R. A. With Historical Descriptions, by the Rev. George Croly, L.L.D. Lithographed by Louis Haghe. Vol. I. Moon. 1842. Large folio.

THE parts or numbers of this cheap but splendid work are now before the public. The beauty and accuracy of Mr. Roberts's views have been attended by all who have enjoyed the privilege of beholding the edifices and scenery, which he has so admirably delineated. The letter-press descriptions have been compiled by Dr. Croly, from Mr. Roberts's manuscript journal, and from Dr. Robinson's "Biblical Researches," of which we have given an account in a preceding article. We are glad to see that a publication like this, which reflects so much honour upon British artists, is supported by upwards of six hundred subscribers, at the head of whom we with pleasure see her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, and her Majesty the Queen Dowager.

History of the Church of Christ until the Revolution, A. D., 1688. In a course of Lectures, by the REV. CHARLES MACKENZIE, A.M.

A WORK of the present description, calculated alike to interest the attention and to inform the mind of the reader, is desirable in *all* days, but especially in these, when a spirit of enquiry is the grand characteristic of the age ; but together with it, a much-to-be-lamented ignorance upon many of the most important facts pertaining to the history of the Church of Christ—an ignorance which unquestionably should not exist on a subject which ought to be one of the deepest interest to every rational and immortal being ; for if the page of general history be indeed to all a valuable, useful, and necessary study (as it is universally admitted to be), how much more valuable, useful, and necessary must be the study of the history of the Church of the living God !

Our respective studies are usually greatly guided by our individual tastes and pursuits. Thus the poet loves to trace the career of those who, in despite of the ills of poverty, the drawbacks of obscurity, and the assaults of envy, have grasped the imperishable wreath of fame ; and thus the philosopher identifies himself with the course of those who having slowly and perseveringly ascended the steep and toilsome hill of science, have at length attained the height at which they aimed, thereby enlightening not only their own minds, but improving those of their fellow creatures. To the servant of God, however, what can be so precious as the history of the Church of God ? What annals can embody so many subjects of deep and touching interest ? It is the history of the community of which he trusts he is himself a humble member, of the kingdom of which he hopes he is himself a loyal subject : in it he traces the prosperity and adversity of men of like feelings with himself—he enters into their sufferings, grieves at their perils, exults in their deliverance ; and his assurance is confirmed that all endeavours, all machinations, shall be vain to shake the faith of the steadfast son of the Church, who prays to God that he may be supported by his Almighty grace in the hour of need. He likewise reads how the martyrs of old were enabled, by strength not their own, to sustain the fiery trial of persecution, and thereby he is himself girded with spiritual strength to preserve his own, and the faith of his forefathers, from the open attack of the scoffer and the undermining acts of the sophist ; he reads how holy men of old passed through a variety of changes and conditions, all of which, according to the unfailing word of revelation, testify the sure and certain fact, that the world exists for the sake of the Church, and that the Church

will endure when all other communities are swept away—even like the ancient and deeply-rooted oak, which defies the tempest, laying waste the fragile trees—even like the firm and majestic rock braving the lashing of the boisterous waves, which may approach but cannot subdue or destroy it.

How noble, how exalting is such a study ! How poor in comparison are the intricacies of science—how trifling the strains of song—how unprofitable the narratives of fiction !

Large and complex works on the subject have appeared. The well-known and duly to be appreciated histories of Mosheim, Collier, and others of a similar stamp, have afforded information and gratification to many who have had leisure to peruse, patience to study, and memory to retain their contents ; but a brief and simple history on the subject has been wanting, adapted in its style and size for those who, through youth or want of opportunity, are unable to wade through successive volumes, and adapted likewise in its tone and spirit for the members of the Anglican Church, which stands in unrivalled excellency, freed from the errors of Popery on the one hand, and from the liberalism of unbelievers on the other hand. The want of such a volume is amply supplied by the one now sent forth by the Rev. C. Mackenzie ; the events embodied in it are related in appropriate and elegant language ; the orthodoxy of sound Churchmanship is conspicuous throughout ; and, while it is perfectly untinged by harshness and dogmatism, it is also free from any overdrawn statements upon certain subjects, which are sometimes to be found in publications otherwise deserving of unqualified commendations. The readers of mature age will derive pleasure and information from the perusal of this work ; but the young (for whose especial benefit the amiable and unassuming author tells us he has written it) are under peculiar obligations for the production of so very inviting and useful a publication.

Baptismal Regeneration opposed both by the Word of God and the Standards of the Church of England. By CAPEL MOLYNEUX, B.A. London : Seeley. 1842.

It is very melancholy when good men and clever men, and Mr. Molyneux is both the one and the other, take such very perverse views. If the question about which he contends be not a mere logomachy, then he contradicts the Church ; but it is a logomachy, and Mr. Molyneux would be labouring to much better effect if he would simply *explain* the sound phraseology of the Church, than he does by contradicting her for the sake of establishing an unsound one.

A History of the Convocation of the Church of England, being an account of the Proceedings of Anglican Ecclesiastical Councils, from the earliest period. By the Rev. THOMAS LATHBURY, M. A., Author of "A History of the English Episcopacy," &c., "The Spanish Armada," &c. London. Parker. 1842.

MR. LATHBURY is well known to the friends of pure Christianity in this country, as an able and successful advocate of some of the facts and the general system of doctrine, by which it is distinguished from the corruption and encroachment of a Church unjustly arrogating to herself the name of *Catholic*. Although we put no extravagant value upon the name of Protestant, we by no means decline it, but, on the contrary, bring it prominently forward, whenever the occasion particularly calls, as it frequently, and more especially at the present crisis, does, for insisting upon it. As a Protestant champion of no minor power, Mr. Lathbury has well earned the gratitude of his fellow Protestants, and may content himself with the ample expression of it as a sufficient defence and answer against some minute and quibbling hostility which he has had to encounter.

We are now to acquaint our readers with another effort of the same pen, which will not diminish the reputation gained by any of the former. The present work is of a class, of which few are supplied, by the age of book-writing and book-publishing in which we have the happiness, or otherwise, to live—it fills up a *vacuum*, it supplies a *desideratum*. This is a strongly marked and most important distinction.

The principal ecclesiastical conventions, particularly the Convocations of the Anglican Church, are most extensively unknown (if we may use such an expression) to the members, and even the studious members, of that Church. Nor are they greatly to be blamed. It has been painfully felt, as it is obviously the fact, that no connected history of such a description, whether upon a large or a small scale, is anywhere to be found. Of books on the subject, great and little, there is a sufficient, and a rather heterogeneous mass; but to find them, arrange them, and then wade through them, so as at least to attain a clear and consistent view of the matter, is an undertaking so arduous, that the heart, even of a stout reader, may be very rationally expected to sink within him at the view. He must, as the most direct, indispensable, and even most summary mode of proceeding, diligently ransack the folios of Wilkins's *Concilia Mag. Britt.*—now not very easily, or on easy terms, attainable; those of Wake and Gibson, on the particular subject; those of our main national ecclesiastical historians; together with a countless multitude of small

gear of various character and complexion (not always the most inviting); and when he has done all, he will find that he has got a chaos to bring into form and order, and still further, to take some means of perpetuating his labour, and rescuing it from the fate which usually attends information so obtained, hardly more endurable than impressions upon the sand.

Now the merit of the work before us is, that the writer has undertaken this not unlabourious task, however small the volume, for the benefit of that part of the public which takes an interest in such affairs; and we hope he will not, like many, have to sing, *sic vos non vobis*. It will be bad policy, and contrary to the soundest principles of selfishness, to oblige him so to do. We assure ourselves, and in the dignified capacity of arbiters of public opinion, dare pronounce, that the general approbation which he has so well earned will not fail to be his reward.

The history under criticism presents the ecclesiastical transactions of the national Church, counciliar and convocational, in a concise and luminous form, drawn from the proper fountains, and in due proportion; and we are persuaded that every competent and uncapricious reader will rise from the perusal of it, not only with a good mass of accession to his previous knowledge, but with the entire aggregate of his knowledge more methodized, and better capable of application and use, than it ever was, or could be, before.

Condensed as the information in so small a volume must be, it would be a hopeless attempt to give the entire of its contents in a form more condensed; unless indeed we contented ourselves with giving the mere skeleton of the "Contents," as they appear under that designation. To those, however, who have yet to make themselves possessors of the work, it may be acceptable intelligence that it is divided into fifteen chapters, and proceeds, as it naturally would do, chronologically. The second chapter contains an account of the mission into this country of the Italian monk, Augustine, as far as connected with the subject. The next is interesting, as detailing the performances of the perjured, absolved, and canonized Thomas Becket, the spiritual rebel against his king, Henry II. In the fourth, Wickliffe appears, with the condemnation, both of him and of his vernacular translation of the Scriptures; on the latter of which important subjects may profitably be consulted, the posthumous volume of Archbishop Usher, *Historia Dogmatica*, pp. 159, particularly 163-4. The sixth chapter lands us upon that momentous and most blessed revolution, the emancipation and reformation of the national Church of these realms. May the ignorance and disaffection to pure Christianity which dare to revile that signal interposition of Divine mercy be compelled to retire and cover

themselves with their own shame ! And here the mass of matter affecting all the transactions of the renewed Church perfectly overwhelms the mind. We can only say, that whether the providential preparations of the Papal Henry ; the direct but imperfect reformation accomplished in the short reign of his son ; or the re-action and destructive proceedings of his daughter, brutalized by her religion and clergy, and yet promoting what she designed to destroy—whether one or all these “ times which tried men’s souls ” are traversed by the pen of Mr. Lathbury, his statement of the ecclesiastical facts with which his history is concerned is distinguished, though by an unpretending, yet by a very judicious and satisfactory detail. The other daughter of Henry restored the interrupted reformation, and carried on the divine work with the advantage produced by the hate and feeling experience of Papal intolerance and barbarity. At page 175, and onward, Mr. Lathbury has discussed very satisfactorily the disputed clause in the twentieth Article. He would have found an able view of the same subject in Dr. Lamb’s “ *Account of the Thirty-nine Articles*,” pages 33-37. It is a work of strict accuracy and eminent value.

The efforts of the Anglican Church during these reigns, in an attempted and incipient code of canon law, in articles of religion, in liturgical and homiletical provisions, in regulations for the clergy, in the general ordering of public worship in its substance and forms, and in all other proper acts, whether legislative or executive, of ecclesiastical meetings legally constituted and convened, are placed before the reader with a particularity generally sufficient, and with such a reference to sources as will direct him to the most ample information attainable on the particular subjects.

As, however, regards Convocations in particular, the proper subject of the present work, it is not till the subsequent reigns that they occupy a large or conspicuous place ; indeed till then they were not settled upon their ultimate foundation. And for this part of the subject our limits oblige us to refer almost entirely to the pages of our author. We say, *almost entirely* ; for we feel tempted to advert to two points. The Comprehension scheme in the reign of William III., for which, after the Act of Toleration, a royal commission was issued, is found in chapter xi., detailed, we believe, with perfect accuracy. Mr. Lathbury has appealed to both Tindal and Kennet as his authorities ; but they each derived their information originally, as appears, from Calamy’s *Continuation of his Abridgment of Baxter’s Life and Times*. It is always desirable to cite the highest authority. Our second reference is to the account of the expiring accents of the Convocation in the reign of Queen Anne, in chapter xii.

Enough is generally known of the turbulent and disgraceful character of the Convocations of that period, particularly of the Lower House. The ultra-church notions of that section of the body, combined with its rebellious and insolent behaviour towards their superiors, the Upper House, or the Episcopate; together with the artifice it used to entrap the latter, and the defeat of its attempt by a body which understood the party, and turned the weapons of the assailants against themselves, is a graphic and instructive, however humiliating, picture of the excesses into which spiritual men (as they are called) are often betrayed, when they become possessed of almost any kind or degree of temporal power. And this leads us, in conclusion, to venture a word or two on the moral of Mr. Lathbury's book—the propriety of restoring the suspended exercise of Convocational meetings, with their just and limited powers. Most heartily do we lament the suspension, though so justifiable, and almost necessary; for the Convocation, that is, the democratic Lower House, have themselves alone to thank for it. It is hard indeed, likewise, that, on their account, so obvious and indisputable a right should still be denied to the national Church. And if any security could be given, that scenes such as those referred to would not be repeated—if there were good reason to believe that in future Convocations, if restored, the Upper or Episcopal part could, or would, be allowed to deliver their sentiments in a distinct and decisive manner, and with due authority, and the Inferior House would bow with some real deference, though far short of what they profess, and while their language is something amounting to that petty adoration, not openly or by plain insinuation insult their spiritual superiors—if conduct of some continuance gave confidence that both divisions would come to the performance of their solemn and responsible duties *spiritually qualified* with the Divine Glory as their absorbing end, and the sanctification and salvation of man as most conducive to that end, at the expense of all other ends, temporal or selfish—then (and welcome the day!), then will the restoration of Convocation, with full powers in this Church and nation, be a measure at once just, beneficial, and advisable. There will be little danger, and much good may be anticipated.

The Christian Mother, or, Natural Duties exemplified in the Narratives of the Old and New Testament. By MARY MILNER. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 2nd edition. 1842.

A VERY pleasing resumé of the maternal duties is this, and very pleasingly is it illustrated by the lovely examples of mothers of old time, who brought up their offspring in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

The Cyclopædia of Popular Medicine, intended for domestic use ; with numerous Illustrations. This work comprises an Account of the Causes, Symptoms, and Method of Curing Diseases, together with the Diseases of Women and Children, and those incident to Warm Climates ; with a plain description of the Medicines in common use ; to which is added, a complete Treatise on Diet, and directions for the treatment of Fractures of the Limbs. With several plates. By KEITH IMRAY, M.D., Edinburgh. London : Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THE want of a scientific treatise on *Popular Medicine* has long been known and felt by those to whom this work is addressed. Dr. Imray, in supplying this desideratum, has filled the vacuum, and conferred a benefit on society, of which he may be justly proud. There is no subject within the whole range of the arts and sciences, on their knowledge of which the public plume themselves so much, and are in reality so ignorant of, as the nature and causes of the diseases to which they are liable, and consequently the principles of their prevention and cure. At the same time, there is no subject on which they are more easily and readily duped ; and there is no species of quackery more rampant, or that calls more imperatively for cure. This is to be attributed to the ignorance we have spoken of, and this ignorance is, in its turn, the result of hitherto inadequate means of information. For whilst the press teems with works from every other department of science written for the reading of the “many,” and has made them conversant with its arcana, yet that this “age of intellect” has not long since produced a volume like the one under review, is to us a subject of astonishment ; especially as medicine has made the like rapid strides with some, and out-paced others, of her sister sciences. On this point Dr. Imray speaks thus in his preface :

“ The public know nothing of that wonderful machine ‘ in which we live, move, and have our being.’ They are unacquainted with the laws which preserve it in a state of integrity, and are therefore unable to avoid or ward off disease. They are still more ignorant of the manner in which the machine may be repaired when injured. Medicine is, therefore, to them a mystery, and the book of health a sealed volume. Surely such an omission as this should not be encouraged ; it is disgraceful to the system of education pursued in this country—it is highly injurious to the public, and fraught with no advantage whatever to the regularly educated medical man.”

Dr. Imray has, like us, been so impressed with these ideas, that he has given to the world the present volume, which will, we trust, remove in a great degree this general want of informa-

tion, by withdrawing the veil of mysticism which has hitherto obscured the art and science of medicine, and secondarily tend to suppress, more effectively than any legislative means could possibly do, the multiform species of charlatanism so universally present.

Having spoken thus generally of the objects of the work, and the reasons which induced Dr. Imray to publish this "Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine," before we give an extract or two, in order to show its style, and the capabilities of its author, it being impossible in a work like the present to do more than dip here and there, we will say a few words on its general arrangement.

Dr. Imray begins by describing the leading and more prominent features of every complaint, viz., those which strike an observer as the most important. This is done with sufficient clearness and perspicuity to be understood by every person of moderate ability, no previous knowledge of medicine being necessary; all professional technicalities and theories are avoided, and symptoms are described in such intelligible language, that they may be recognized when present, and avoided when threatened. Having made us acquainted with the disease by detailing its history, nature, causes, and symptoms, he then shows the indications of cure, proceeds to lay down its broad principle, and then follows out the details of treatment by recommending the most approved method, and by giving prescriptions for every stage of the progress towards recovery. Of these prescriptions we cannot speak too highly; they are written with judgment, and show in every one the careful and experienced physician. It is this portion of the work which distinguishes it so much beyond any of its predecessors on "popular medicine;" for here we have no infallibles, no *nostrums*, no specifics, no certain remedies. We see that Dr. Imray fixes on PRINCIPLES; that this is the keystone of his treatment of disease, and by this he claims our confidence, secures our faith, and we feel ourselves safe in employing the remedial means he proposes. All the medicines recommended throughout the work meet in their proper place with a lucid description of their history, properties, mode of preparation, and application.

With respect to the affections peculiar to women and children, Dr. Imray has paid particular attention to this important class of diseases, and this alone would be a sufficient inducement for its finding a place in every family library; more especially as works of an inferior description, disseminating false principles and confirming absurd practices, are already finding their way there under the titles of "Advice to Young Mothers," "Domestic Guides," &c. &c.

The work is also interspersed with diseases incidental to warm climates ; and on this as well as on the other sections of the work, we are happy in being able to speak favourably. Dr. Imray has been a resident and a practitioner in the West Indies, and this is an additional guarantee for the correctness with which he has treated this portion of his work.

Towards the end, we have a description of the various fractures of the limbs, easy methods of applying proper bandages, treatment and cure. In addition to the general illustration of the Cyclopædia, this portion is brought before us by the pencil of Maclise.

Such then is the brief outline of the work, the study of which we would so strongly urge upon all. But *cum grano salis* ; for whilst we would wish to see removed all the erroneous views, mistaken opinions, and general want of knowledge on matters connected with medicine, yet we would not for a moment wish it to be understood that we counsel our readers, in any case of importance, to rely on their own responsibility, and the recipes of "*their book*." On this subject Dr. Imray himself says :—

" In a great many affections, and particularly in disorders which depend on the derangement of the functions of a part, common sense, aided by the rules which are found in the present pages, will enable the reader to recognise the symptoms, and select the proper treatment. Still I cannot sufficiently impress upon his mind the necessity of having at once recourse to medical assistance, whenever it can be obtained, in all serious cases of disease. The "*Cyclopædia of Popular Medicine*" is not intended to supersede the practice of medicine, or to make every man his own doctor, but to afford simple rules for the alleviation of disease and the preservation of health, which may be had recourse to whenever circumstances render it expedient or necessary."

Having thus laid before our readers the object of the work, and spoken of its plan and execution, we now proceed to make a few extracts, in order that they may form their own opinion, and decide on its merits.

On blood-letting, Dr. Imray offers the following very judicious remarks :—

" Though it is the province of the surgeon to use the lancet, yet cases must occur frequently in which surgical assistance cannot be procured, and where immediate blood-letting is not to be dispensed with, without endangering life. How often does it happen on board of ship, in remote country districts, and in our colonies, on plantations distant from towns, that medical aid is urgently required, and no practitioner is to be found within many miles ? Under such circumstances, let us suppose, for example, a person to fall down in a fit of apoplexy, or to be attacked with inflammation of the lungs, or any other acute disease ; is he to be deprived of the most powerful remedial means we are acquainted with in such cases, because no medical man is near ?

Certainly not, since any one possessed of common courage, by following a few simple directions, which cannot be mistaken, may open a vein at the bend of the arm with perfect safety, and thus be the means of relieving extreme suffering, and perhaps of saving a valuable life." (p. 62).

Dr. Imray then describes most clearly every step of the operation, the whole being facilitated by good illustrations.

The remarks on the prevention and cure of *Indigestion* are good; he says—"Medical means are not likely to be of much service in indigestion, without the strictest attention to regimen and diet;" and for this purpose he gives us general directions for a dyspeptic's daily fare, which we transcribe for the benefit of our readers who suffer from this Protean malady:—

"At breakfast the patient should not take more than one cup of tea, coffee, or chocolate, with a moderate quantity of bread a day old, and a little fresh butter; an egg may be allowed, if sufficient exercise be taken. Dinner should to be taken about six hours afterwards, and ought to consist of from a quarter to half a pound of lean animal food, particularly mutton, poultry, venison, game, or very tender beef, roasted or broiled, with stale bread, and a small quantity of rice, mealy potatoes, or of any tender well boiled vegetable that agrees with the patient. The use of wine at dinner must depend in a great measure on former habits. In general a glass or two of old sherry, old port, hock, or sauterne, or a little weak brandy and water, may tend to promote digestion; but whatever kind of drink is used, the quantity should be small, for it is better to suffer a little from thirst, than to charge the stomach with too much fluid. If the patient dine early, he should take a cup of tea or coffee with bread, in the evening; and a biscuit, with a little negus, or a breakfast cup full of arrow root, sago, or gruel, about an hour before going to bed. Indeed, many people are as likely to be restless during the night, and have disturbed sleep, if they go to bed without a light supper, as if they had taken a full meal."

Although Dr. Imray has dwelt so forcibly on proper attention to diet, he does not pretend that these means are all-powerful; for the whole article is interspersed with abundant recipes, for aperients, alteratives, stomachics, and tonics. Intimately connected with this subject is the long and able chapter on diet towards the end of the book. Dr. Imray says—

"The immediate connection of this subject with the comfort and health of every person must render it of the greatest consequence; and the interest which it excites amongst people of every grade of knowledge need not surprise us, when we bring to mind that the most important consideration towards the preservation of health, and the integrity of the intellectual faculties, is the due regulation of the quantity and quality of our food."

Again—

"The greater part of the diseases to which we are subject, arise from error in diet; and attention to our food, with temperance in other

respects, is not only of great importance in preserving health, but is likewise essentially necessary in the cure of numerous disorders to which the human frame is liable. Many of these, indeed, may be cured by an appropriate diet alone."

Want of space prevents our making farther extracts; we have however, shown Dr. Inray's happy way of communicating information. We close the volume, having satisfied ourselves that he is an able and experienced physician, and acquainted theoretically and practically with every opinion he has advanced and with every disease he has described. We, therefore, conscientiously recommend his book as the best and only one that will fill in all respects the void we have deplored in the commencement of this article.

To the clergy, therefore, who feel it their duty to know in some degree the principle and practice of medicine, in order that they may administer relief in slight cases amongst their parishioners, and in cases of emergency, before the arrival of proper medical assistance; to foreign missionaries; to settlers in the new colonies; to captains of vessels; to heads of schools and families; to each and to all we would strongly recommend this admirable work.

The Nonconformist's Sketch Book ; a Series of Views, classified in four groups, of a State Church and its attendant Evils.
London : Nonconformist Office. 1842.

WE are by no means surprised at the animus displayed by the writers in the *Nonconformist*. That they are conscientious nonconformists, we by no means intend to deny ; but we confess that we place no very high value on either the arguments or the statistics of our contemporary so named. Our reason shall be briefly given. One who states that the revenues of the Anglican Church exceed *nine millions sterling* !—an assertion made in the last number for July of the *Nonconformist*—must be either so grossly ignorant as to forfeit all right to judge on the subject, or so grossly dishonest as to be in every particular unworthy of belief. The book before us appeared in portions in the *Nonconformist* ; and the publisher will no doubt be satisfied when we say, that in talent and integrity it is well worthy of its source.

Conseerated Thoughts ; or a Few Notes from a Christian Harp.

By WILLIAM HARRISON, A.M. London : Cradock. 1842.

POETRY is a drug—so say all the bibliopoles—we therefore dare not augur a very large sale for the consecrated thoughts of Mr. Harrison. There is, however, much in them that will well repay a perusal : much tenderness, unaffected piety, elegant versification, and now and then a graceful and truly poetical thought.

The Triune Constitution of the Mind. A Sermon. By the Rev. HENRY MACKENZIE, M.A., of Pembroke College, Oxford, Minister of St. James's, Bermondsey, and some time Master of Bancroft's Hospital. Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

THE hearer of a sermon has in general no small advantage over the reader. The voice, the look, the gesture, the very presence of the living preacher, give an interest to the words spoken, which the words printed, however well chosen and skilfully arranged, seldom possess. This, however, is not the case with discourses which, like the one now before us, demand the close attention of the understanding. We doubt whether even the worthy master, wardens, and court of assistants, of the respectable civic body before whom, at their annual visitation of Bancroft's Hospital, this discourse was preached, had so clear an idea of its scope and tendency, as may now be attained by the humbler individuals who can peruse and re-peruse at their leisure the somewhat abstruse disquisitions contained in the pages of the printed pamphlet.

The design of the author, as his title-page imports, is to prove and illustrate the existence in man of a threefold nature. He does not refer to that division into intellectual, vital, and corporeal, to which St. Paul is generally supposed to allude, when giving utterance to the earnest desires of his heart, for the complete felicity of his Thessalonian converts. He says, "Your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Thess. v. 23); and to which St. Augustine, *De Symbolo*, more particularly refers in these words—"Homo habet tres partes, spiritum, animam, et corpus: itaque homo est imago Sanctissimæ Trinitatis."

The division proposed in the present discourse is into animal, intellectual, and spiritual, and these have each their respective subdivisions, for which the reader may be referred to the tabular view prefixed to the discourse. As to these subdivisions, we have no particular observations to offer; on subjects so abstruse as the nature of will, knowledge, conscience, wide difference of opinion may well exist; and we could not, except after long and careful study, feel very confident of the correctness of our own sentiments, or entitled to pronounce judgment upon those of others. But there clearly appears to us an inaccuracy in one of the main divisions, to which we are anxious to draw the author's attention, in case, as we suspect is not altogether improbable, he should hereafter favour the world with a fuller development of his theory. By the spiritual part of man's nature, he appears to mean the renewed spiritual nature. Now, to divide the human constitution into animal, intellectual, and renewed spiritual nature is, we apprehend, a faulty enumera-

tion, for, unhappily, of the last named nature the majority of mankind are totally destitute. The utmost that can be predicted of man generally is, that he has a capacity for receiving it. We are glad to find that the resemblance, which, on the hypothesis here maintained, exists between the divine and the human nature, though alluded to, is not pressed. We think that such resemblance is no confirmation of the hypothesis, and that to dwell upon it might lead into dangerous and unhallowed speculations.

It must not be supposed that the whole of the discourse before us is confined to abstract discussion. More than usual ingenuity, together with a pious care for the best interests of those to whom the sermon was addressed, is displayed in drawing practical lessons from the theoretical views previously developed. The following address to the grey-haired recipients of the founder's bounty, we trust, was blessed to their souls. May it be so to the souls of our more aged readers !

“ My aged brethren,—The guiding hand of Providence that framed your bodies in wonderful manner, and animated them with souls capable of rendering Him practical homage, has directed you in the evening of your days to this asylum. Here, by the bounty of one long since gathered to his fathers, dispensed with no niggard hand by living benefactors, you have unwonted opportunities afforded you of practising the precepts of the Gospel, and cultivating the mind of Christ. I beseech you, then, let not the words of this day's discourse be spoken to you in vain, but ‘let this disposition dwell in you which was also in Christ Jesus!’ Remember that, as the hand of time presses heavily upon most of you, the animal portion of your constitution is gradually decaying, and leading your frames, by gentle steps, yet certain, to the tombs where they must sleep with kindred dust ; remember, too, that your rational faculties, of whatever stamp they be, will certainly never be *stronger* than they now are, though probably they may with life decay. Think then, my aged friends and brethren in the Lord, think whether those reasoning powers and that animal life—alike the gifts of God—have been invariably devoted to the promotion of his glory. Think whether they have not been squandered recklessly, as though your own by *right* instead of *gift*, while you have left to the eleventh hour the duty of exerting your spiritual gifts, of making your peace with God, of seeking the mind of Christ.” (pp. 15, 16).

We regret that our limits do not permit us to add the remainder of this eloquent apostrophe, and also our author's affectionate address to those younger members of the same institution who were then under his immediate care. We have derived much pleasure from the perusal of this discourse ; it has furnished us with what cannot now-a-days be always derived from sermons preached or published—materials for thought.

Cardinal Allen's Admonition to the Nobility and People of England, &c., A.D. 1588. Reprinted, with a Preface by EUPATER. London: Duncan and Co. 1842.

ON two accounts this republication is very important—*first*, as a striking evidence of the intentions of Romanists when armed with power; and *secondly*, because the tract was so scarce that few persons only have ever seen it. Dr. Lingard remarks:—

“In the present note I purpose to give some account of this tract, which every writer on the Armada is careful to mention, though few of them ever had it in their hands. It was printed at Antwerp, to be distributed in England at the moment of the invasion: but the invasion did not take place, and care was taken to burn almost all the copies. Hence the book is become extremely scarce.” (*See Lingard*, vol. viii. p. 442).

If few writers have had it in their hands, they may now possess an exact reprint at a moderate price. It is, indeed, a *fac-simile* of the original; so that those who purchase the present volume will not only be able to judge of its contents, but they will also be able to form an opinion of the appearance of the book. The editor has, therefore, performed a most acceptable service: and as few copies (only 125, as we understand) are printed, we hope soon to hear that a much larger impression is called for by the public. Should it be reprinted, we would suggest that an edition of 500 copies at least may be struck off, for we are sure that within a few years the whole would be sold. We shall be glad, too, to be able to say to any one who wishes to examine this notorious production, you may now obtain an exact reprint. Dr. Lingard admits, that almost all the copies were destroyed in consequence of the failure of the Armada. But why were they destroyed, if the cause was good and holy? They ought rather to have been preserved, as monuments of the pious intentions of the Pope and his Majesty of Spain. The fact of their destruction affords the strongest evidence of the shame that was felt by the actors in the Armada, as well as of the unprincipled character of the Church of Rome. Had the expedition been successful, then it would have been pretended, that Heaven was on their side, and the *Admonition* would have been circulated throughout the country.

Besides the *Admonition*, it appears that a sort of abstract of it was published at the same time, in the form of a *broadside* of 81 lines, entitled, “A Declaration of the Sentence and Deposition of Elizabeth, the usurper and pretended Queene of England.” This was intended also for distribution; but on the failure of the Armada most of the copies were destroyed. Dr.

Lingard mentions one as having been, when he wrote in 1838, lately in the possession of Mr. H. G. Bohn, York-street, Covent-garden, and he thinks it probable that no other copy is in existence. (*Lingard*, viii. 445.) It is reprinted by Mr. Tierney, in his new edition of Dodd's History.

Some copies of the *Admonition*, however, do exist, and one copy of the *Declaration*, at all events, is to be found. Probably others will be met with. Mr. Tierney, too, has reprinted it, so that it will now remain as a memorial of the principles of Rome. With respect to the *Admonition*, we may remark the good providence of God in the preservation of any copies, for the greatest exertions were made, after the failure of the expedition, to destroy the whole impression. Nor would a single copy have escaped, if Allen had not been too confident of success. It appears that when the work was printed, both Allen and the printer gave some few copies to their friends. It was not possible to recover all which had been thus distributed; and thus the man's confidence of success was overruled to the preservation of one of the strongest testimonies of the persecuting and exterminating principles of the Romish Church.

The editor of the reprint remarks—

“The main advantage of this republication of Allen's work will be, to exhibit essential Rome in her naked form and character, when confidence of success in her ambitious and Anti-Christian project rendered disguise unnecessary and inconvenient. It will likewise demonstrate the superlative fatuity, if nothing worse, of those who contend, that in the expedition of the Armada, *religion had nothing to do*, or, indeed, was not the chief motive.” (Pref. xiv.)

It is clear that Allen and his abettors had some misgivings respecting the nobility and gentry. They could not tell whether they would all unite with the invaders, though they knew that many would; consequently various arguments were used in the *Admonition* to induce them to take up arms against their lawful Sovereign. Thus we read :—

“On the other side, you most noble and valiant champions of God's Church, the honor of Englishe knightehood and the defenders of the glories and liberties thereof, you, and all the blessed people, to whom God hath given so happie a lote, zeal, and courage, to feight for your fathers faithe, for your countries libertie, for Christe, for religion, and for the dread soveraigne sacraments of our salvation: the honourablest quarrell, the likeliest and most commendable cause in the sight of the present world, and the posteritie, that possibly can be. If you winne, you save your whole realme from subversion, and innumerable soules, present and to cum, from damnation: if you die, you be sure to be saved, the *blessinge of Christe* and his Church, the *pardon of his Holiness*, given to all, in most ample sorte, that either take armes, die, or any waie ducly endeavour this quarrell.” (p. 55).

He proceeds to assure them of the patronage and support of saints and angels; and then adds—

“With these blessed patrons both in heaven and earthe: with the garde of all God’s holy angels: with our blessed Saviour himself in the soveraigne sacrament, present among you to your protection, communicating comforte and coorage: and with the daily most holy oblation of Christes owne dere body and bludd, makinge more forcible intercession from the earthe for you than the bludd of Abel: with so many divine unspeakable helpes: if you were never so fewe, you could not lose: without these and against these holies, our enemies (be they never so fierce, never so proude, never so manie, never so well appointed) thei cannot prevail, fear you not, thei cannot.” (p. 56).

After telling them that many of the English were indifferent, and would not oppose them, Allen alludes to those who were *zealous heretics*; and having stated that they were effeminate and inexperienced in war, he proceeds: “*The Angel* of God will persecute them, and they shall flie in feare and torment of their owne wicked mindes, though none pursue them.” (p. 57).

These extracts may serve as a sample of the work. The result of the expedition is well known, and must not be dwelt upon. We are then truly grateful for this reprint. It is a document of the utmost importance. And Dr. Lingard’s remark respecting the writers on the *Armada* may be expunged from his next edition, for all who feel an interest in the subject will purchase the present volume.

The Book of Proverbs Explained and Illustrated. By BENJAMIN ELLIOT NICHOLS, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1842.

WE have been much pleased with the novelty of this book. The arrangement is particularly good; and as, from the very oriental character of the Proverbs, they particularly stand in need of illustration—more so, perhaps, than any other part of the sacred canon—it is satisfactory to find them taken up by so competent a commentator. To preachers the volume will be peculiarly valuable.

Tracts for the People. By the REV. M. W. FOGG, M. A. London. Seeleys. 1842.

WHILE we do not on all points agree with Mr. Fogg, we think, nevertheless, that his lectures are calculated to be useful; they are addressed to the poorer classes, and though Tractarianism is in no probability of spreading among *them*, yet if it *does*, Mr. Fogg has, as Mr. Faber would say, “proleptically answered it.” Here and there too much is proved—here and there too little; but, taken as a whole, the “Tracts for the People” are good.

Heraldry of Fish. Notices of the Principal Families bearing Fish in their Arms. By THOMAS MOULE. London: John Van Voorst.

A NEW light was thrown on the ancient history of the world by the ingenious Vaillant, who, in his "History of the Kings of Syria," printed in Paris 1681, brought the study of ancient medals, for the first time, to assist in the discussion of chronology; and, by the help of these, arranged the principal events in the histories of Egypt, Syria, and Parthia. He discovered, in these relics of antiquity, tests contemporaneous with the events themselves, by which he might try the veracity of historians, and which the ingenuity of later times would find it difficult to falsify. He felt assured, that not only did these bear witness to the great national enterprizes which they commemorated, but that, incidentally, they illustrated the gradual rise and decline of art and refinement. The science of heraldry reflects the same light on the customs of the middle ages, in which it was so much cultivated, as the study of medals gave to classical antiquity. The primitive leopard, for instance, in the shield of England, relates the Norman origin of our kings; while the supervening fleur-de-lis points out their subsequent descent in the female line from the royal family of France, and their hardly contested claim to their crown. So also the ostrich feathers in the crest of the Prince of Wales commemorate the death of the King of Bohemia and the gallantry of the Black Prince in the field of Cressy. The arms of many private families convey their tales of amusement and instruction. The antiquity of the family is easily known by the simplicity of the arms; the alliances are distinguished by the quarterings; the circumstances to which the family first owed its distinction are indicated by the arms, supporters, or motto; and, while the ladies of England are reminded of the long, unbroken descents, which are committed to them to transmit to their children, the very devices of heraldry serve to impress upon them, in the purest spirit of chivalry, that, as the fair sex has its honours, so it has its duties, and that the bar sinister carries down with it the name of the frail one to the reprobation of posterity.

The object of Mr. Moule, in this work, has been to collect the principal armorial bearings in which fishes have appeared, and to give, as far as possible, the causes of their introduction. Mr. Moule has not failed of success; he has collected together much curious and valuable information. He has been much assisted in his task by his daughter, Miss Moule, who, in contributing the beautiful wood-cuts with which the pages are in-

terspersed, has materially added to the value of the work—for good wood-cuts are much better calculated to convey the effects of heraldic illuminations than the finest engravings on steel. The armorial bearings are classed according to the kind of fish which they carry. The dolphin, the lion of fish, is taken first (for the dolphin and whale are, in books of heraldry, properly classed under the genus fish; the distinction of *cetaceous* having been unknown at the period when the laws of this science were laid down); and Mr. Moule gives some most interesting observations on this fish.

“Byzantium (he says), from its advantageous position, appeared to have been formed for the centre and capital of a great monarchy. The Propontis being renowned for an inexhaustible store of the most exquisite fish, that were taken in their stated seasons without skill and almost without labour, the profits of this fishery constituted the principal revenue of the city. The device on the more ancient arms is a dolphin, entwined on the trident or sceptre of Neptune.”

From this Byzantine origin, the use of the dolphin is deduced in two distinct lines, one in connection with literature, the other with chivalry.

“As a well-known symbol of the principal seat of the Greek empire, the dolphin was adopted as a device by the celebrated Aldus, the best, though not the earliest, printer of Greek—an original benefactor to the age in which he lived. He was an editor of the first rank. The manuscripts he prepared for the press required the assistance of the most learned among his contemporaries. By his son and grandson the business of a printer was continued, till the death of the latter, in 1597; and with him ended the glory of the Aldine press.

“The classical and tasteful device of Aldus—a dolphin entwined about an anchor—was adopted by Mr. Pickering, for his Aldine edition of the ‘British Poets.’”

This is the account of the literary descent of the dolphin from Constantinople. We will preface Mr. Moule’s allusion to its chivalrous descent with the apology of Mr. Gibbon, given in his “History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.”

“The purple of three emperors who have reigned at Constantinople will authorise or excuse a digression on the original and singular fortunes of the house of Courtenay, in its three principal branches—first, of Edessa; second, of France; and third, of England—of which the last only has survived the revolutions of eight hundred years.”

Mr. Moule goes on to state that, “the Lords of Courtenay in Gatenois, vassals of the crown of France, were among the heroes of the first crusade. A daughter of Reginald Courtenay formed an alliance with the sang royal. Peter Courtenay, their son, became Emperor of Constantinople in 1217, and his two sons, Robert and Baldwin, successively enjoyed the same dig-

nity. Reginald, Lord of Okehampton, descended from the Courtenays of France, was the patriarch of the Courtenays, Earls of Devonshire, who contracted alliances with the noblest families. In the reign of Henry VIII., Sir William Courtenay, of Powderham, Kent, a lineal descendant of Hugh, first Earl of Devonshire, bore on his emblazoned standard, dolphins, the device of dominion, in reference to the purple of the three emperors." In reference to the same event, a dolphin is borne as the present crest of the family. We have thus given an example of the interesting information which Mr. Moule has collected on these subjects. We will turn to some other distinguished families, who have fishes in their armorial bearings. The cherished quarterings of the house of Percy are three luces. "The pike of the fisherman is the luce of heraldry." "Henry, first Earl of Northumberland, of the Percy family, married the heiress of Antony, Lord Lucy, who died 1369; her large inheritance devolving upon the house of Percy, the arms of Lucy continue to be borne quarterly by his descendants, with those of Percy;" a proof, were one wanting, of the erroneousness of the common notion which impugns the respectability of the *armes parlantes*. "Descended in the female line from the baronial family was Sir Thomas Lucy, who was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and rebuilt the manor-house of Charlecote, on the banks of the Avon, which winds gracefully through the extensive park. This mansion, a noble specimen of domestic architecture, derives interest from being the work of the reputed prosecutor of Shakspeare, for which he not only took the liberty of lampooning the lord of the manor in a ballad, but in some scenes of his dramas has introduced much punning about the luces in his arms." We might introduce many other specimens of the able way in which Mr. Moule treats of these subjects, in his account of the origin of the names of Orde, and Brougham, and Surtees, &c., &c. But we forbear, and leave the reader to apply the maxim, *dubius petere fontes, quam sectari rivulos*, and to have recourse for further information to the pleasing volume from which we quote. We cannot, however, resist making some few extracts relative to ecclesiastical architecture, recorded in this volume, while we most sincerely recommend its purchase and perusal to all who may be interested in these amusing and important subjects. "There are very few fishes (says Mr. Moule, p. 22) named in the sacred Scriptures, the most interesting portion of ancient literature. As the Greek word for fish, *Ιχθός*, contained initials emblematical of Christ, *Ιησους, χριστος, θεου υιος, σωτηρ*, a fish was a very favourite emblem of the early Christians; and

the *vesica piscis*, a rough outline of a fish, formed of two curves, meeting in a point at their extremities, was made to enclose the holy symbol. This image was sculptured upon tombs and sepulchral urns, as well as upon seals and rings, and its form is shown on part of a pavement found in Exeter in 1833. The same figure is upon one of the tiles preserved at Caen, in Normandy. The Blessed Virgin, a canopy, or *vesica piscis*, round which the four Evangelists are placed, is not uncommon in old churches. It is mentioned in Mr. Hope's 'Historical Essay on Architecture at Ravenna,' where the fish also appears on the ancient convex marble ambones or pulpits, which have been inserted in the walls of the modern cathedral." In another extract of a similar nature, Mr. Maule, in p. 181, gives this history of the origin of our churches:—"The first preachers of the Gospel were fishermen; the original church represented as nearly as might be, in its form, the body of a ship, in allusion to that into which Jesus Christ entered, which was always looked upon as a type of the church; and as by the apostolical constitutions the church was to represent the ship of St. Peter, the centre avenue formed the nave, and preserves the name. In perfect accordance with this emblem of salvation, the seal of the priory of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, founded in 1102, by Rahere, a minstrel and favourite of King Henry I., was designed to represent the church in a ship, floating on the waves. It is inscribed, "Credimus ante Deum, provide per Bartholomæum." We will make but one extract more bearing on this subject. "The escalop shell (says Mr. Moule, p. 226) is borne as an appropriate crest by the families of Pilgrim and Dishington; its use as a cup, spoon, and dish, recommended the shell to the pilgrim, by whom it was constantly worn in the cap or the cloak. It was also worn by the palmer, who professed poverty, and went upon alms to all shrines, differing from the pilgrim who travelled only to a certain place, and at his own charge. Of the latter, Sir Walter Raleigh ('Remains,' 1657) has given a sketch:—

'Give me my 'scalop shell of quiet,
My staff of faith to walk upon;
My scrip of joy, immortal diet,
My bottle of salvation.'

We have given these extracts as the best mode of recommending this book. It is full of a variety of curious information, well put together and beautifully illustrated. We should have liked much to have had one chapter dedicated to the express consideration of the subject in connexion with the early history of the Church. We believe that much information may yet

be obtained on this matter, and that the first teaching of Christianity was full of hieroglyphic and emblem. Perhaps in the next edition of this interesting volume, which we hope soon to see, Mr. Moule may be induced to devote his attention to a consideration of this subject.

Origines Britannicæ ; or, the Antiquities of the British Churches.

By EDWARD STILLINGFLEET, D.D., Bishop of Worcester. To which is added, a Historical Account of Church Government, as first received in Great Britain and Ireland ; by W. Lloyd, D.D., Bishop of Worcester. A new edition, with additional notes, by the Rev. Thomas Pinder Pantin, M.A., of Queen's College, Oxford, and Rector of Westcote, Gloucestershire. Oxford : at the University Press. 1842. Two vols. 8vo.

It would be perfectly superfluous to attempt any recommendation of the work here re-edited. Its standard and acknowledged value is obvious to every scholar in the important province in which it takes its honourable place. It doubtless is a matter of great importance to all concerned for the Christian reputation of the British Isles, that a true statement of the earliest history of their churches, vindicated from superstitious and interested misrepresentation, and collected from the most authentic records which time has spared, should be accessible to students in the ecclesiastical history of their own nation. It is a matter of still further importance that works of such conspicuous merit as those of the two bishops, now given afresh to the public, should come forward with all the advantages which progress of time, with its discoveries, and the diligence of succeeding critics in the same literary walk, have supplied ; and we hazard little in affirming that these advantages have been most amply furnished in the present edition.

The ornaments of our episcopal bench, both of Worcester, have been favoured in finding so able and laborious an editor of their valuable works as Mr. Pantin ; and the University Press at Oxford will not have to hang down her head when the re-impression of Stillingfleet's "*Origines Britannicæ*" is referred to.

The preface of the editor, besides the valuable information which it contains illustrative of the work re-edited, will prepare the reader for the large accession of elaborate and pertinent annotation, which, however compressed, will strike the most superficial inspector as discovering more than ordinary diligence and discrimination. The notes of Mr. Pantin are not such as a moderate scholar might extend to almost any number with little

comparative labour, but are plainly the result, not only of great and patient research, but likewise of severe, as well as happy selection. Indeed, we have been frequently tempted to quarrel with the editor for doing so little justice to *his own* contributions in the work. We think he ought, by some mark, to have distinguished from his originals what were his own authorities. It is true, that a reader conversant with such literature will at once perceive, that particular works referred to could not have been seen by his author, particularly in the case of all publications posterior to his own time. But even that latter test, when the time runs pretty close, requires more attention than many readers are in the habit of giving; and it is a very possible supposition, that even works anterior to a writer, however able and laborious, may have been unknown, or inaccessible. At all events, we could wish justice to be done even by a man to himself. It will be worth remembering, that no work posterior to 1685 could be used by Stillingfleet in that now before us.

We have observed that the notes of the editor are very contracted, frequently, we have no doubt, to the injury of the reader. There is however one exception, which is fortunately chosen, in those which respect the attack of a learned Romanist upon the bishop.

Emanuel à Schelstrate, prefect of the Vatican library, felt the force of the Anglican prelate's work so sensibly, that he set himself, with his best power, to annul it, in a dissertation concerning *Patriarchal and Metropolitcal Authority*; and the papal monarch of England, James II., when he and his satellites were intent upon reducing the nation to the papal yoke, was so well pleased with the exploit, that, "with allowance," it was translated into English and published in 1688. To this attack the bishop returned no answer, because, as is justly observed, together with other reasons, it was refuted by anticipation in a previous work. But it was evidently desirable that some antidote should be *directly* supplied; and this is done in a masterly and effectual manner by Mr. Pantin, in all the places seeming to warrant so much respect. See preface, pp. v.-viii., generally, and notes *passim*. In p. vi., line 19, we apprehend inverted commas should be placed after the word "Saxons," and intimating the close of the quotation from Bishop Nicholson.

We cannot, and need not, extend our remarks to a greater length, and will only observe, that when the University of Oxford, which in such undertakings consults her true dignity and the public good, wishes to re-issue works of real profundity and importance, she cannot commit the office of editor to hands more worthy than those which most closely follow the example

of the present editor of the "*Origines Britannicæ*." It is likewise to the purpose to suggest, that if the natural thought should occur of following up this work by the professed continuation of it, the "*Origines Anglicanæ*" of Dr. John Inett—a production which will hardly suffer by being set by the side of its original, and which will admit of much new illustration by the advancement, in particular, of Saxon literature—it would amount to something like a blunder in editorial arrangement, if the choice of an editor should fall on any other individual than the one of whose labours so successful a result has been experienced.

The City of the Mormons; or, Three Days at Nauvoo, in 1842.

By the Rev. HENRY CASWALL, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

THE first Mormonite emissaries visited this country from the United States of America in 1836 or 1837. In the autumn of 1837 another migrated hither, in order to propagate the impostures of the founder of that sect of enthusiasts, who brought with him a considerable number of copies of the second edition of the forgery called the "*Book of Mormon*," and also the hymn-book which had been published by their leader and pretended prophet, "Joe Smith." We lost no time in bringing the subject of Mormonism before our readers, who will find an account of it and of its author, with some precious specimens of Mormonite hymnography, in the third volume of our *Review*, pp. 503-509. Mr. Caswall has supplied much additional curious information in this well-timed publication; indeed, he must have been a bold man to have ventured among the Mormonites; as they (we understand) are not over-nice, in the United States, in making away with those whom they suspect to be spies. Having completely disguised himself, so as not to be recognised as an Episcopal clergyman, or, in the Mormonites' phraseology, as "a minister of the Gentiles," Mr. Caswall arrived at Nauvoo, the capital of the Mormons, on Sunday, the 17th of April last. There he stayed three days, and his narrative is replete with important and painfully interesting details, illustrative of the nature and extent of the Mormonite imposture. Mr. Caswall has narrated the substance of several conversations which he had with the deluded votaries of this "semi-pagan delusion," as he emphatically terms it, and also with their prophet. As the interest of their conversations would be impaired by quotation (for the *whole* ought to be attentively read), we shall confine our extracts to a notice of Mormonite worship, and to his account of Mormonism in England. With regard to their worship:—

"Two elders came forward, and ascended a platform rudely constructed of planks and logs. One wore a blue coat, and his companion,

a stout intemperate-looking man, appeared in a thick jacket of green baize. He in the blue coat gave out a hymn, which was sung, but with little spirit, by the congregation, all standing. He then made a few common-place remarks on the nature of prayer; after which, leaning forward on a railing in front of the platform, he began to pray. Having dwelt for a few minutes on the character and perfections of the Almighty, he proceeded in the following strain:—

“We thank thee, O Lord, that thou hast in these latter days restored the gifts of prophecy, of revelation, of great signs and wonders, as in the days of old. We thank thee that, as thou didst formerly raise up thy servant Joseph to deliver his brethren in Egypt, so thou hast now raised up another Joseph to save his brethren from bondage to sectarian delusion, and to bring them into this great and good land, a land flowing with milk and honey, which is the glory of all lands, and which thou didst promise to be an inheritance for the seed of Jacob for evermore. We pray for thy servant and prophet Joseph, that thou wouldest bless him and prosper him, that although the archers have sorely grieved him, and shot at him, and hated him, his bow may abide in strength, and the arms of his hands may be made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob. We pray also for thy holy temple, that the nations of the earth may bring gold and incense, that the sons of strangers may build up its walls, and fly to it as a cloud, and as doves to their windows. We pray thee also to hasten the ingathering of thy people, every man to his heritage and every man to his land. We pray that as thou hast set up this place as an ensign for the nations, so thou wouldest continue to assemble here the outcasts, and gather together the dispersed from the four corners of the earth. May every valley be exalted, and every mountain and hill be made low, and the crooked places straight, and the rough places plain, and may the glory of the Lord be revealed and all flesh see it together! Bring thy sons from afar, and thy daughters from the end of the earth, and let them bring their silver and their gold with them.’

“Thus he proceeded for perhaps half an hour, after which he sat down, and the elder in green baize, having thrown aside his jacket—for the heat of the sun was now considerable—commenced a discourse.

“He began by stating the importance of forming correct views of the character of God. People were generally content with certain preconceived views on this subject derived from tradition. These views were for the most part incorrect. The common opinion respecting God made him an unjust God, a partial God, a cruel God, a God worthy only of hatred; in fact, ‘the greatest devil in the universe.’ Thus also people in general had been ‘traditioned’ to suppose that divine revelation was confined to the old-fashioned book called the Bible—a book principally written in Asia, by Jews, and suited to particular circumstances and particular classes. On the other hand, they supposed that this vast continent of America had been destitute of all revelation for five thousand years, until Columbus discovered it, and ‘the good, pious, precise Puritans brought over with them, some two hundred years since, that precious old book called the Bible.’ Now God had promised to judge all men without respect of persons. If, therefore, the American aborigines had never received a revelation, and were yet to be judged,

together with the Jews and the Christians, God was most horribly unjust ; and he, for his part, would never love such a God—he could only hate him. He said there was a verse somewhere in the Bible, he could not tell where, as he was ‘a bad hand at quoting,’ but he thought it was in the Revelation. ‘If it’s not there,’ he said, ‘read the whole book through, and you’ll find it, I guess, somewhere. I hav’nt a Bible with me, I left mine at home, as it ain’t necessary.’ Now this verse, he proceeded to observe, stated that Christ had redeemed men by his blood out of *every* kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation ; and had made them unto God kings and priests. But in America there were the ruins of vast cities and wonderful edifices, which proved that great and civilized nations had existed on this continent. If the Bible was true, therefore, God must have had priests and kings among those nations, and numbers of them must have been redeemed by the blood of Christ. Revelations from God must consequently have been granted to them. The Old and New Testaments were therefore only portions of the revelations of God, and not a complete revelation, nor were they designed to be so. ‘Am I to believe,’ said he, ‘that God would cast me or any body else into hell, without giving me a revelation?’ God now revealed himself in America just as truly as he had ever done in Asia. The present congregation lived in the midst of wonders and signs equal to those mentioned in the Bible, and they had the blessing of revelation mainly through the medium of that chosen servant of God, Joseph Smith. The Gentiles often came to Nauvoo to look at the prophet Joseph—old Joe, as they profanely termed him—and to see what he was doing ; but many who came to laugh remained to pray, and soon the kings and nobles of the earth would count it a privilege to come to Nauvoo and behold the great work of the Lord in these latter days. ‘The work of God is prospering,’ he said, ‘in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales ; in Australia, and at the Cape of Good Hope, in the East and West Indies, in Palestine, in Africa, and throughout America, thousands and tens of thousands are getting converted by our preachers, are baptized for the remission of sins, and are selling off all they have that they may come to Nauvoo. The great and glorious work has begun, and I defy all earth and hell to stop it.” (pp. 9-13).

A hymn was then sung, and three elders in succession addressed their deluded hearers on the subject of taking stock-shares in the new buildings then in course of erection, but which were suspended for want of money. Their eloquence, however, was wasted on the desert air, as no one came forward to advance the needful supply of cash.

A considerable proportion of the deluded followers of Mormonism are Englishmen, who have been prevailed upon to migrate to Nauvoo, where they find themselves far from comfortable. Instead of any sympathy being evinced towards them by the false prophet, Joe Smith, the latter addressed to them “the following words of *most Christian consolation*,” in a sermon delivered on the 9th of May, 1841 :—

“ ‘ Many of the English who have lately come here have expressed

great disappointment on their arrival. Such persons have every reason to be satisfied in this beautiful and fertile country. If they choose to complain, they may; but I don't want to be troubled with their complaints. If they are not satisfied here, I have only to say this to them—Don't stay whining about me, but go back to England and be d—d.'

"One of Joseph's missionaries, having returned from a mission to England, preached a sermon at Nauvoo, on Sunday, July 4th, 1840. Having given an account of his proceedings during his absence, and alluded to the converts whom he had persuaded to settle near Nauvoo, he proceeded to speak as follows:—'I have not had an opportunity to visit these English brethren since my return. I cannot spend my time in visiting them. If they are as much dissatisfied as they are said to be, I have only this to say to them—You had better go back to England; but if you go, go like men, and be d—d, and don't whine about it.' " (p. 54).

The Mormonites are said to amount to 100,000 in America, and to 10,000 in England. On the subject of Mormonism in England, Mr. Caswall has printed a long and valuable letter from a clergyman in the diocese of Chester. We have only room for a few passages:—

"In England, the preachers of Mormonism generally begin by insinuating among the astonished natives of rural villages, or the weak and wavering classes in larger towns, that our Bible has suffered by translation, and that it is deficient and incomplete in many particulars. They next declare that the 'Book of Mormon' and the revelations bestowed on Smith and Rigdon are additional favours from the Deity, designed to explain the obscurities and supply the deficiencies of our Scriptures. It never enters into the minds of their dupes to enquire as to the *credentials* of these preachers. They are the eye-witnesses of no miracle: they see no dead raised to life, no dumb qualified to speak, no blind enabled to see.

"One night, the Mormon elder commences by observing to his congregation, that he does not know what to say, but that he will say whatever the Lord shall put into his mouth. On another night, he gravely announces his intention to read a portion of the old Scriptures for edification; invariably, however, taking care not to confine himself to any particular subject, but to have as extensive a field as possible, in order to weave in from time to time such portions of the 'Book of Mormon' as he knows to be best adapted to effect his object. The American edition of this book had no index to guide its readers to any particular passage or doctrine; it was not generally circulated in England, even among the converts; and hence very few were able to know precisely when the preacher's words were *Mormonic*, and when they were not. This peculiarity was remarked upon at the time, and in an English edition, printed at Manchester, an index was inserted.

"For the continuance of the fraudulent scheme, they proceed to enact a mock ordination, choosing out of the whole body of converts certain

individuals who are deemed most trustworthy. These assume their blasphemous calling on the pretended sanction of the Deity, immerse converts after dark, *confirm* the parties next day, and administer, in the course of two or three days at the farthest, a mock sacrament, to individuals, who, in the bewildered state of their minds, scarcely know their right hand from their left.

“ It is under the very convenient cloak of night, however, that Mormonism in England performs most of its operations. It is then in the zenith of its glory—converting ignorance into the tool of delusion; chaining it fast by iniquitous discipline, order, and system; and trying with all its energy to make the worse appear the better cause. In such beguiling hours, the secret ‘church meeting’ is held, to the exclusion of every individual except the initiated. High and mighty is the business transacted on such occasions. It consists of exhortations to stand firm, instructions given, explanations offered, visions and revelations stated, gifts received for the ‘Bishop of Zion,’ confessions made, threatenings held out, converts reprimanded, apostates excommunicated, the successes of Mormonism described, and suggestions offered for removing the difficulties in its way. Enquiries are made in reference to other particulars: for example—‘What kind of people reside in this neighbourhood? What places of worship do they frequent? What opinions have you formed as to the natural bent of their respective dispositions? Will they be disposed to join us, or will they exercise an influence against us? Are they principally in the humble walks of life, or are they of some knowledge and understanding? If the answer to these and other questions be apparently favourable, the necessary advice is given to the first converts how they may prevail upon more. Suggestions are thrown out how to persuade; and the next step is to urge in every possible way the grievous sin of baptizing infants, and the absolute necessity of *dipping*, as the very *sine quâ non*, the only effectual path to everlasting salvation!’ ”

Our readers will naturally ask, what do the Americans think and say respecting the prophet, Joe Smith, and his doings? Mr. Caswall informs us that the Indians have the greatest possible contempt for him, “and denominate him a Tshe-wál-lis-ke, which signifies a rascal.” (p. 31). And Professor Turner, of Illinois College,* addressing Smith, says, that “a man, however kindly disposed to think well of you, after a thorough examination of your career, might as well attempt to believe your religion as to regard you in any other light than that of a deliberate, cold-blooded, persevering deceiver.”

These are strong expressions, but not stronger than the im-

* From the July number of the “American Biblical Repository” we learn that Professor Turner has exposed with a fearless hand the monstrous deceptions practised by Smith and his associates upon their deluded followers, in his work entitled, “Mormonism in all Ages; or, the Rise, Progress, and Causes of Mormonism; with the Biography of its Author and Founder, Joseph Smith, jun.” New York. 1842. 8vo.

postor deserves, as our readers will readily conclude, when we add that, from intelligence in recent American papers, we learn that he is taking (perhaps by this time has taken), the benefit of the American Insolvent Act, having either failed for, or defrauded his credulous votaries of the sum of 100,000 dollars.

Mr. Caswall's very interesting publication forms a necessary supplement to his historic volume on "America and the American Church," which we take this opportunity of recommending as a valuable and accurate delineation of the history and prospects of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America.

The Omnipotence and Wisdom of Jehovah ; Two Orations. By J. W. LESTER. London : B. Wertheim. 1842.

THE contemplation of the works of Nature afford the strongest arguments for a belief in an all-wise and all-powerful Creator. The wondrous contrivance ; the adaptation of part to part ; the compensation of weaknesses by the bestowal of some counter-acting advantage, apparent in every department of creation, unite to evidence the design, purpose, and wisdom of the Almighty, and to declare the omnipotence of the Supreme Being. This argument, for the belief of a God, has been ably insisted on in the last century, by Derham, Ray, Paley, and other writers on Natural Philosophy. It has been no less clearly stated and illustrated in the treatises written by Buckland, Bell, Kirby, and Whewell, for the prize instituted by Lord Bridgewater.

Mr. Lester follows the line of argument adopted by these writers. He collects into these two orations, in a short space, many interesting facts, illustrative of the power, wisdom, and infinite goodness of the Almighty. Fully impressed himself with the perfection of these attributes in God, he kindles as he progresses with the magnificence of his theme. Rapt in the contemplation of the sublimities of the heaven and of the earth, he describes, in eloquent language, the wonders which abound in every work of providence. To those who delight to trace in the field or garden, or in the blue vault of heaven, the wondrous power of God ; to those who, "exempt from public haunts, find tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in every thing," we recommend these orations.

The Dress of the Clergy. By a CLERGYMAN. London : Painter. WE fear the views of the author of this little tract are not likely to meet with general approval by the clergy. It is true the army and the navy have their distinctive dress, but we see no reason why the clergy should adopt a uniform. We may touch upon this subject in our next.

The Kingdom of Christ; or, Hints to a Quaker, respecting the Principles, Constitution, and Offices of the Church of Christ.
By FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, M.A., Chaplain to Guy's Hospital, and Professor of the English Language and Literature in King's College, London. London: Rivingtons.

MR. MAURICE has long been favourably known to the world as a writer, and though far too metaphysical for the million, it is yet quite impossible to rise from a perusal of his works without being both pleased and instructed. The work before us is a second edition, and we shall not therefore attempt any analysis of its contents. If our readers will obtain it for themselves and study it, they will discover that they have mis-spent neither time nor money. And now we will venture to throw out a few hints, which, in the case of a third edition being required, may not be altogether useless. We owe this work, it appears, to a diligent study of the works of that great departed poet and philosopher, Coleridge, and in a clearly written introduction, thrown into the form of a letter to Mr. Derwent Coleridge, we have a great deal of interesting matter concerning the changes which the mind of the great poet underwent. But Mr. Maurice has drunk so deeply into the spirit of his master, that he has perhaps unconsciously adopted some also of his defects. We have already said that the book is too metaphysical for the million, and a large portion of its metaphysics is employed on points of comparatively small importance; or, if this be not strictly the case, more than necessary is spent on topics which are important. This gives an aspect to the book which is somewhat injurious to it, for it looks as though Mr. Maurice were "beating about the bush," whereas, the truth is, he goes in all cases directly, though somewhat verbosely, to the point. It is a pleasant sign when books so thoughtful as this reach a second edition; it indicates a renewed taste for the solid and the profound, which we look upon as parallel with the better taste in art, the sounder theories in science, the more rational and religious metaphysics, and the increasing Churchmanship of our era.

The Gospel of St. Matthew; with Moral Reflections on every Verse. Revised and Corrected from the French of Pasquier Quesnel. London: Burns. 1842.

OH, FIE! we hear exclaimed by many an ultra-protestant—what, translate a work by a Papist! Well, and what then?—Wesley himself, translated "Thomas à Kempis." The truth is that "Pasquier Quesnel" was well worth translating; and we are glad to see him in an English dress.

Holy Scripture the Ultimate Rule of Faith to a Christian Man.

By the Rev. W. FITZGERALD, B.A., Trinity College, Dublin.
London: R. B. Seeley, and W. Burnside.

HOLY Scripture is the ultimate rule of faith to a Christian man. Nothing is to be believed as necessary to salvation that cannot be read therein, or proved thereby. The question of dispute is, what is to be the rule of the interpretation of that Scripture; whether each is at liberty to read and interpret for himself, or, whether there is not some authoritative guide whose voice is to be followed in this matter.

When men, equally sincere, differ as to the teachings of holy Scripture, there must be something besides Scripture to appeal to, and that "which has by all men in all times and places been received," is the best guide to a right explanation of the doctrines of holy writ.

The Church of England proposes as the rule for the interpretation of Scripture, the three ancient creeds, the canons of the first four œcumenical councils, and the decisions of her own articles.

Mr. Fitzgerald maintains, in his first chapter, that the holy Scriptures are the best evidence of the original character of the Christian religion; and draws, in his second, a distinction between *faith* and the *wisdom* of the Christian religion—the one being necessary, the other a non-essential, to the Christian. His third chapter discusses the creed required of the baptized convert; and his fourth shows, that it is probable that the books of the New Testament, from the way in which some of the authors speak of their own design in composing them, contain in them all the essential articles of faith, which is yet further shown to be probable from the peculiar titles assigned to the writings of the Apostles and the Evangelists, as containing a complete system of instruction. In the seventh chapter, Mr. Fitzgerald considers the summaries of fundamental articles of faith, a belief in which was deemed necessary and adequate to salvation, generally adopted among the first Christian churches; while he maintains, in the eighth chapter, that the "early Christian writers did not suppose that the whole system of Christian divinity was contained in the creed or rule of faith, or that everything which might be truly known and discussed concerning the fundamental articles of the Christian religion, is also an essential part of those fundamental articles." He then discusses the question of the previous antiquity of a creed, or traditive rule of faith, or of the written Scripture, and concludes, "that we have no sufficient reason for supposing that the early Christian writers were in

possession of any traditive system of Scriptural interpretation; and that even if they were, we have no sufficient historic means of discovering where the genuine vestiges of that system are to be found." Such is a brief condensation of this treatise. There is much in it on which all are agreed, and which scarcely needed statements for their proof; while the mode of the interpretation of holy Scripture, which must be necessary to the deciding upon the ultimate rule of faith to the Christian, is little entered into. This treatise, though obscure in many of its expressions, contains many passages from the early fathers, while those quotations are selected with a partiality of purpose and intention. We could have much wished that the author had studied more the view taken by the Church of England upon this subject, for there is not any reference throughout the book to her teaching in this matter, and then perhaps we might have had the satisfaction of speaking of his labours in terms of panegyric and encomium, where now we are compelled, if we would be honest, to speak of them in words of dissatisfaction and disapproval.

The Count de Foix : a Tale of the olden Times. By THOMAS POWELL. London: Wilson. 1842.

MR. POWELL has selected one of the most graphic and interesting of Froissart's narratives as the groundwork of his poem; which we trust will meet with the success it deserves, and that the present may be but the beginning of a series.

The author appears to have scarcely allowed himself sufficient time in the execution of his task: a certain degree of carelessness is occasionally evinced in making the word *Foix* rhyme with *toy, joy, boy, &c.* The poem commences with a well-drawn scene in the Count's hall, where we are introduced to Froissart himself and an old knight, engaged in converse about knightly deeds—when the Chronicler alludes to the absence of the Countess, and the other freely affords him an explanation, at the same time informing him of an intended visit of the young Gaston to his mother, and promising him some rare news upon his return. The whole scene is well done.

The commencement of the third part, on Gaston's arrival at Pampeluna, opens with a most poetical description of day-break:

“ The mountain peaks flash in the golden dawn,
And sunrise rears her beautiful bold brow!
The bright dew revels on the glistening lawn,
And every flower unfolds its fragrance now.
The placid shadows on the meadows rest,
And like a winding snake, that moves in light,

The river flows; while on her gleaming breast,
Rejoicing in the morning fresh and bright,
The stately swans in magic beauty glide,
And with a graceful glory crown the tide."

Then follows a touching description of the feelings of the mother on the tip-toe of expectancy, watching in the "old turret" to catch the first glimpse of her only son, whom she immediately recognises. The meeting is well portrayed. We confess we do not understand Mr. Powell's theology, a glimpse of which appears at the close of this long wished-for meeting. The King of Navarre receives his nephew most courteously; and when Gaston is about to take his leave, the king, after working upon his feelings, presents him with a powder of extraordinary power, which, if rightly administered, will cause the old Count to desire his wife's return. Gaston receives it with delight. The journey back to Orthes, and the glad feelings of the young Count's heart as he thinks of the reconciliation about to take place through his agency, are finely written—

"Loaded with gifts and jewels he departed,
The princely Gaston, young and joyous-hearted—
The horses never had such noble paces,
Nor had the peasant girls such smiling faces;
The woods had greener shades and happier throngs,
And every villager sang jocund songs,
Which told in sweet accord with sky and earth:
It was a feeling gladder far than mirth!
All had a sunny aspect, and he went
To the rapt music of his soul's content."

In the second banquet, Gaston has an opportunity of trying the effect of the charm—

"As was the custom, the young Gaston bore
One dish unto his sire, who prized that more
Whate'er it might contain, than all the rest."

He sprinkles the powder on the dish, but is seen by an old baron. The description of the tumult in the youth's brain at the trial of this experiment is exceedingly forcible—

"He felt
The blood mount to his head; the lights flew round
As stars in magic dances; and the ground
Heav'd to and fro, as though an earthquake rock'd
The coffin'd dead, and in the air there mock'd
With grinning faces at him."

The Baron whispers the Count, who indignantly reproaches his son as a traitor; then, calling a favourite dog, throws him a

piece of the sprinkled meat ; death is the immediate result of his swallowing the morsel, and then,

“ A thrill of horror ran through all.”

The Count is now scarcely restrained from taking instant vengeance on his hapless son, who in the end is placed in the castle dungeon. The struggle between pride and affection in the heart of the father, and the depth of despair, is finely written. The last part of the poem is the dungeon scene, and here the poet's power is fully brought into action. A day or two elapses the poor captive loathes his food, and his strength, both of mind and body, sinks rapidly under the shock he has sustained. In the meantime the Count, haunted with hideous and distracting dreams, rising at the first blush of dawn, determines to visit his unhappy son. He then stealthily passes down to the dungeon and reaching the iron door—

“ Throughout his frame
An icy horror ran from head to foot,
Like to a jarring discord through a lute.”

After pausing and listening for a short time, a death-like stillness prevailing, he opens

“ The grating door,
And, eyeing with forced look the dungeon floor,
Saw his unhappy Gaston lying there,
With gaunt and clasped hands, as though in prayer.”

The Count calls upon him to rise, but all is silent, save the dull echo of the damp stone walls :

“ Thereat the Count de Foix grew fix'd as stone,
But by an effort, and with trembling hand,
Touched Gaston's face.....He scarce could stand,
For it was cold,—then on his knees the old
Count sank in anguish, felt 'twas clammy cold :
He saw his eye was glassy—~~knew~~ him dead !”

The agony of the Count at this discovery is intense. He is found by his attendants lying senseless beside the dead body of his son. He once more retires to his chamber—

“ And when he came
From thence again, it seem'd that o'er his frame
An age of grief had pass'd, and quick decay,
And with it ev'ry smile had pass'd away !”

Thus ends the tale, which must be read to be appreciated. Mr. Powell gives, in conclusion, a dirge, the whole of which we would fain copy, but any extract would mar its beauty.

Chronological Pictures of English History from William the Conqueror to Queen Victoria. By WM. GILBERT. London. Roake and Varty.

These are most capitally executed drawings, fully descriptive of the costume of the period, and with a judicious selection of the events of the greatest importance. The spirit given to the sketches, and the striking impression which this graphic painting produces upon all minds, but especially the young, need not be indicated. Amid the various recent illustrated works of a similar character, we characterize this as "*facile princeps*." The figure of the High Justiciary Ranulf de Glanville, though rather high-shouldered, in the reign of Henry II., and the various events of that stirring reign,—the signing of the Constitution of Clarendon—the murder of Thomas à Becket—are well given. All we would suggest in these views is to get more evenness of detail, to keep the stones less effective in parts, with a view to a better general effect. The circulation of the work will doubtless be large, and it well deserves, it for the letter press, from which want of space prevents us from making more than a single extract, is well done and rendered attractive from a brevity which embraces in it all that is important over every reign, whether in history, laws, arts, arms, or commerce. It is divided into four heads :—

1. Sovereigns.
2. Civil, Political, Ecclesiastical, and Naval Events.
3. Eminent Persons.
4. Miscellaneous Events, Discoveries, Inventions, Sciences, Arts, and Improvements.

We select the fourth head from the reign of the first Plantagenet :—

"1154. Henry ordered 1,100 castles to be destroyed. The early English style of architecture made a rapid advance in this reign ; its characteristics are narrow-pointed, lancet-headed windows ; the columns are less massive than those belonging to the Anglo-Norman style, and are divided into several shafts.

" Commerce flourished during this reign. A market was held every Friday at Smithfield for the sale of horses, cows, &c. A stone bridge was built in London in 1163 ; Peter Colechurch, a priest, was the architect,—it had nineteen or twenty arches.

" In 1166 the first persecution took place in England on account of non-conformity to the Papal creed, established by law.

" Paper-making was invented about this time ; the exact date of the invention is unknown. The polarity of the magnet was also known at this period, as it is mentioned in some verses composed by a troubadour at the Court of Frederic Barbarossa."

But the work itself will soon find a place, we trust, in every Englishman's home, and lead to the revival of the deeply neglected study of English History, which, though carefully looked into, in its legal and constitutional points is grievously omitted, as a complex whole. Will it be credited, that England has no historiographer! that all the mighty masses of things on which the tide of human events turns, have no State recorder, but are left to private efforts to save them from oblivion?

A Sober Inquiry; or, Christ's Reign with his Saints a Thousand Years, modestly asserted from Scripture. First printed in the year 1660, now reprinted, with an Advertisement by the Rev. E. BICKERSTETH. 2nd. Edition. London. 1842.

THIS little book, which is extremely scarce in the original, the solitary copy existing in the library of Viscount Mandeville, is certainly written in a deep devotional spirit, though we do not agree with the writer's views. Nothing is known of him but his initials, J. F. He praises highly the celebrated Mede, and was clearly one of that great man's warmest admirers. Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syriac were all known to him, and are largely used, though not uncommon acquirements of the learned clergy of that period. We extract, for the benefit of those loose interpreters of Scripture who do so much harm to the Church, the following passage:—

“A Jewish woman in London, said lately to a friend, ‘that your Messiah,’ he speaking to her of Christ, ‘is not the true Messiah; for when he cometh there will be great peace and love—the wolf shall dwell with the lamb.’ None shall hurt or destroy in all his holy mountain, &c. whereas you Christians are divided, hate and devour, hurt and destroy one another.’ I leave it, saith that reverend mystery-searcher, Mr. Mede, to the judgment of learned men, and men well able to judge in such like mysteries in divinity, whether this be not the best and easiest way to deal with the Jews; not to wrest those plain prophecies touching things appertaining to this last and glorious coming of Christ to his first coming; for while we do so, the Jews laugh and scorn at us, and are hardened in their infidelity.”

This practice is most justly censured by Mede, and what other than a grand ultimate sense can any reasonable being affix to such passages as John (1st Epistle, 3, 9):—“Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth to him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.” Especially when John tells us in the first chapter of the same Epistle, at the 8th verse:—“If we say that we have *no sin*, the truth is not in us.”

Principalities and Powers in Heaventy Places. By CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH. London: 1842.

A HISTORY of angels is unquestionably a desideratum in our literature. Literary men have been frightened from such an attempt by the ridicule thrown on Aquinas, for his extremely learned and pious performance, however encumbered with the worst part of the "Crambo of the Schoolmen." The lady before us has of course never read the "Angelical Doctor," but has certainly drawn into one focus all the unearthly ministrations of the sons of light, with considerable freedom of language and perspicuity of expression. She has filled up a desideratum for families well; but a larger work, embracing the Babylonian system of angels with the Hebrew, and an enlarged view of angel action, credited by even the Etrurians, and extant on their tombs, is deeply requisite. While on this subject, we cannot forbear mentioning an anecdote of the "Angelical Doctor." On his visit to Rome, the Pope showed him in his closet a vast quantity of wealth, and added, "You see the Church cannot now say silver and gold have I none." "True, (replied Thomas), neither can she any longer say to the sick and infirm, take up thy bed and walk." The "Angelical Doctor," at least, did not claim for his Church the evidence of existing miracles, and would have spurned an appeal to Prince Hohenlohe.

Doctor Hookwell; or, the Anglo-Catholic Family. 3 Vols. London: Bentley.

THESE volumes which are intended to convey an idea of *Hookism* contain in them, with considerable twaddle, some valuable matter. The worthy Vicar of Leeds is, of course, the ecclesiastical hero, and we must say, if no man is a hero to his *valet de chambre*, Dr. Hook is not one in the hands of his friend. But we are delighted to trace a better spirit in these volumes than the Tracts exhibit; the glorious Reformation is at least not abused, but, on the contrary, commended. Assuredly Dr. Hook will have to rejoice in his peculiar opinions if the force he has given to some points be felt wider throughout the country: the Apostolical Succession, for example, and the Authority of the Church. And it is undeniably true, that these points have been brought under ampler consideration by this controversy. Let us, then, from this nettle—Danger, pluck the flower—Safety. Let us retain what has been winnowed out and found to be the purest wheat. Let us abandon terms, if terms alone excite ill-will. Anglo-Catholic is as good as Protestant—let us take it. Few Churchmen would dissent from those views which Dr. Hook's friend puts forward as those eminently characterizing him.

"He was a Churchman on principle, for he felt that the Church was adapted to meet the wishes of British feeling and British taste. He saw she must be Catholic, or why should she say, that before all things it is necessary to hold the Catholic faith? And he saw too, that in rejecting the *errors and superstitions of Romanist novelty*, she still respected the sterling doctrine of that Church, or why should she retain so many of its prayers in the Book of Common Prayer? He loved to see the British Church supported by the ancient gifts and the present voluntary offerings of her congregations; and he felt if any of her payments were withdrawn, or left wholly to that voluntary system which would fail in support of the army, the navy, the poor, and the common exigencies of the State, 'what a rude and outlandish aspect,' (as Dr. Chalmers expresses it) would gather on the face of the people."

Were this the general tone in this controversy, the *British Critic* should not have a warmer advocate for their principles than the *Church of England Quarterly*.

Evidences and Doctrines of the Catholic Church. By the Most Rev. JOHN MACHALE, D.D., "Archbishop of Tuam!"

This work has been so often noticed, condemned, and refuted, that we, who do not attempt to gild refined gold or paint the lily, assuredly shall not bestow this adorning on baser metals. We shall therefore simply notice three points connected with this work. First, that we are fully convinced, that the *titular* archbishop cannot spell, for it is impossible that the inaccuracies in it can be the work of the printer, since no decent compositor would send out so despicable an impression. Secondly. We require to know why this Irish Roman Catholic priest dares to assume with impunity the title of an Anglo-Catholic bishop, when he is subject to a penalty we feel half disposed ourselves to enforce it, for using this style under what was falsely called the Emancipation Act? Thirdly, we subjoin for the satisfaction of the Tractarians the approbation of the Rev. John Machale—for *Bishop* or *Archbishop* he is none:

"The *silent religious* revolution, to which I have before alluded, that has commenced at *Oxford*, and that is spreading with an active rapidity throughout all parts of England, must convince every dispassionate enquirer that the *term of the reign of error* is now arriving to its close. The stagnant intellect of the nation has been stirred by the descent of a mighty spirit; and without any enthusiastic reliance on prophecy, I should not be surprised that even the present generation would witness the august temple of Westminster Abbey again lit up with the splendours of that pure and ancient worship to which it was raised and consecrated."

Read *that*, Tractarians, and then look to the day in which you may yet feel the effects of "*Exitiabilis superstitio*."

